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Ohio arch ological and  
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OHIO

Archæological and Historical  
PUBLICATIONS.

Volume XXVI.



COLUMBUS:  
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY  
BY  
FRED J. HEER





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# OHIO

## Archaeological and Historical PUBLICATIONS.

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### JOSEPH BADGER, THE FIRST MISSIONARY TO THE WESTERN RESERVE.

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BY BYRON R. LONG.

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A preliminary word to the writing of this document is not unlike that which I wrote to the last article furnished for publication in this historical record.

In the sketch of Isaac N. Walter, printed in the April number of 1915, I dwelt at some length on the story of the Christian denomination with which he labored for many years as a minister. My own personal connection with that people through the early portion of my life made me familiar with the men and women who were prominent in it from the beginning and up to very recent years.

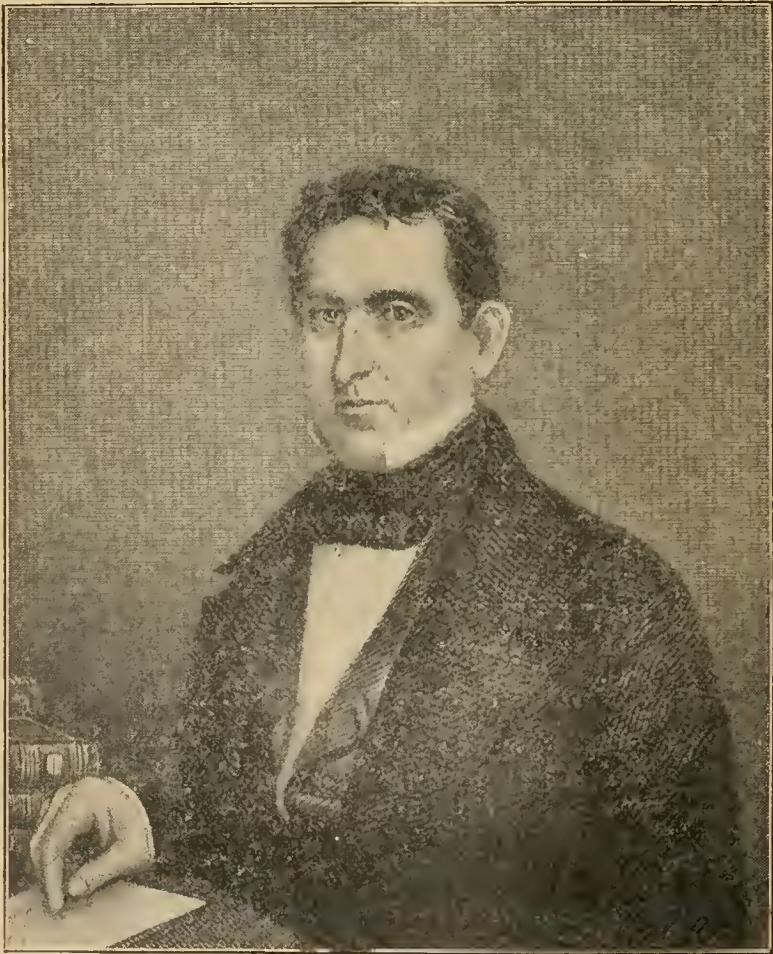
Among their leaders was Joseph Badger. The biography of this man fell into my hands while I was yet a boy, and I read it with great interest. It consisted largely of his autobiography, which made it all the more lively and impressive to a boy seeking knowledge and susceptible to inspiration from the personal experiences of youth and manhood that had gone before. E. G. Holland, a writer of considerable note in the middle of the last century, prepared the volume, and in addition to the story told by Mr. Badger himself, presents a history of the man and his work that makes the book worthy a place in the choicest library.

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The childhood of Mr. Badger was lived in the midst of scenes and circumstances characteristic of New England in the

years from 1792 to 1802. His grandfather was General Joseph Badger, who won fame in the Revolutionary War. The father of General Badger bore the name of Joseph also and was a wealthy and influential citizen of Haverhill, Mass.

Joseph Badger of this partial sketch was born at Gilmanton, New Hampshire, forty-five miles from Portsmouth, sixteen from



Joseph Badger of Gilmanton.

Concord and about eighty from Boston. His father was Major Peasly Badger, who removed from Gilmanton in 1801 to occupy a tract of land in Lower Canada. Here, in the wilderness, the boy grew toward manhood finding favor with all who came to know him. He was of a religious bent of mind, and in his own story tells of his struggle to reach some reasonable conception

of the Christian teaching that would eliminate the unnecessary formal requirements and put emphasis on the fundamentals. He thought if this could be done the divisions that obtain among Christians might be avoided. At this task he wrought all his life, only to find that no one mind is able to do complete sifting and that when all is done by that one mind it still finds itself in a narrow and more or less biased position.

The Christians had launched their propaganda throughout the East and middle West, and these people, coming nearest to his idea of what the church ought to stand for, led him to cast in his lot with them and to give himself to the ministry in that order for the remainder of his life, which ended in 1852.

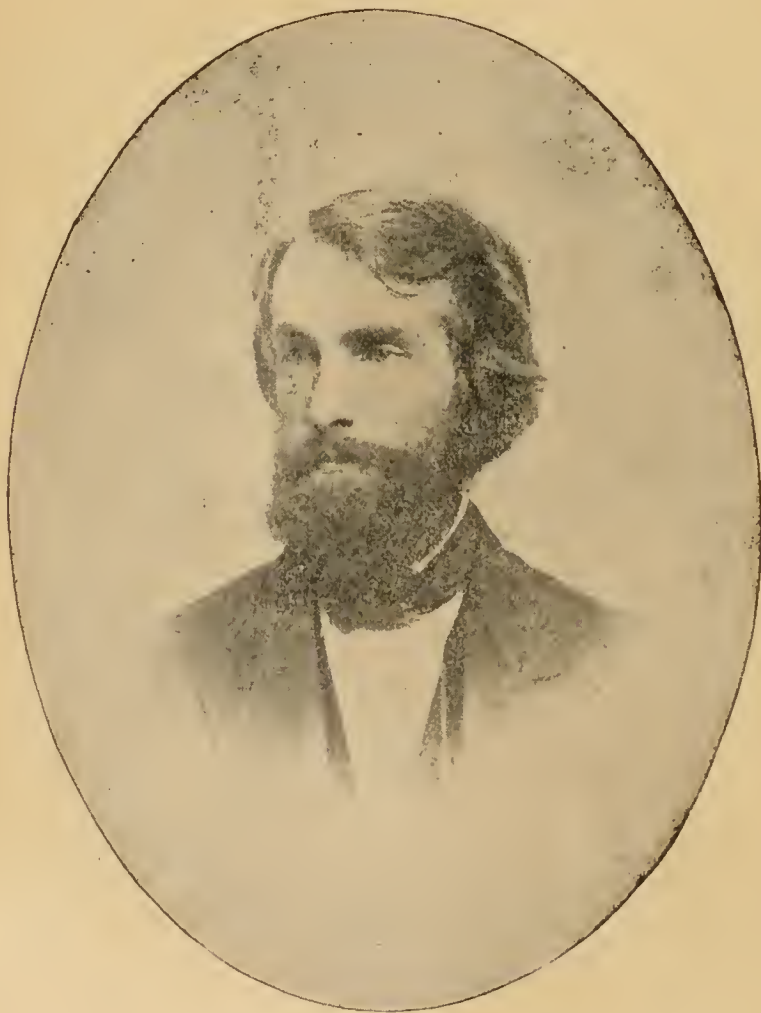
Most of his work was done in New England, New York and Pennsylvania. But in 1825 he came into Ohio and held many meetings in the churches already established and aided in establishing many others. His greatest and most helpful work was done as an editor and writer. This found the public ear through the periodical known as the *Christian Palladium*, which was first published in Rochester, New York, and afterward at Unionville.

Mr. Badger had a prominent part in the controversy which centered about Alexander Campbell, founder of the denomination known as "Disciples of Christ," and nicknamed "Campbellites." Strange to relate, these two bodies of Christians, with almost identical views theologically, should be the most antagonistic of any in that time, whereas, if they had put aside their little differences, they might have achieved unbounded success in moulding the thought of the age and in bringing about a state of unity among the followers of Christ.

Coming from a family of distinction and being identified with people of note throughout his lifetime, it is not to be wondered at that one or more of his progeny should be of some consequence. One of his sons, Henry Clay Badger, won fame as a scholar and preacher. He was an instructor in Antioch College during the administration of Horace Mann, and was the close friend of that noted educator as he was of his eminent successor in that office, Dr. Thomas Hill, who went from there to become President of Harvard.



Henry Clay Badger married Addie Shepard, sister of the wife of Thomas Hill. Before her marriage to Mr. Badger, Miss Shepard went to England in the capacity of Governess with the family of Nathaniel Hawthorne, and became the original character of Hilda in "Marble Faun," one of the famous Hawthorne romances.<sup>1</sup>



Henry Clay Badger.

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<sup>1</sup> While attending school at Antioch in the eighties, the writer had the privilege of hearing Henry Badger in an address before the students, reminiscent of the great men he had known. The volume used in collecting these notes was the property of Henry Clay Badger up to his death, and was secured by the writer from his son, Frederick Badger, now living in Boston.

It would be interesting to follow this man's career through all its varied circumstances to the close, giving in detail the incidents that make its comedies and tragedies; but this paper can not do that for the reason that the matter collected for the Historical Society must, in the main, confine itself to the story of Ohio.

The introduction of this much is to reveal a strange coincidence, linking up this life with that of another of the same name whose life story is closely identified with Ohio from her beginning on into the midst of her progress as a great commonwealth.

In 1904 the writer became pastor of the First Congregational Church of Ashtabula, Ohio. On the occasion of his first visit to the church he was introduced to a deacon of the church by the name of Badger. Curiosity was awakened immediately, and when questioned as to whether he was related to Joseph Badger, the preacher whose biography I had read when a boy, he replied: "I presume I am his grandson, since my grandfather was a missionary in an early day." He also stated that he had a volume of his biography that I might have to read if I so desired. In a few days I visited the home and secured the book, but found on looking at it that it was not the book I had read before and that I was to read an entirely different story.

While writing the sketch of Isaac N. Walter, I thought again of the two Joseph Badgers and felt their stories might be linked together in a way that would be interesting to the readers of Ohio history. The books before mentioned were secured after considerable effort; one, as stated, from Frederick Badger of Boston, the other from Mrs. E. E. Taylor of Ashtabula, the great-grand-daughter of the one known as Priest Badger throughout the Western Reserve. To my surprise somewhat the two stories enabled me to easily trace the two men back to a common ancestor, Giles Badger; one removed six generations and the other four.

Giles Badger came from England to New England in the year 1635 and settled in Newbury, now Newburyport, Massachusetts. John Badger, the son of Giles Badger, had two wives. By the first wife he was the father of four children, three of whom lived to maturity,—John, Sarah and James. John

Badger, Jr., became a merchant in Newburyport. In 1691 he was married to Miss Rebecca Brown. Seven children were born to this union, — John, James, Elizabeth, Stephen, Joseph, Benjamin and Dorothy.

Joseph Badger was a wealthy merchant in Haverhill, Massachusetts, and married Hannah Peasly, daughter of Colonel Nathaniel Peasly. To this pair were born seven children also; among whom was General Joseph Badger, one of the most noted men of New England in his time. His son, Major Peasly Badger, one of a family of twelve children, was the father of the Joseph Badger I first read about, thus placing him in the sixth generation from Giles Badger, the head of the family in the New World and who came to Newbury in 1635.<sup>2</sup>

The second wife of John Badger, first removed from Giles, was Hannah Swett, to whom he was married on the 23rd of February, 1671. Their children were Stephen, Hannah, Nathaniel, Mary, Elizabeth, Ruth, Joseph, Daniel, Abigail and Lydia.

Nathaniel of this family married Mary Lunt and settled in the town of Norwich, Connecticut. This union was blessed with nine children; — John, Daniel, Edmund, Nathaniel, Samuel, Enoch Mehitable, Mary and Henry. The last named was the father of the Joseph Badger, whose life sketch is attempted in this document.

Henry Badger married Mary Langdon and settled in Bethlehem in New Jersey, but afterward returned to Wilbraham, Massachusetts, where the subject of this sketch was born in 1657.

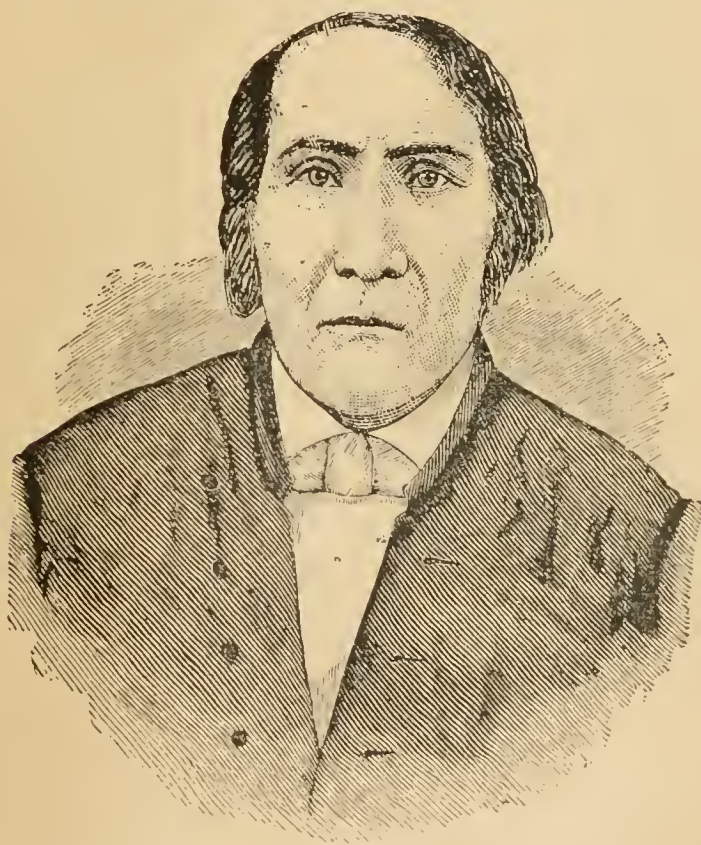
I have followed in detail these lines of descent in order that the relation of these two men may be shown to any one who may in the future desire to trace it, since it is apparent that neither of these families have been aware of the near relationship existing.

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<sup>2</sup>In 1912, the Centennial of the founding of the City of Columbus, the State Journal gave an account of an old plat of the city, and the names of owners of property. Among them is Giles Badger of near Philadelphia. This Giles Badger no doubt, was the son of Edmund, uncle of the subject of this sketch.



Joseph Badger, known in the history of the Western Reserve as "Priest Badger," lived an eventful life. As eventful, perhaps, as that of any person whose story has been told in the annals of Ohio. The autobiography is as interesting as any narrative the fiction writer has given us of the times when the Indian roved her forests or rowed their bark canoes along her beautiful rivers. The stories of Boone or Kenton or Wetsel are no more thrilling nor were they fraught with more of the ele-



Joseph Badger of Wilbraham, Missionary.

mental stuff essential to the pioneer achievement in the building of commonwealths. Before he saw the western wilderness in the role of missionary he had helped George Washington and his generals fight the battles of the Revolutionary War. He helped to establish a nation and then gave himself to the sort of preparation that would enable him to impart the teachings in the wilderness regions of that country that would eventually make that wilderness blossom as a rose.

The aim of the following sketch will be to present some of the outstanding incidents in this useful and patient life as gathered from the story told by himself, and which is now in possession of the Historical Society. The memoir and autobiography were first published by Sawyer, Ingersoll and Company, at Hudson, Ohio, in 1851. In addition to information gained from this volume, the writer, as before intimated, had the privilege of being associated with a grandson and a great-grand-daughter for some years, and of visiting the scenes of his labors in the state of Ohio.

The birthplace and early home of Joseph Badger was Wilbraham, Hampden County, Massachusetts. When he was nine years of age his parents removed to Partridgeville, now Peru, in Berkshire County, in the midst of the Green Mountains. At that time the region afforded very meager opportunity for securing an education, so that about all he received as a youth was in the home. Being of an observing mind, however, he took in the information that the nature-world about him and the on-moving of current events afforded.

The part he was to play in these events was to have its active expression at an early period. He was eighteen years of age in the memorable year of 1775, when the colonies of America threw off the yoke of English sovereignty. He entered the Revolutionary army about three weeks after the battle of Lexington. His regiment was headed by Colonel John Patterson and his company by Captain Nathan Watkins.

At the battle of Bunker Hill, fought on Breed's Hill, Patterson's regiment was stationed on Cobble Hill. From this point, the narrative states, they could see the firing along the whole line. The British rank and file was broken several times, but would as often return. On the final return they carried the works at the point of the bayonet. Two months later he was with his company at Litchmore's Point, and records in his memoir that at close range he made good use of his rifle, which proved fatal to more than one British soldier; — "the tragedy of war" was his thought about it. He was taken ill and returned to his home where he was compelled to remain over a brief time,

when he returned to the ranks. He was then enrolled in another company under Captain Moses Ashley, same regiment as before.

The British, having evacuated Boston in March of '76, his regiment was sent to New York, and from thence to take part in the campaign on the Canadian border. They were provisioned for a period of five days at Ticonderoga and took to the boats on Lake Champlain. When they reached Crown Point the snow covered the ground to a depth of several inches. Here they were delayed, but finally, in the midst of the storm, they embarked again, with Captain Sawyer, an experienced seaman, piloting the boats. After a stormy passage they arrived at St. John and went on to La Prairie, in sight of Montreal. Hunger and cold caused great suffering and made the march difficult. But there was a fort at the Rapids, which was being bravely defended by a small band of Americans against an attack made by five hundred Indians under Joseph Brant, and a company of British soldiers under Captain Foster. The American regiment was headed by Major Henry Sherbourn, and pushed rapidly to reinforce the soldiers at the fort. As they approached in the early twilight they were met by Foster's company and his Indian allies. For an hour the contest was sharp and furious, with the Americans getting the better of the engagement. All at once Foster raised the white flag and asked for a parley. This was granted. In the conference which followed Foster deceived Sherbourn into believing that the fort had been surrendered already by Major Butterfield and that it would be folly to sacrifice more lives in its relief. Then Foster made demand for the surrender of Sherbourn and his men, but it seems that the surrender affected but a small portion of the regiment. The others were able to get away. The company to which Mr. Badger belonged was among those of the regiment who were not caught in the trap. These fell back to Lachine, a French village above Montreal. Here the order was to stand till reinforced. General Arnold arrived with reinforcements in a short time. But it was deemed prudent to make a hasty removal from the position taken. Boats were provided at St. Anns, on Bacon Lake, and at this point they arrived the following day, although menaced by the Indians. The boats were ordered to push to a point three



miles up the river. But as the boats were landing Foster's men and their Indian allies made a fierce attack, bringing two small field pieces into action. A volley of bullets poured into the flotilla, but did small damage. General Arnold ordered a retreat and spent the night making greater preparation for what he predicted would be a severe contest at the break of day. But it was not to be as expected. Toward morning Captain Foster, in company with Major Sherbourn and Captain McKinstry, who had been shot through the thigh the preceding day, came across the lagoons in a canoe and an arrangement was entered into by which six captains and subaltern officers should be held as hostages in exchange for prisoners. Three days were spent in carrying out this plan and getting the men back into the American ranks. Careful parole duty was now observed, and learning that Montreal had been evacuated, the troops crossed the St. Lawrence and marched to St. Johns. Smallpox broke out and it was necessary to send many of the men on to Crown Point. The boats carrying these men were piloted by Mr. Badger and Captain Ashley, and as many as could be stowed into the boats were taken. Three days were consumed in the journey up the lake, but the return trip was much easier and more rapidly covered. Three days afterward the entire army embarked under orders to proceed to Cumberland Head, where they rested for a day and then proceeded to Crown Point.

Here smallpox was carrying off the soldiers almost as swiftly as bullets did in battle. In the short period of two days sixty-four were buried in two vaults. This was done because there were not sufficient well men to dig separate graves for the victims. Buildings were erected at Fort George to receive the convalescent and they were conveyed to that place for treatment. The others were sent to Mt. Independence, opposite Ticonderoga, to occupy themselves in erecting defences. Note is made in the memoir at this point of the deleterious effect of liquor on the men taken with disease. Nearly all the cases addicted to strong drink succumbed to the disease, while those who were not, recovered.

The retreat was a sorry affair, in that the men lost their wearing apparel except that which they had on. Mr. Badger says he went a period of six weeks without a change of shirts

and was much incommoded with vermin. Frequently took a garment off, washed it without soap, wrung it out and put it on again. "Was greatly distressed with cutaneous diseases until August. Built a fire beside a large log, a little out of camp, and roasted myself with brimstone and grease, which cured the itch, but boils and sores followed for some time."

The chaplain of the regiment was taken sick about this time and Mr. Badger was assigned the task of nursing and waiting on him until he could be sent to Albany.

For some time after this Mr. Badger remained with Colonel Buel, who was commandant at the post, giving his time to various things, among which was the preparation of wooden dishes out of the aspen wood plentiful in that region. This supplied a distressing need, as there was no kind of vessel in the camp which could be used for serving food or for drinking purposes.

He soon had orders to go back to his company, which he rejoined in November. Following Arnold's defeat his company marched to Albany, where they arrived in six days. From thence they marched through the settlements and over mountains to Sussex Court House in New Jersey. Orders had been given to join Lee's army on the east side of the Delaware, but on their arrival they discovered that Lee had been taken by the British. So after they had tarried the night and until sunset the following day, they hastened to join Washington on the other side of the river. This was in December and the cold was growing intense. The language of the memoir is very interesting here:

"It was now December and the cold was severe, but we marched most of the night and towards morning began to pass over to the farther side. The river was full of floating ice which loaded the flat-boat almost to sinking. Toward night of that day we all got over and marched into a little Moravian village called Nazareth. The next day we marched to Bethlehem. Here we had orders to wait until Lee's division under General Sullivan joined us."

Mr. Badger says nothing in the narrative about the crossing of the Delaware by Washington and the victory at Trenton, but this stirring event was but a day or two removed from the time of his own crossing about fifty miles to the north of Trenton.

The condition of the river was the same as we have often read about in the story of Washington's great accomplishment on Christmas night 1776. There are only thirteen days elapsing between the date of the capture of General Lee and the crossing of the Delaware by Washington. During these days the marching and the waitings would bring this remnant of Arnold's army to which Mr. Badger belonged into the region of Trenton just about the time of Christmas.

The narrative discloses, however, that Mr. Badger was not in the company that went with Washington. For, after leaving Bethlehem and crossing the Lehigh, the discovery was made that six of their men were missing. A sergeant and a small body of soldiers were sent back to find what was the matter. On their return they reported them sick with fever. Mr. Badger was ordered back to care for them and remained with them until late in January. Here he mentions a little detail that calls to mind a very interesting episode at this period of the Revolutionary conflict.

Many of the soldiers who were in the army at this time had enlisted to January first of 1777. He speaks of these sick men as being among that number and that on their recovery they returned to their homes. This was true not only of those who ought to have gone home to recuperate, but it was also true of many others. It became a peril to the army, and Washington was put to his wits' end to know how to continue their services. A victory had been won to be sure, but now came the necessary task of following it up, and here were great numbers of men getting ready to leave the army at the end of their enlistment period, and that, too, at a time when they could least be spared. What was he to do? It was decided to offer the men ten dollars apiece to remain another six weeks. But where was he to get the money with which to pay them? Washington pledged his own fortune and made the well-remembered appeal to Robert Morris of Philadelphia. The story of the patriotic service of Robert Morris in response to Washington's appeal at this critical hour of the fortunes of the American army is known to every school boy. It is interesting, however, to be able to link the important detail with this narrative.



As said, they were on their way to Trenton from the north when, because of the sickness of the men as above mentioned, Mr. Badger was prevented from joining the troops under the direct leading of Washington. He took control of the general hospital service at Bethlehem on condition that he might choose his own assistants, turning off all former nurses and attendants. This was done because of the wretched service they had rendered. Here he and his chosen attendants labored faithfully till the last of February, when he was taken seriously ill and was in delirium most of the time until the last of March, when he began to recover. During this sickness he was taken care of in a private family of German Moravians. After he had sufficiently recovered, he was given a discharge and started for his home, arriving in New Milford the day before Danbury was destroyed by the British under General Tryon in April, 1777.

This event fired the young soldier and he re-joined the Americans under General Wooster, who pursued the enemy, engaging them at Ridgeville. The enemy retreated, but the life of General Wooster was sacrificed in the encounter. The Americans followed their advantage, and the next day overtook the red-coats on Wilton Hills as they were descending into the valley. I prefer to quote Mr. Badger's own story of this scene of battle:

"We charged their rear guard on the top of the hill, they firing upon us with two field pieces and with small arms. Here the man at my left side was shot down; a Captain Revel, of Litchfield, had both of his thighs broken, and many others were badly wounded. They soon ran down the hill to the main body, which was passing the meeting house, and entered a road to the south, which ascended a hill and formed nearly a right angle towards the west, in which Arnold had taken a stand a few minutes before, with a few regular troops and a field piece. While yet on the ground from which we had just driven them, looking at the enemy entering and filling the pass up the hill, we saw the smoke of Arnold's cannon pouring down upon them, they retreating to another road leading to Campo bridge: but Arnold reached the bridge and compelled them to ford some distance above. Here the action was sharp, but a reinforcement was landed from their ship, which enabled them, after a severe

contest, to get on board their fleet. The loss on both sides was considerable."

Mr. Badger then returned to his home and rested awhile, but there was another urgent call for men and he enlisted as an Orderly Sergeant and served until January, 1778, having served his country as a soldier of the Revolution over a period of nearly three years. In commenting on this service, he wrote:

"When I entered the army it was from principles in defence of the civil and religious rights of our country. The "tea" affair was well known and the design of introducing taxation and of prohibiting domestic manufacturing were well understood; and the apprehension of being governed by laws which we had no voice in making, with other grievances, determined the people generally to defend themselves against what appeared to be tyrannical and oppressive government."

He speaks of the terrible privation and the great danger that threatened him many times and closes with this statement:

"On my return from the army I received about two hundred dollars in paper currency, with the whole of which I could not get cloth for a decent coat. This was all the compensation I received for almost three years of hard service until 1818, when Congress began to think of the old soldiers."

For six months following this he took up weaving for a livelihood and recounts that he wove during that period sixteen hundred yards of plain cloth. Along with this work he spent much time in study under a Rev. Mr. Day as tutor. The common branches and Latin were pursued diligently. This fitted him to take charge of a school and he taught through the years of 1780 and 1781. During this time the subject of religion grew in interest with him, and under the urgent persuasion of Rev. Day, supplementing a conscious self-propulsion, his thought was directed toward the calling of the ministry. Mr. Day persuaded him to accompany him to the commencement at New Haven in this year. When he arrived there he learned that a few young men were being examined for entrance to the college. Mr. Day encouraged him to join the company, about thirty in all. He passed the examination and entered Yale College. Teaching common school, singing school and engaging in various other

kinds of labor and studying with the same energy shown in his patriotic defense of his country, he won his way and graduated in September, 1785.

During 1786 he taught school and pursued the study of theology under the direction of Mr. Leavenworth in Waterbury. In the Spring of 1787 he was invited to a charge in Vermont, but on account of the excitement occasioned by Shay's Insurrection he did not go, but accepted an invitation to preach in Blandford, Massachusetts. Here he was ordained on the 24th of October, 1800.

November 15, 1800, under the call of the Connecticut Missionary Society, he took up his first journey to the Connecticut Western Reserve. From this time for forty-seven years his life was to be spent upon the soil of what is now the state of Ohio.

From 1780 to 1800, while the student life of Joseph Badger was passing in New England, and while he was getting ready for his task in the Ohio country, events of epochal importance were taking place in that vast region. Following the Revolutionary struggle the pioneers began to push toward the new land, where the young Washington had gone as a surveyor of the Virginia Company and about which Christopher Gist had reported to the Ohio Company in Connecticut. Tales of wonderful and bewildering character had found their way back along the forests' paths and had set on fire the enthusiastic ambitions of young men and women with their budding families, so that pilgrims were seeking new homes in the shadows of mighty trees and on the banks of winding, beautiful rivers; only to be participants in the dark and bloody scenes which marked the pioneer days of Western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, and the Ohio land, which comprised vastly more than what is now known as Ohio.

In 1778, when Joseph Badger, worn and exhausted, returned to his home in Connecticut, after rendering faithful service of incalculable value at Bethlehem and Nazareth, as an attendant upon the sick soldiers, he little thought that from these villages would go the simple-hearted Moravians that had shown such friendship to him and the men under his care, to be the center of events and circumstances that have made Salem, Gnaden-



hutzen and other settlements synonymous with martyrdom in which Christian red men and white men were both innocent victims of the cruelty of red and white savages.

The stories of those years in the West have been told by the men who had part in them and are among the heirlooms of our Western annals and have been collected by diligent students of that period, and, though the narratives make our blood course violently, we are mindful that the deeds of those early men and women are immortal and laid the superstructure of the commonwealths which are the pride of a mighty nation.

The pioneer work, however, was not all done in the year 1800, else the missionary societies had not seen the necessity of sending others to take up further tasks at the beginning of the new century. States were yet to be cut out of the magnificent territory that was just beginning to reveal its splendor and productivity. Ohio the Beautiful had not at this time been set apart by itself to develop an individuality of its own that has given it one of the proudest positions among the sisterhood of states.

Here and there, separated by long stretches of forest, were single families or little groups, brave to encounter the difficulties that stood in the way of productive effort or to defend themselves against the wild life in man and beast which endangered them on every hand. The making of a great state from what was on the ground in the way of civilizing material in the first year of the nineteenth century was a tremendous task. It was to this that the young missionary came with his family in that beginning year, at the age of forty-three, and there he was to labor through all the vicissitudes of pioneer life during another period as long as that over which he had already come.

The decision of the Connecticut Missionary Society to send Mr. Badger to the Western Reserve followed a call to him to take up work among the Black River settlements. He consented to their final plan, and, leaving his family, started on his western journey of between 600 and 700 miles on November 15, 1800. Crossing the Hudson at Newburg, he traveled through Goshen, Sussex Court House, N. J., and across the Delaware into Pennsylvania. He crossed the Alleghany Mountains amidst raging snow storms and reached Pittsburgh the middle of December.

Leaving there on the 14th, he preached along the way and came to Youngstown, within the bounds of the Reserve, on the last Sunday of the year.

The narrative of the difficulties met and overcome in this journey is thrilling indeed. Climbing mountain passes; swimming his horse through dangerous fords in rivers; journeying for miles without looking into a human countenance or seeing a dwelling place of man. Tired and hungry most of the time, he went his way rejoicing that he could be a message bearer to a new world and a pioneer in the work that would preserve the new civilization from the influences that bring degeneration. The settlements he mentions as having visited after Youngstown are Hopewell, Neshannoc, Vienna, Hartford, Vernon, Warren, Canfield, Deerfield, Boardman, Atwater, Poland, Mesopotamia, Windsor, Mantua, Aurora, Hudson, Ravenna, Newburg, Painesville and Cleveland. Chagrin, Mentor and Euclid are mentioned as on the way from Cleveland to Painesville. In Cleveland at this time there were two families, in Euclid one, in Chagrin one, in Mentor four, in Painesville two. The last two places mentioned in connection with this tour are Harpersfield and Austinburg, in each of which there were ten families. To the last named of these settlements, Austinburg, he was eventually to bring his family in April, 1802, and there he founded the first Church in the Western Reserve and the second Congregational church founded in the state of Ohio, on the 24th of October, 1801; the first being founded in Marietta thirteen years before.

This completed tour of the settlements brought him to the month of August, 1801, when he says: "I have now visited and preached the gospel to all the families on the Reserve."

A journey full of incidents worth recounting is mentioned as occurring in September of this year. Mr. Badger had promised George Blue Jacket, son of a Shawnee Indian chieftain, to go with him on a visit to his father. In company with the Indian and Rev. Thomas Hughes, they started September 2nd. The home of Blue Jacket was about three miles from Brownstown and in the region of the Maumee. The journey is described in a graphic way and relates some stirring adventures. The first night they swam the Cuyahoga River with their horses and slept

in their wet garments. On the morning following they followed the Indian path along the lake, reaching Rocky River. Here they forded the river, and while cutting a path up a steep bank to afford a road for their horses they heard the salute of a rattle snake. They pursued their way along the high, rocky shore of the lake to Black River, where they encamped. The following morning they crossed the river in a bark canoe, swimming their horses. They came to the Huron about 3:00 P. M. They were entertained over night in an Indian cabin, and the following day being Sunday, Mr. Badger preached in the Indian village. He says they were treated kindly and given the very best to be had in the way of eatables and entertainment.

On Monday, supplied bountifully with food, they pursued their way to the Portage River and encamped for the night. He writes as follows of the following day:

"Rode through the swamp to the Shawnee village on the Maumee. George, our Indian boy, took us on to the island just below the rapids to see his aunt. Soon after we were seated we were presented with a bowl of boiled corn, buttered with bear's grease. As the corn was presented, the old Indian woman said, 'Friends eat; it is good, it is such as God gives to Indians.' This gave opportunity to preach Christ to her and her two daughters, the only ones present.

"We crossed the river afterwards and lodged with a brother of George. He had a good bed and blankets, all clean and wholesome."

Two days afterward they reached the home of Captain Blue Jacket and were received with great cordiality. This Indian family lived in a "comfortable cabin well furnished with mattresses, bedding and blankets; and for the table, crockery and silver spoons, and their cooking was equal to that of white people." Mention is made of a trip taken to Detroit with this notation: "There was not one Christian to be found in all this region excepting a black man who appeared pious."

Returning to Blue Jacket's home, the matter of schools was discussed with a company of Indians who had been invited to be present. This talk had much to do with the future work Mr. Badger was destined to do among them.

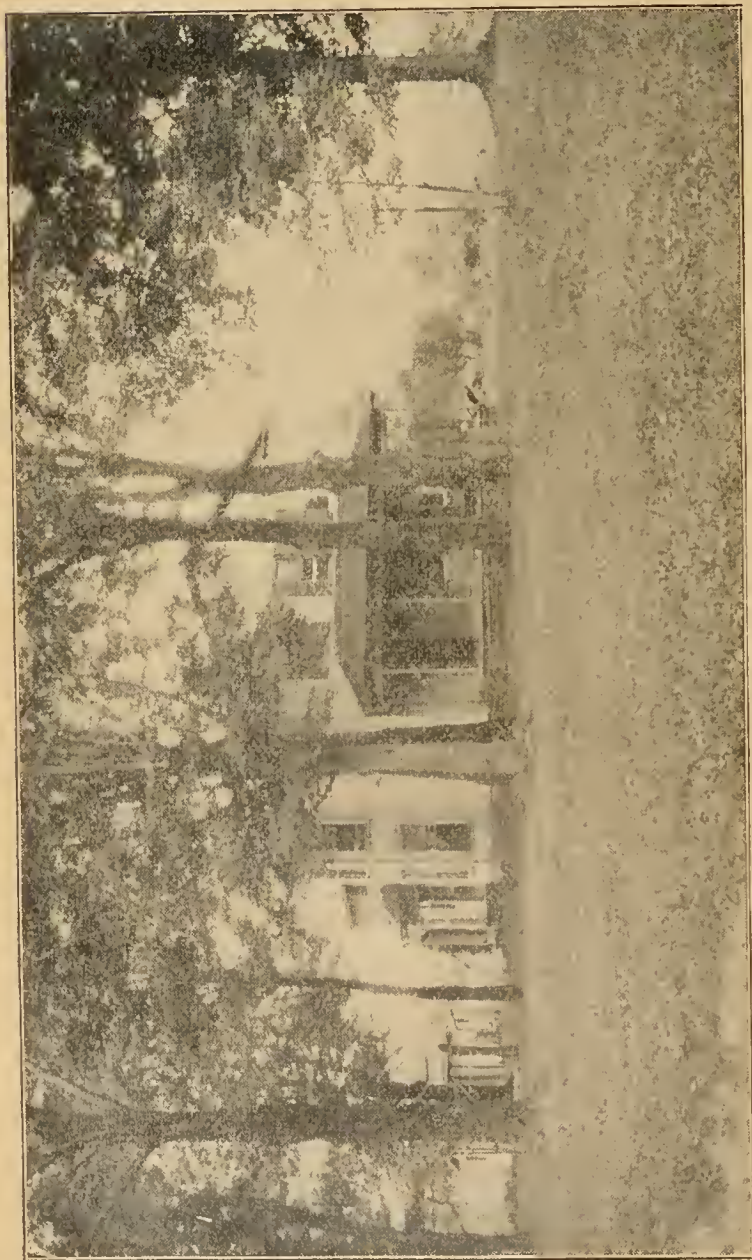


On the return from this visit they passed by Lower Sandusky. Mr. Badger was taken ill with fever and ague and the return was much retarded. Notwithstanding his very weak condition, he persisted in preaching on the Sabbath. Mention is made of a seventeen-year-old white boy among the Indians who became greatly interested and who was inclined to listen and showed a desire to learn to read. He acted on advice, to go to the settlement. "He soon learned to read the Bible and became hopefully pious." The last two days of this return trip were spent without anything to eat except chestnuts.

Following immediately on the return from this sojourn among the Indians, he came to Austinburg, and on the 24th of October, 1801, the church before mentioned was organized. On the following day he set out for Massachusetts in company with Eliphalet Austin, after whom Austinburg was named. The mission of Mr. Austin was to secure a pastor for the new church.

Mr. Badger had suffered greatly from the year's pioneering and the journey back to New England was one that taxed all his reserve energy. On the 15th of December, when near Bloomfield, New York, one side became paralyzed. This detained him until the 26th. He then proceeded to his home and family, from which he had been absent nearly fourteen months, arriving January 1, 1802.

On January 3rd his report was made to the Missionary Society at Hartford and a new commission was issued for his return to take up the work as a full-fledged missionary at the princely emolument of seven dollars per week. Having exchanged his small piece of land in Blandford for a parcel of land in the Western Reserve, he loaded his belongings in the way of household goods and on Washington's birthday, 1802, started with his wife and family of six children to brave the hardships and inconveniences of the then very sparsely populated Ohio country. The story of this journey is most thrilling. Almost every kind of adventure was encountered on the way. A great snow storm was sweeping the region through which they were compelled to travel, so that many miles of the way they were obliged to shovel paths for their passage through heavy drifts of snow. On the second of March they came to Troy, New York, and



Parsonage — Home of Rev. Giles H. Cowles, Pastor 1810. Life-time home of Betsy Cowles and of Edwin Cowles. Now the residence of L. M. Cowles. Site of Log Meeting-house, First Church in Western Reserve.

experienced a perilous crossing of the Hudson. Through many other difficulties they passed, reaching Buffalo the first Sunday of April. Here in a poorly contrived boat they were enabled to convey the wagon and horses across Buffalo Creek, though in mid-stream Mr. Badger was thrown from the boat and compelled to swim ashore. The narrative notes at this point that this was the first team of horses known to have crossed this stream.

They were now among the Indians and received much help



Site of Second Building of First Church Organization Across Street from First Building. One mile south of Present town of Austinburg.

from them in their further progress westward. Corn was purchased at the price of one dollar per bushel. Cutting roads for the passage of horses and wagon and moving as rapidly as possible, they arrived at the first house in the state of Pennsylvania on the following Friday. Here they remained several days and then proceeded, reaching Moulton Station, recorded as the first habitation reached in the bounds of the Western Reserve.

On the last Thursday in April they came to their future home at the settlement of Austinburg.



In May began the labor of erecting a cabin for the shelter of the family, and some time in June they were under their own roof and the work of the pioneer missionary was begun in earnest. The cabin home is described as being built of round logs without chinks, a floor covering but one-half of the floor space and made of split stuff, partly roofed with boards from Austin's mill and with no chimney.

Having provided this much of a home and with provisions to last over two or three months, Priest Badger took up once more the itinerary of the settlements which he had formerly visited. He mentions being in the home of Mr. Burke in Euclid. Mr. Burke had come to that region with Moses Cleveland, the surveyor, and the man after whom the metropolis of Ohio is named. The Burke family had been living in this lonely place for three years, and Mrs. Burke related that she had been compelled to spin and weave cattle's hair to make coverings for her children's beds.

On the next Sunday he was in Hudson, where he organized the church that has been memorable in the history of Christian progress throughout the Reserve, and where were sown the educational seeds that blossomed and fruited in the Western Reserve University. Many noted people afterward had their membership in this church, among them John Brown whose "body lies mouldering in the grave, but whose soul goes marching on."

The settlements were all visited, and in September, 1802, he notes a visit to the north part of Trumbull County, where the voters were assembled to elect a representative to the proposed convention at Chillicothe for the purpose of shaping a State Constitution. Samuel Huntington, six years later elected Governor of Ohio, was the man elected as this representative.

From this place he returned home for a few days, but was called to Pennsylvania to attend a meeting of the synod at Pittsburgh, which had supervision jointly with the Connecticut society over the missionary enterprises in the West. After a few days' labor in a revival meeting following the visit to Pittsburgh he returned to his home, having been absent, except for a day or two, over a period of almost three months. He now devoted

himself to putting their home in a better condition of protection from the storms of another winter, preaching the while in four or five settlements not far away.

Late in December of this year he began again his round of visits to the churches already organized and to the settlements in which efforts were making toward organization. The record of this work continues with little variation in the character of incidents narrated. There is note of the fact that while there were a great many Methodists settled in the Reserve at this date, there had as yet no Methodist missionary arrived on the ground. He speaks of Watt's hymns being used for the first time west of the Alleghany Mountains in the year 1801 and gives an account of a revival meeting on this tour that typifies the revival of the time. I quote here his own description.

"I preached in the afternoon to about three thousand people, the largest worshipping assembly I ever saw collected. They were conveniently seated in a grove, with a stand for the speakers raised about four feet above the congregation. In the time of preaching there were many who cried out and fell into a perfectly helpless condition. There remained a slight respiration, the only sign of remaining life. In this situation many lay from two to six hours without strength to move or speak. Others were taken with trembling and loss of strength, and yet could talk freely. I could not learn from any with whom I conversed that their views of sin and their danger and criminality were any wise different from what was common in revivals in New England, with which I had been conversant. But the effects on the system, so different and alarming, were totally inexplicable by any. The exercises of singing, exhortation and prayer were continued until after midnight, when the ministers retired, but the great body of the assembly continued on the ground through the night."

Just following this meeting and while traveling to another appointment, he had an adventure with a bear that compares in the thrill of it to any told in the famous stories of adventure among the wilds of the western or tropical forests.

The work of the missionary during the year of 1803 took on, in addition to that of preaching and organizing churches,

the task of the colporteur. The association saw the need, as did he, of the circulation of good books among the people. So many volumes were put at his disposal, and as he went from settlement to settlement he carried in his portmanteau all that might be easily transported in that way and saw to it that the people were put in possession of them either by gift or purchase. Thus information of the richest sort was distributed throughout communities. The roadways through the wilderness were in a very imperfect condition. He mentions riding to Conneaut from Austinburg and marking out his own path. He also speaks of the organization of the first school in that settlement about this time. On his trip he visited Chautauqua to officiate at the funeral of a Mr. McHenry, who was drowned in the lake, and mentions that it was the first sermon ever preached in the place that has now become the mecca of religion and education during certain months of the year for hundreds of thousands of the best and most enlightened people of the world.

The year 1803 was spent in this active work among the settlements and resulted in his growing influence all over the Reserve.

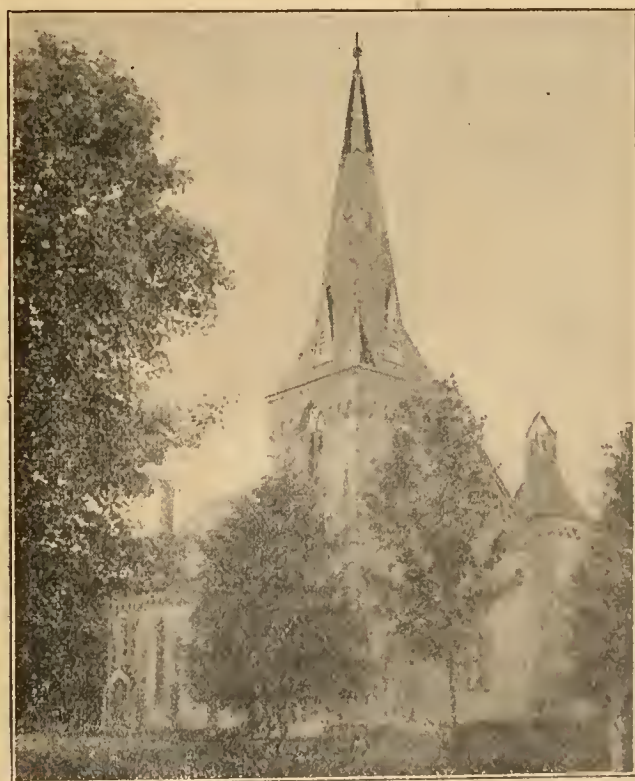
With the beginning of the activities of 1804 the Missionary Society at Hartford decided that it would be necessary to cut down his salary to the sum of six dollars per week. Up to this time he had been receiving the sum of seven dollars, which was one dollar more than they were paying the missionaries in New England. The society had come to the conclusion that with the increasing population on the Reserve the living expenses would grow proportionately less, or that there would be means of earning a livelihood more easily on the outside of his regular work as a missionary. He sent in his protest, but it was of no avail.

For two years more he continued this work of an itinerary, attending faithfully to every detail of the requirements placed upon him and reported the same to the society which was paying him his royal salary. In June of 1804 he makes note of the following as having occurred on Sunday, the 10th of that month. I quote this because of the appearance of so many names that have since become notable or whose children have kept the names familiar to a succeeding generation.





The Roadway Between the Old and New.



Present Church of Austinburg.



"People met in Judge Austin's barn. Mr. Patterson preached. After the sermon forty-one persons were admitted to church membership; four were baptized. The Lord's Supper was then administered to sixty-two communicants. It was a refreshing time. The assembly consisted of about one hundred and seventy souls, more than half over fifteen years of age were professors. Lois Badger, John Wright and Sarah, his wife; Nathan Gillett and Lucy, his wife; Salome Gillett, Timothy R. Hawley, Robert Montgomery and Mary, his wife; and the widow Betsy Harper were from other churches. Eliphalet Austin, Thomas Montgomery and Rebecca, his wife; Elisha Ward, Louis Cowles, Quintas F. Atkins and Calvin Stone were baptized.

Ira Blanchard, Henry Langdon Badger, Lydia Case, Florilla Austin, Julianna Badger, Benjamin Morse, Thomas Dunbar and Ruth, his wife; William Harper, Betsey Harper, Abraham Bartholomew, Zera Cowles, Erastus Austin, Sally Atkins, John Wright, Jr., David Wright, Moses Wilcox, Alexander Harper, George W. Hawley, Lydia Battle, James Montgomery and Mary, his wife; Edmund Strong and Anna, his wife, are the names of the persons admitted to fellowship in the church at Austinburg."<sup>3</sup>

In June, 1805, according to plans arranged some time before, he visited the River Raisin in Michigan territory, the home at that time of the Wyandot Indians. His absence from home was planned to cover a period of two months. He left home on the 9th of June and returned on August 20th. This visit was preliminary to a more extended service to be rendered among the Indian tribes during the years 1806 and 1807 and intermittently over a decade of years.

Mr. Badger, now a man fifty years of age, offers himself to the service of his country in the capacity of an all-round servant of the people who were friends or foes to the white race,

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<sup>3</sup> Ashtabula County today is made up of the people who have descended from these families. The Harpers mentioned are of the family whose history is recorded in a former sketch prepared by the writer and published two years ago under the title, "A Grave in the Wilderness."

just as the white people were minded to make them. And if all the white men who had to do with the Indians had treated them as Priest Badger treated them much of shame and anguish that marked the time might have been avoided. He went among them as their friend and they learned to know him as such, and during the years of his service among them he had their confidence and respect.

As before said, he left his home June 9th and at Cleveland fell in with Captain Parish of Canandaigua and Mr. Knaggs of Detroit, interpreters, on their way to attend the treaty at Swan Creek. This treaty was one involving the methods and compensations regarding the sale and purchase of lands belonging to the Indians. Mr. Jewett, the Indian Agent, and the commissioners of the Connecticut Fire Land Company met in council with the chiefs of eight different tribes, to discuss the land problem, a subject that has been under discussion through all the ages, and grows no less difficult as the centuries proceed.

The journey from Cleveland to Sandusky extended from the 11th of June to the 14th and was fraught with varied experiences. Mr. Badger relates that just as they were starting from the Black River on the morning of the 11th they looked up the lake toward Detroit and saw the smoke of the burning town which was that morning consumed by fire. Swimming their horses, losing their way, and meeting with other unfortunate circumstances, they finally came to Sandusky, where Mr. Badger was entertained by Rev. James Hughes, who was doing the preaching in that place.

The chiefs from the upper town had arrived on their way to the place of treaty. In conversation with Crane (Tarhe) and Walk-in-the-water, Mr. Badger made arrangements for a season of prayer and preaching with the Indians at the council house on the following day, which was Saturday. He here mentions for the first time a man by the name of Barnett and a woman by the name of Whitaker. These names appear frequently in the subsequent parts of his narrative. Barnett seems to have been a white man brought up among the Wyandot Indians from childhood and bore the Indian name of Eunonqu. He was an early convert to Christianity and was one of Badger's chief

lieutenants in his work among these people. He seems to have gone back to Pennsylvania for some years and reared a family there, but subsequently returned to the old life. Mrs. Whitaker was a white woman. Whether her husband was living or not does not appear. The home of Mrs. Whitaker was always open to the missionaries and she had the respect and confidence of the Indians. A quotation from the story of the proceedings of the Saturday meeting is very interesting. This meeting was held in the council house of the Indian village three miles from Sandusky. Saturday morning, June 15, 1805. — "We went up to the council house, found the chiefs gathered and others coming in to the number of about sixty or seventy. Others stayed away, making noises, sometimes coming in and going out again. One came in looking very ugly with his gun and went through the house twice, singing the war whoop while Mr. Hughes was preaching. Being engaged in another discourse after Mr. Hughes, the same Indian came in again with his war club and sang and whooped as before. The chiefs were much displeased with his conduct, and early Sabbath morning called the disturbers together and gave them sharp reproof. On the following day, Sabbath, we both preached again without any disturbance, and they all appeared to listen with solemnity. Barnett appears with the meekness of a Christian and is indeed an amiable man. After the sermons, Tarhe, or Crane, consulted with the chiefs and thanked us for what we had said, and expressed his belief in the truth of our words, that it was God's work, and he hoped they might remember and mind it."

On the following Monday morning Mr. Badger discovered that his horse was gone, and after some search it was found at Spicer's, in the Mohawk village, twenty-six miles away. This village was at Honey Creek, where the chief's name was Beauty. Mr. Badger speaks of having him as an auditor at a previous time, where he had listened with great interest and solemnity. He made request at this time for a visit from both Mr. Badger and Mr. Hughes and that they should preach to his people. On the next day, Tuesday, they accompanied the Indian and the interpreter to the Upper town to attend the treaty council, putting up at the home of Chief Tarhe.



Very little is said about the treaty proceedings here, but he attends another session of it the latter part of the month at Fort Industry<sup>4</sup> where eight different tribes met with the commission of the Connecticut Land Company. Here his main object was to get opportunity to preach.



Bridge over Swan Creek near Site of Fort Industry and the Treaty of June 26, 1805. Now in city of Toledo.

Two or three days of the week were spent at Honey Creek when he returned to the Lower town. On Friday he went out

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<sup>4</sup>Fort Industry, over which there has been much discussion among Ohio historians is here referred to as the place of the treaty and shows that there was a fort known by that name that existed at that time.



to the village again and was the guest of Barnett, in whose home the Indians congregated to hear an address on civic improvement, the subject of education — reading, writing and figuring was the main theme. The address presented the great advantage of being able to cultivate the lands more extensively and in a way



Where Swan Creek Flows into the Maumee—  
A View in Toledo.

more intensively; of raising cattle and making cloth, saying to them that this was the only way in which they could increase their population and live happily.

At Swan Creek late in the month, when the proceedings were being continued, he had another opportunity to get before the great body of Indians out of eight tribes. Tarhe again is

intercessor to obtain this privilege. So the next day he talked to them on the subject of the disastrous effects of the ardent spirits on them as a people. He said:

"In the first place, after drinking a little you get drunk and lose your reason, and then you quarrel and abuse one another; sometimes one friend kills another, and you abuse your women. This is one reason why you are wasting away and have few children that grow to be men. But when you are sober there are none more friendly. Secondly, when you get drunk you lie out in the wet and the cold and contract disease which unfits you for hunting or hoeing corn or doing anything for your support. Look at that man, a son of the head chief, he is shaking all over and can scarcely walk with his staff. This he has contracted by drinking to excess. He must soon die, although a young man. They all cried out — Entooh! Entooh!, true! true!

"Thirdly, by reason of your drinking the traders impose upon you and cheat you and get away your property for almost nothing. When you have been out hunting or have made a good quantity of sugar, the traders will visit you on your hunting-ground with kegs of whiskey and a few goods and get you to drinking and get away from you all your winter's hunt for a mere trifle, and you go home and have nothing with which to make your families comfortable." To all these sayings the assembly would shout: "Entooh! Entooh!"

The old chief then addressed them, and at the close he turned to Mr. Badger and said: "Father you have told us the truth. We thank you Father. We have all agreed to use no more ardent spirits."

Mr. Badger further states that during the years in which he dwelt among them afterwards he never saw but one Indian in a state of intoxication. As a result it broke up the gang of traders and they no longer molested them.

The Wednesday following the address mentioned above he went to Brownstown and walked out about five miles to the home of an Indian that he mentions as the Black Chief, who had just lost his wife. To him he tries to bring the comfort of the Christian faith. During the conversation the chief expressed surprise that so many bad people were among the French,

English and Americans when they had the same God and the same Bible.

He told the chief that the people who brought them whiskey and goods and tried to cheat them out of their property did not believe in the Word of God, and therefore were deceiving the Indians and despoiling them by not only cheating them in trade, but by putting into their hands the means of destruction of life and manhood. The chief said, "Our Father, the President, has sent word to us asking why we are diminishing in number," and that he had requested Mr. Jewett, the Indian agent, to tell the President that diseases were being sent to them in their goods and annuities, but the most destructive thing was spirits of various kinds, especially whiskey. It destroyed their stomachs, brought on decay, made them drunk, and frequently made them quarrel and kill each other and do many other bad things. He said that when the French first came they were better and did not bring fire-water, and that they were better off than now. He wished their Father, the President, would take pity on his children and wholly prevent the bringing of spirits among his people.

Mr. Badger convinced him, however, of his and the Government's friendship by getting it before him that there was a law regulating the matter, by which he and those of his people who wanted could destroy all the liquor that came into their midst without any recourse on the part of the owners.

In may be mentioned in this connection and from the vantage ground of more than a century of history made since then, that there never has been provision made such as the Government should have made in regulating this matter. In fact, the Government, as such, has been very slow through all the years in doing the deed that is fundamental to protection of her weaker subjects from the ravages, not only of the liquor traffic, but of many other devilish contrivances by means of which the strong and knowing have been enabled to make spoil of the weak. The Government itself has been mean and unscrupulous and has encouraged these qualities in men and combinations of men who have cared to be despoilers of their fellow men.



Thus far what has been written has had to do mainly with getting ready for the regular missionary work among the people to whom he was an appointed minister. From 1806 to 1808 the mission work was to be continuous, and while very interesting, the daily accounts of details of preparation will not be gone into here. The removal of his household to the Wyandot country took place early in May.

The difficulties encountered in getting by boat along Grand River to Lake Erie appalls one who thinks of the ease of transportation in these later days. With their hand-constructed boat they sailed along the lake, close to shore, from Painesville past where Cleveland now stands, and on past Rocky River, and Vermilion, to the Huron, where, on account of a rough sea they had to sail into the river to escape the danger of shipwreck. Here they were joined by several companies of Indians in canoes who were helpful through the remainder of their journey. These Indians were of the Ottawa and Ojibwa peoples and seemed deeply interested in the coming of this minister into their midst.

On the 12th day of May, 1806, their boat sailed into Sandusky Bay. They went up the river a distance of ten miles while a thunder storm was raging and missed their way, landing the vessel at the edge of an extensive marsh. Here, the narrative relates: "We spread our sail over our boat and slept under it very wet and there being nothing on shore for fuel, we had patience for supper."

The next morning he was met by his sons who had preceded the others and rowed back into the Sandusky and a short distance on to the home of Mrs. Whitaker. Information was brought here that the chiefs had gathered in the village in response to the call of the Shawnee prophet. Word was sent to the Indians assembled that the new missionary had arrived. Barnett received the word and seemed very much distressed and sent back word that the chiefs were gathered to counsel together about the proposed execution of four witches and Barnett had been designated as one of the executioners. He (Barnett) had not so far given his consent and was anxious to get the advice of the minister. Mr. Badger told him to have nothing



to do with them but to go to the chiefs and tell them to desist from such a thing until the interpreter could be brought into the council. A runner was then sent to the upper town and Armstrong, the interpreter, arrived on the following day. Four of the best women in the nation had been picked out by the Prophet as deserving death as witches and had been condemned to be executed. Crane, or Tarhe, was the leading chief in the council gathered and Badger's appeal reached him and through his influence the prophet's plan was not carried out.

A comment on this proceeding found in connection with the narrative reads as follows: "It appears as though Satan had come down to fight against the Redeemer's kingdom with great violence and has many supporters; particularly the French and English traders."

A day or two after his arrival and settlement, the chiefs and young men came to visit the missionary and he laid his plans before them and after the meal and the usual custom of smoking their pipes they considered the matter together and accepted these plans as good for them and expressed themselves very favorable to the project. They gave free consent to the erection of a building anywhere west of the river but stipulated that no land should be improved beyond the reserve land and no other white people should be brought in except those necessary to the carrying on of the mission.

Mention is made of a company of black people at the Upper town living together in the Black Village. There were seven heads of families and many children. A white man by the name of Wright, a silver-smith, married to a colored woman was a member of this community. He afterward left his wife, who is spoken of as being a very estimable woman of careful and industrious habits. These people were eager listeners to the preaching that was provided them from time to time and became deeply interested in all that the missionary attempted to do for them. The result was that they learned to read and to do things about the house and in the fields that brought them real prosperity as prosperity was rated in that time and place.

Priest Badger's labors among the Wyandots from Upper Sandusky to Maguago, six miles below Detroit, was very ar-

duous and fatiguing. He was exposed to inclement weather and the annoyances of camping out in disagreeable places and traveling over rough and dangerous grounds, but the opportunities afforded for doing good among a simple minded people were very great and gratifying. The opposition to this work was not found among the Indians themselves except as they were deceived and bewildered by the traders who came among them to despoil them of their belongings. The wonderful influence gained over them by the generous, unselfish treatment they had at the hands of Priest Badger and others who lived among them as he did, brought marvelous results in their conduct and manner of dealing with one another. Persuaded to abstain from intoxicating liquor, as mentioned in forewords, brought them to a state of mind where they could see for themselves that they were being robbed by these deceivers so they made it so uncomfortable for them that they ceased to visit them. Gov. Hull was visited in Detroit, and he gave sanction to the work Mr. Badger was doing.

This sort of work, educational and religious, was the daily task through the years of 1806 and 1807. The educational work branching from teaching them how to read and write and calculate in figures to the practical tasks which they would perform in the getting of their sustenance under a constantly changing order of things.

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The record contains evidences that the circuit over which Mr. Badger traveled stretched from Detroit as far south as Franklin on the Scioto; that he had intimate acquaintance with all the noted chiefs of the time; and that he was their constant advisor in times of emergency. Two or three visits to Franklin and the home of Tarhe on the Scioto are referred to. He mentions the Whetstone, now known as the Olentangy River. He says in one place that his preaching places were more than one hundred miles apart. This would indicate that he followed these wanderers about from place to place and ministered to their needs not only as a spiritual guide but also as a physician and teacher in the books as well as in the art of agriculture.

On one of his visits to Franklin he speaks of preaching on the Sabbath in Worthington and twice in Franklin. This was in

February of 1808. At that time he also carried a message to Crane who was at that time growing old and was seriously ill. He speaks of him as being very ill and feeble, but he lived ten years after this.

In the autumn of 1808 he took his wife and journeyed to the New England region where he told the story of his work to the churches and collected several hundred dollars for its prosecution. He remained there till late in the Spring of 1809 and then returned to his field of labor. In that year the rumblings of war terminating in what is known in history as the "War of '12" were heard all over the country and the final battles of that war were to be fought on the very territory over which he was doing his work for the native tribes.

As mentioned early in the narrative, Mr. Badger was bitterly opposed to war, but he, like most men who have had the Christian Missionary spirit, was caught in the maelstrom of militant forces, where to utter protest was to invite the contumely of the multitude and the powers that rule. Nevertheless he withheld no word that he felt needed to be uttered as expressive of his prophet office as a messenger of peace to all the world. His counsel to the Indian tribes was always on the side of peace. On the other hand the malevolent influences of designing politicians and greedy exploiters were leading these people into the paths of recklessness that meant their final undoing.

An incident showing his characteristics in this particular is related a little further on in the narrative. The incident occurred while his family was in Ashtabula and where he was at intervals. Buffalo had been set on fire and intelligence had been carried up the lake that the British were going to march on Erie to destroy the vessels that were then in process of building and then to proceed farther west along the lake shore. The people of the village were in consternation. Men and women were flying about getting their belongings together, to flee they knew not where. It was the man that they had called chicken-hearted because he hated war that became the man of the hour in the trying experience. The company who had shown so well on dress parade a few hours before, with the exception of the captain refused to turn out in the face of danger. Mr. Badger



made fun of them and turned the tables on them by arraigning them as chicken-hearted and mounting his horse he dared them to follow him. "You have called me an old Tory but let us now see who is willing to give himself in defense of his country when a real call comes." The result of this action spurred many of them to march toward Erie but they had not gone far till the order was countermanded.

In October 1809, while his family was yet living in Austinburg, a disastrous night fire destroyed their home. This was not only a great loss to them but it inconvenienced Mr. Badger for the time very seriously. A few months afterward the family removed to Ashtabula where he erected a house, a part of which is still standing.

In June of 1810 he was among the Indians again helping them to work out plans for their own advancement and preservation.

Mention is made again of great excitement among the Indians over the subject of Witchcraft. Their chieftains had designated several of their number as guilty of the crime as they thought of it. A peaceful Indian, known as Leatherlips, was one of those accused and he was made to suffer the penalty imposed on all such. The story of Leatherlips is known to all the readers of Ohio historical papers. This year of 1916 the writer, in company with the Daughters of the Revolution, visited the spot where he was executed, or as Mr. Badger says, murdered, and where on the banks of the Scioto River, fourteen miles north of Columbus a beautiful monument marks his grave. There is little doubt that Priest Badger was near at hand when this tragedy occurred. It was only a part of the greater tragedy which involved all the tribes who were then inhabiting the beautiful Ohio country and whose action resulted in just what the white prophet foretold. His language in an address to a large assembly gathered in council will bear quoting:

"I hope war will not take place. It will be a great calamity both to the red man and the white. I have some advice to give you as to the course you should take in case war should come. Listen my children! You are now living very happily on the lands occupied for many years by your fathers who now lie in



their graves near you. This is a good land, well fitted for your support. Here you can hunt and fish and cultivate your fields and raise an abundance of corn. You are under no obligation to sell it and while you remain at peace with the government at Washington you will not be driven from it. If war should break out between the British and the United States and you should join the British, many of you will be killed in the contest and you will forfeit your favor and rights with the rulers at Washington, and they will doubtless feel illy disposed toward you as a consequence.

"The Americans laid the British on their back in a former war and will do it again, for America is much stronger now than it was then. If this comes to pass your land will be taken from you and you will be driven still farther away from the home of your fathers. This is good land and many people would like to have it, and war begets a spirit that forages on those who become its victim. My advice is that you stay out of the war, taking part with neither the British nor the Americans. The Americans are not asking you to fight for them, but they do expect that you will not help the other side. If the war reaches you here go back to some of the settlements farther south till after it is over. Then you can return to your homes and take up your pursuits as before. Thus your women and your children will be safe and you will all be happy."

Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet of the Shawnees, were doing all they could to keep the Indians in a state of hostility toward the Americans. These men felt personal grievances, no doubt, but there is reason to believe that they were well paid by the British for their influence lent in behalf of that government during those troublous years. Few men even among the white race stand out more prominently in the annals of the West than do these two strong members of the Indian race. St. Clair, Wayne and Harrison found in these men foes to be dreaded not only because of their sometimes cruel methods of warfare, but for their genuine ability in the art and strategy of war. They were real marshals and would have graced high station among the leaders of men anywhere.

While Mr. Badger makes no mention of having met these warriors he does speak of many of their compeers with whom he was on friendly terms.

With his home and family in Ashtabula he spent the years of 1810 to 1812 preaching everywhere and doing a little business in the book trade. This did not prove a very profitable venture because of the difficulty in getting anything in the way of freight or luggage transported west from Buffalo. We are forcibly reminded at the time this is written of the condition then not at all unlike conditions now over a widely extended territory, where with embargoes and merchant ship interference and foreign demand, the prices at home have been soaring. He speaks of salt being from twelve to twenty-three dollars per barrel, and all other merchandise in proportion. The result of this was to check the increase in population for the time being.

About the first of October 1812, the troops began to be called upon to move in the direction of hostilities. The grounds over which they were to move covered the region in which the missionary had done his work.

"A scout, passing over the outlet of the Sandusky to the peninsula, had a brush with the Indians and a number were severely injured, others were soon taken sick. Several officers wrote me urging me to come to the scene of the trouble."

In response to this call as recorded in the diary, Mr. Badger went to the region of the Sandusky and the Maumee purposing to stay about three weeks. He says further: "Found both the sick and the wounded in a bad condition. I secured help and made the block-house comfortable and provided bunks and regular attendants. In a few days General Harrison came."

Without being consulted he was appointed chaplain to the brigade and postmaster to the army. A chaplain's commission soon came and so he felt constrained to remain. In November they were ordered to march to Sandusky. There was no one in the camp who had ever gone over the road but the chaplain. I quote here the language of the diary once more:

"I observed to the General, that to pass through on the Indian path with teams would be wholly impracticable on account of the deep mire and swampy ground. He replied, 'Can

you find a better route?' I told him I could and mostly on dry ground. He proposed that I should take a guard of about twenty men and several axemen and mark through where I thought the army could pass with heavy teams and wagons. I went through in five days, marked out the road and returned. On the last day there was a heavy snow storm. I then piloted the army through in three days. The Indians were on every hand. They killed one man just a mile below the fort on the day we arrived."

In February of the following year, 1813, the army proceeded to the Maumee country, and Fort Meigs was erected. Soon after this Major Whittlesey was taken ill and Mr. Badger took him into his own tent and tended to his wants; his past experience in the war of the Revolution and among the Indians standing him in good stead. The illness was of a severe type and except for the fine ability of Dr. Stonard of the Virginia line and the faithful nursing of the chaplain the career of the Major had ended at that time. The Major had just begun his convalescence when word came of the serious illness of Mr. Badger's two sons. One of these bearing the name of his father, died and was buried in the old cemetery at Ashtabula. Mr. Badger had turned over the Army postal service to another, but in May word reached him at his home that the siege of the Fort had begun with General Proctor leading the British and Indians. He was at Sandusky when General Harrison returned from the siege. On the next day he was sent to the Fort with the mail and remained with the soldiers until in the month of July when he went back to his family, and to preaching in the churches.

In August 1818, he was called to endure the sorrowful affliction of another death in his family and this time it was as severe an affliction as falls to the lot of man. His good and faithful wife was taken ill suddenly and lived but a short time.

He had reached the age of 61 and felt at the time that his work was almost done. Already he had accomplished what few men are able to do in a long lifetime. But his physical strength had not abated and for seventeen years more he was to preach the Gospel and help organize churches, and then ten more years he was to suffer in silence, his voice having failed him entirely.

But what he could not do through his voice he attempted to do by means of his pen, and a volume might be filled with the letters and communications that were found after his death.

He continued to fill pastorates in the Western Reserve, mostly in Ashtabula and Trumbull counties. The last ten years



Grave of Joseph Badger  
Perrysburg Cemetery.

were lived at Maumee and Perrysburg, towns famous because of their proximity to the battlefields of the War of 1812 in which he had a conspicuous part.

If at three o'clock on an August afternoon the shadow of the Fort Meigs Monument could extend the length of a half mile its point would rest on the grave where has rested his dust in



the Perrysburg cemetery since 1846. The stone slab which marks the grave was erected by the Northwest Synod of Ohio, and bears the inscription

REV. JOSEPH BADGER

First Missionary

to the

Western Reserve.

Born in Massachusetts in 1757.

Died in Perrysburg, Ohio, 1846.

ADDENDUM.

In reading "Life among the Indians" by Rev. James Finley, the Methodist Missionary, who worked among the Wyandot Indians after 1815, I have been curious to know why no mention is made of the work done by Mr. Badger and one or two other ministers who antedated his coming by at least ten years.

In the chapter in which he tells about John Stewart, the Mulatto revivalist, he says: "While they (the Indians) were in this degraded condition, God remembered them, and sent them the word of eternal life. Not by the learned missionary, but by John Stewart, a colored man, of no learning, 'that the excellency might be of God and not of man!'"

The degraded condition here mentioned, Finley credits to the character of the religious instruction imparted by the Roman Catholics through many years. He seems to have heard nothing about Badger or else was the victim of a prejudice which prevailed universally at that time which banished from notice any commendable work other than that done by one's own denomination.

We are loth to feel at this date, that any such spirit could ever control the followers of Christ, but it has proven true in so many instances more recent than then, that we can imagine, at least, that it might have had something to do with the omission. Without doubt credit must be given to Joseph Badger as the first missionary in the Western Reserve and among the Wyandot Indians of Ohio.

## MEMOIR OF ANTOINE LAFORGE.

A Gallipolis Manuscript (1790)

(Translated from the original French by Laurence J. Kenny, S. J. St. Louis University.)

The accompanying document is a copy of a manuscript heirloom that has been cherished for more than a century among the descendents of Pierre Antoine Laforge, one of the early French settlers of Gallipolis. It brought them into possession of the "modest inheritance" referred to at its close, and it has given substance and vraisemblance to the tales of pioneer days told around the wintry firesides of several old Missouri homes, and especially to the story of their lost-and-found-grandsire.

The student of Ohio history will also find interest in the document. It is of no small historic value; not that it affords many new data, but for the reason that certain misconceptions, which have gained currency with the years, will be completely discredited in the light of its first-hand evidence.

For instance, all our historians, in explaining the breaking-up of the settlement, dwell upon what McMaster denominates a "most shameful piece of land-jobbery". There is perfect unanimity among these writers in ascribing the disruption of the colony to the invalidity of the emigrants' titles to their homes. The present document, on the contrary, lets us into the mind of one of the leading colonists, where we find no trace of worry over invalid land titles, but there is pain and worry a-plenty over another matter. His hopes and fears and those of his associates are exposed to our view; and we find there a difficult, yet an all-sufficient, reason to account for the removal of the settlers from the banks of the Beautiful River of that date. The Indians, by whom they were completely surrounded, were on the war-path; General St. Clair, sent to repress them, had been defeated; some of the French colonists themselves had fought as officers under St. Clair; and it was too much to expect

that savages would not attack a settlement that was furnishing recruits to their foes. The fear of the savages, especially in the hearts of men, who had brought their wives and children into the primeval wilderness, was motive enough to make them look wistfully towards the alluring promises of a happier home in colonies of brighter prospects that were springing up sporadically just then throughout the land from Maine to Texas.

When we are once put right on this point, that it was the fear of savage violence and not defective land titles which chiefly effected the dispersal of the Gallipolis colonists, it is strange how clear and convincing a confirmation of our new view is afforded by a glance at the condition of the adjacent American colony of Marietta. Let it be remembered that the Marietta pioneers had persevered for years in a colony whose land titles were similarly uncertain. This insecurity scarcely forms an item in their story. In regard to the Indians however the two settlements were very dissimilarly situated. Marietta was under the guns of Fort Harmar, and behind it to the east were several other American settlements; Gallipolis had only citizen soldiery, and was completely enveloped by lurking places for the savages. When its little stockage for two years, even men like Laforge thought of other lands. All this shows the steel-like strength of those who remained and who in their descendents were welded into the fusion that made the Ohio of today.

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After the perusal of the document, the reader will wonder what was the fate of Laforge, his wife, and their four children.

When his grand-uncle, Preau, the Notary Public of Paris, was penning the document in search of him (1797), he was living happily with his family, his wife, two boys and two girls, all except the little Prudence Francois—in the Spanish town of New Madrid, in the present state of Missouri. One of the most precious pieces of early Missouri history is a lengthy letter from his pen addressed to the local Commandant, to which a census of New Madrid, the names of all the inhabitants, is attached. The letter is dated 1796. With these he also sent a map of the town “made after the last abrasion of the Mississippi”. We have a map that seems to be the one referred to, which bears

the date, April, 1794. If this is Laforge's drawing, we lose sight of him for that four months, and he cannot have gone far on his contemplated trip back to Paris.

He may have reached New Orleans, and there have learned for the first time of the Reign of Terror, and that Royalists like himself were in greater jeopardy in France than in the midst of the savages of Ohio. He may have met on his way the Baron of Bastrop who was just at this time attracting settlers to a new colony near the present city of Monroe, Louisiana; or he may have come upon the Marquis of Maison Rouge, a rival in the same industry. Both of these had their eyes on the Gallipolis colony in particular. But it is more likely that he encountered DeLassus who had left Gallipolis a few months before to examine the prospects at New Madrid, painted so glowingly by Peter Andrain and J. B. Tardiveau. Carondelet, the Spanish Governor, had given these two the sum of \$2,500 to be expended in bringing a hundred families to Missouri from Gallipolis, which, writes Carondelet, would have been a most flourishing colony, if the United States had afforded "all the protection which the colonists had expected."

Missouri was singularly fortunate in the men who came hither from the Gallipolis colony. To name a few: Doctor Antoine Saugrain has been the subject of publications by two historical societies, yet most of the general accounts of the Ohio-French colony make jest of the man who spent his time in "making thermometers". His St. Louis descendants to this day have inherited his propensity towards the natural sciences, and are still among the leaders in those lines. Luziere was one of the "Company of 24" in Paris, who undertook to finance the Scioto colonization scheme. He was a close friend of Carondelet, the Governor at this time of the whole Louisiana Territory, and a man of equally eminent ability. It would withdraw us from our main topic to stop to consider what might have been the effect on American history, if the Gallipolis colony (with nothing west of it as far as the Pacific ocean but other French colonies) had proven anything of the success that Luziere and its other founders anticipated. Joel Barlow wrote from Paris that 500,000 Frenchmen might go out to Ohio. One can-



not but rejoice that these high hopes were not realized. This Luziere is known as DeLassus in Missouri history. To the present day, his name and that of his son are mentioned only with affection here. It fell to the latter to be the representative of Spain on that eventful "Day of the Three Flags" when the Stars and Stripes were first raised over this western empire, then known as Upper Louisiana. Another notable member of the Gallipolis colony who came to Missouri was the Reverend Peirre Joseph Didier, who for seven years, 1792-9, was almost the sole pastor of this boundless parish. It will redound forever to the honor of Gallipolis that it was the home of the first Benedictine priest in the United States, and this the more so, as that Benedictine was a member of the Congregation of St. Maur, celebrated throughout the world for its eminent learning. Didier held episcopal power in Ohio, but seems never to have exercised it in deference to the Bishop of Baltimore with whose jurisdiction there might have been confusion. Other Gallipolis names in early Missouri records are: Picart, soon evolving into Peters; Cadot; Michau; and Vanderbenden. This last was an engineer of notable ability. It is a curious contrast to read in some of the fanciful accounts of the Ohio colony of the inability of the settlers to cut down a tree, and to learn from authentic history that men of fine engineering talent were in the party. Vanderbenden was chosen in 1797 to erect the fortifications of St. Louis. But none of these persons proved a greater asset to Missouri than the subject of this document. Houck, the most painstaking historians of Missouri, says of Laforge:

"His education, intelligence, and great common sense, energy, public spirit, and literary ability soon secured him a prominent and leading position. He was an officer of the militia, commissioner of the police, syndic, and executed many confidential missions for the several commandants. His report of the condition of New Madrid, published in 1796, and to which we have hitherto made reference, shows his keen, observing mind, and the relentless logic with which he could condemn the lethargy and want of enterprise of his own immediate countrymen and the Canadian French, and the admiration he felt for American enterprise and energy. After the acquisition of Louisiana he was appointed Civil Commandant."

Missouri had its land troubles as well as Ohio. Troubles in such matters do not seem to have disheartened Laforge. We find in the U. S. State Papers that a tract of 1,140 acres which had been cultivated by Laforge's six slaves was adjudged by the U. S. Land Commissioners in 1806, as not to be conceded to him "for want of actual inhabitation and cultivation by clamant himself."

At the time of the famous New Madrid earthquake in 1811, Laforge was sick; and he died as the result of exposure. His numerous descendents have been among the most useful citizens of Missouri. A village near his old home bears his name.

MEMOIRE OF CITIZEN AND CITIZENESSE LAFORGE WHO WENT OUT  
TO GALLIPOLIS<sup>2</sup> ON THE BORDERS OF THE SCIOTO IN 1790.

Pierre Antoine Laforge and Margueritte Gabrielle Colombe Champagne his wife were carrying on a haberdashery store in Paris, but not having been successful in business, they were compelled to abandon it.

Towards the close of 1789 they read in the public papers the announcement that a great stretch of land was for sale at a very low price on the borders of the Scioto in the United States of North America, and they determined to go out as pioneers. They purchased 2 or 300 acres of the uncultivated soil. They embarked at Havre (on the ship Patriot, Captain Legros,) on the 19th of February, 1790, to go and take possession and establish themselves there with their three children. They had a fourth child, still at the breast, but they left it under the guardianship of Cne. Rapeau, the mother of C. Laforge. They took workmen with them to clear the land and to build; and they equipped themselves with tools and agricultural instruments.

On their arrival in America, C. Laforge hastened to write to his mother, Cne. Rapeau. This letter was dated at Alexandria in Virginia, May 25th, 1790.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I shall use C. and Cne, as on the MSS henceforth in the translation. These were the Parisian designations of 1797. It will be seen below that Laforge requests his mail to be address to M. Laforge.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS so spells the name of the colony.

<sup>3</sup> "Wellsburg on the river Ohio, October 1, 1790," is written and erased.

In another letter, dated at Gallipolis, first city of the Scioto, January 7th, 1790, he says they have reached the lands of the Company of the Scioto (October 20th, 1790) at the place destined for the establishment of the first city, which they have agreed to call Gallipolis, i. e., City of the French, as the colony is composed of none but Frenchmen. He signs this letter: Laforge, judge of the police and of the peace of the city of Gallipolis.

By another letter written from Gallipolis March 28th, 1792, he recommends that in writing to him they address their letters in care of M. Lemegre, merchant in Philadelphia, to be forwarded to M. Laforge at Gallipolis on the Ohio, by way of M. Marie of Pittsburgh.

He frequently speaks of the savages or Indians, their close neighbors, who give them great uneasiness.

After drawing the most smiling tableaux of the country chosen by the colony he adds: We cannot hide from ourselves that all this fair perspective may vanish like a dream; that our fate is in the hands of the Indians who are able at a blow either to crush us or to pursue us from this pleasant land. Several establishments near to us have already undergone this sad lot and have perished either by fire or by the sword. All the Americans are jealous of us, and are astonished at our apparent security and at the tranquillity of the Indians in our regard. In fact, they have so far deprived us of but one of our number, whom they have taken captive. But they can at any minute they please make us pay dearly for the moment of peace they leave us. It is said that as a general rule they are not accustomed to do evil to the French, that they love us and they respect us, and they call us their fathers, because they think they are descended from French blood. But this opinion all advantageous as it may appear to us, causes us no illusion; all the more since we know that the blows of the savages are directed by diplomatists, by the English, who will not fail to tell them that we have become subjects of America as residents in that government, and as such we shall be obliged to espouse the cause of the Americans against them."

In another place he says that an army composed of Americans and commanded by General Arthur St. Clair had lately attacked the savages, there had been several vigorous actions but no decisive one; but that on the whole the Americans had had the worst of it. Just after his arrival at the Scioto, he saw General Arthur St. Clair and the American army going up the Ohio on the way to New York<sup>4</sup> to render an account of their small success. They intended to return down the river in the springtime of 1792 with a much larger army to harass the Indians and compel them to remain tranquil.

In another letter dated Gallipolis, August, 1792, Laforge returns continually with anxiety to the subject of the Indians: It is necessary to tell you — he says to his mother — that a very great injury to the success of all the settlements in this country is the fact that the Americans are at war with the Indians who surround us, and that the war is fostered and nourished by England, who supplies the savages with arms, munitions and even with officers to lead them. The last campaign was very unfortunate for the American army, which was cut to pieces, soldiers and officers; an event that has given us much uneasiness and fills us with fear of hostility of the savages who surround us on all sides. “Still they have left us at peace up to the present. But we do not dare to leave our village where we have erected a fort for retreat in case of an attack.”

“Of the 500 who came here in the beginning, we are now not more than 200; because some had not sufficient patience while others were driven away by fear. And as to those who remain, more than half are arranging to move away at the earliest opportunity.”

In another letter dated Gallipolis, December 25th, 1792, he thanks his mother for two letters he had received from her, and he tells her that both he and his wife wish to see her again, and that they intend to return to France; but there is a great debate between them as to which of them will make the voyage first. He feels that it will be he for the reason that his wife has lately given birth to a child which is being nursed at present.

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<sup>4</sup> New York city was at this time the seat of Congress.



This letter was the last that C. Laforge wrote his mother.

Henceforth all communications are from Cne Laforge to Cne Rapeau her mother-in-law. On June 24th, 1794, she writes from Gallipolis that her husband left Gallipolis on the 18th of December, 1793, to descend the beautiful river (the Ohio) as far as New Orleans, to embark there for Philadelphia, and finally to set sail for France to see his family; that she does not know what route he followed, that for the last seven months she is alone to conduct the labors of the estate. She gives an account of her little family, two boys and two girls; and she tells her in writing to address her in care of M. Lemegre, merchant at Philadelphia.

After this letter, that is, for something more than three years, no news has reached France of either the husband or the wife.

C. Laforge according to the letter of his wife was to have embarked at Philadelphia to return to France about the beginning of the year 1794. Whereas Cne. Laforge remained at Gallipolis on the banks of the Ohio, with her four children.

Our desire is to secure information of this family.

C. Laforge did not return to France, as his wife's letter announced; and if we recall that he wrote very long and very frequent letters to his mother before this period, there is room to fear that he had perished either on the way from Gallipolis to Philadelphia or between Philadelphia and France.

M. Lemaigre,<sup>5</sup> the Philadelphia merchant, with whom he seems to have had business, might be able to throw some light on the situation: if C. Laforge reached Philadelphia he would scarcely have failed to see him, and one might learn from him whether he sailed for France, the time of the sailing, the name of the ship, and what has been the fate of the ship.

As to Cne Laforge and her four children in Gallipolis, the silence she has maintained since the 26th of June, 1794, justifies

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<sup>5</sup> "Lemegre," "Lemaigre," and "LeMaigre" appear in the MSS. Tho it is hard to say for certain that the M is a capital anywhere. I have not followed the capitalization of the original, where France, for instance, always appears with a small "f".

the fear that some harm has reached her household, that the savages or Indians perhaps of whom her husband spoke in his letters, who menaced them incessantly, and gave them so much uneasiness, have at length possessed themselves of Gallipolis and either exterminated the inhabitants or led them into captivity.

Doubtless it is known in New York what has become of the French colony of Gallipolis; they must know whether it exists still or has been destroyed. In the first supposition they must know over there what has become of Cne. Laforge, wife of C. Laforge, judge of the police and of the peace of Gallipolis, and what has been the fate of their four children. In the other case, it should be a matter of general knowledge how and when the destruction of the colony took place, and whether there is any hope still for the survival of its inhabitants.

We earnestly entreat those persons into whose hands this memoire may fall to assure themselves if at all possible of the existence or non-existence of the Laforge family. In case of their existence, to have the individuals who survive to communicate with C. Preau, Notary Public at the Rue de la Monnoye, Paris; and in the contrary supposition, to secure evidence, if it can be had, of their decease, either by death certificates, or by acts of a notary, and to send them to C. Preau at the address given above.

C. Preau is cousin-german of both the husband and wife; he is their uncle a la mode Bretagne,<sup>6</sup> \* \* \* and by this relationship he was made guardian of their daughter Prudence Frances Laforge, who remained in France.

There has fallen to C. Laforge the succession to the estate of C. Rapeau, his mother, who after having survived her husband, died on August 2d, 1797. This succession altho modest cannot be but of use to C. Laforge, who if he survives must have his wants.

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<sup>6</sup> Written and erased.

## THE BALLAD OF 'JAMES BIRD.'

ITS AUTHORSHIP

BY C. B. GALBREATH.

In a contribution entitled "The Battle of Lake Erie in Ballad and History," the writer of this article, in 1911, related the story of James Bird and reproduced the old ballad commemorating his heroic service on board the *Lawrence* and his



CHARLES MINER.

tragic death a year later, for desertion, on the *Niagara*. In commenting on this quaint, pathetic ballad, it was assumed to have been "written by a bard unlearned and unknown, but not without the gift to tell his story well", and this positive statement was made:

"Who wrote it is not known. As a local historian observes, the author was apparently familiar with the true story of Bird's home."

The contribution to which reference is here made was published in the Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications, Volume XX, pages 415 to 456. The purpose of the present article is to make known the fact that the author of the ballad is no longer "unknown". The assumption that he was "unlearned" must be set aside. The surmise that he was well acquainted with the family of Bird is fully verified as we shall presently see.

There is now passing through the press a book entitled, "Charles Miner, a Pennsylvania Pioneer",\* written by Mrs. Elizabeth Richardson of Boston, through whose courtesy the proof sheets relating to the "Ballad of James Bird" are now before the writer. Charles Miner was the author of the ballad. The evidence of this is so complete as to leave no room for question.

And who was Charles Miner? The full answer, of course, is to be found in Mrs. Richardson's book, of which only a few proof sheets are at hand. We learn from other sources, however, that he was born in Norwich, Connecticut, about the year 1780, that when a boy of nineteen, he moved with his father to Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania; that he subsequently edited there the "*Federalist*", a newspaper devoted, as its name indicates, to politics. The name of the paper was changed in 1811 to the "*Gleaner*". Mr. Miner represented his district in Congress from 1825 to 1829. He was author of a history of Wyoming and was "one of the first men in the country to introduce and write upon the silk growing industry".

He was author of an expression that has found a permanent place in our language. That expression is, "an axe to grind." Here it is with its context:

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\* This book is now in print. It is republished, with additions, from the Proceedings of the Wyoming (Pennsylvania) Historical and Genealogical Society, and makes a substantial volume of 195 pages, including 5 pages of index.



"When I see a merchant over-polite to his customers, begging them to take a little candy and throwing half his goods on the counter,—thinks I, that man has an axe to grind."

"An axe to grind" fills a distinctive place in our vernacular, and we may well wonder how our Revolutionary forefathers got along without it. Is it possible that there were in those days not so many axes to grind?

Mr. Miner published, in his paper, the *Gleaner*, late in 1814, "the Ballad of James Bird." As published there, it contains one stanza that does not appear in Volume XX of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications, page 419. It should follow the eighth stanza on that page and reads:

"Soon he came when noble Perry  
Had assembled all his fleet;  
There the gallant Bird enlisted,  
Hoping soon the foe to meet."

This stanza appears in other prints of the ballad, and it probably was unintentionally omitted in copying for republication. Other variations from the original are not material.

Fortunately Mr. Miner, himself, left an account of the incidents set forth in the ballad. In the *Gleaner* of April 28, 1815, he wrote:

"At the commencement of the late war, a company of men from Kingston, in this county, under the command of Captain Thomas, volunteered their services to the government. When the fatal disaster befell our army under Gen. Hull of Detroit, and large reinforcements were wanted, the Kingston Volunteers were called upon to do their tour of duty. They marched with alacrity, and remained under the command of General Harrison, until the reduction of Upper Canada rendered it prudent to dispense with their further services.

"Among the volunteers was a young man by the name of James Bird, aged about twenty years; he was born in Exeter, where his parents now reside. Bird enlisted in the Marines while at Erie, and in the memorable engagement of September 10th served on board the *Lawrence*, under the immediate command of Commodore Perry."

"The following notice of his conduct in the engagement was derived from Mr. Carkhuff, one of the Volunteers, and appears in the *Gleaner* of Nov. 26, 1813:—

"James Bird, son of Mr. J. Bird, of Exeter, was on board the *Lawrence* with the gallant Perry on the glorious tenth of September. The battle raged—many a poor fellow fell around him—Bird did his duty like a hero. Towards the close of the engagement, a cannister shot struck him on the shoulder as he was stooping to his gun. He was instantly covered with blood, and his officer ordered him below. He ventured to disobey, preferring to do duty while he had life, to abandoning his post. But the blood flowed so fast that another order was issued to go below. He ran down—got a hasty bandage on the wound, came again on deck, and although his left arm was useless, yet he handed cartridges, and performed the utmost service in his power with his right, until the stars and stripes waved gloriously, victorious over the foe'."

After thus quoting from Mr. Carkhuff, Mr. Miner continues:

"The following extract of a letter from Bird, will speak for itself, and show the vicissitudes of fortune, attending a state of war. I called on his parents for the letter. His father was not at home,—the anguish and the tears of his mother made me almost regret that I had mentioned the painful subject. If you, reader, had been there, I think you would have agreed with me, that the public ought to reap great and certain benefits from a war that creates so many causes of private grief,—I do not mean to complain of any officer, or of any man, but I could not help thinking that the bravery and good conduct of Bird in the battle, might have plead for his pardon. Hull gave up a whole army, yet he was pardoned. Brack murdered poor Dixon, but was not sentenced to die. Bird had performed more service than either, and his crime was much less injurious or malignant, but there was no pardon for him. It was the fortune of war. Indeed war is a cruel monster, at least I thought so when I reflected on the death of the brave Bird, and saw his mother's tears. But I detain you from the letter:—

'DEAR PARENTS,

'I take my pen in hand to write a few words to you which will bring bad news; but do not lament, nor make sad moans for the loss of your first beloved and dearest son James.

'Dear Parents, brothers and sister, relations and friends, I do write to you a most sad and dismal letter, such as never before came from any of your beloved children. I have often sat down and wrote a few lines to you with pleasure; but I am sorry at present to let you know my sad and deplorable situation. I am the most miserable and desolate child of the family,—Dear Parents, let my brothers and sister read this letter, for it is the last they can ever receive from my hand, for by the laws of our country I am doomed and sentenced to death, for deserting from the marines at Lake Erie, and am now confined on board the United States brig *Niagara*.

'And O! loving Parents, my time is but short here on earth. I have but a few moments to make my peace with my Maker,—I leave you only for a short time here in this most troublesome world; but I hope that by constant prayer, we shall meet in the world above to part no more.'

"(The remaining part of the letter consists of urgent and pressing requests to his friends to prepare for their end, and in expressions of a lively hope of salvation for himself.)

'I remain your most affectionate and beloved son until death; so Amen, This from me,

'November the 9th, 1814.

JAMES BIRD.'

"Soon after the receipt of this letter, there came another from an officer on board the squadron stating the execution of Bird, the next day. So perished as brave a soldier as belonged to the army."

It will be seen that Mr. Miner wrote with strict fidelity to the facts as he understood them. Here are the concluding stanzas of the ballad as they originally appeared:

And did Bird receive a pension?  
Was he to his friends restored?  
No; nor never to his bosom  
Clasped the maid his heart adored.

But there came most dismal tidings  
From Lake Erie's distant shore;  
Better far if Bird had perished  
Midst the battle's awful roar.

"Dearest Parents," said the letter,  
"This will bring sad news to you;  
Do not mourn your first beloved,  
Though this brings his last adieu.

"I must suffer for deserting  
From the brig *Niagara*;  
Read this letter, brothers, sister,  
'Tis the last you'll hear from me."

Sad and gloomy was the morning  
Bird was ordered out to die;  
Where's the breast not dead to pity  
But for him would heave a sigh?

Lo! he fought so brave at Erie,  
Freely bled and nobly dared;  
Let his courage plead for mercy,  
Let his precious life be spared.

See him march and bear his fetters;  
Hark! they clank upon the ear;  
But his step is firm and manly,  
For his heart ne'er harbored fear.

See him kneel upon his coffin,  
Sure his death can do no good;  
Spare him! spare! O God, they shoot him!  
Oh! his bosom streams with blood.

Farewell Bird, farewell forever;  
Friends at home he'll see no more;  
But his mangled corpse lies buried  
On Lake Erie's distant shore.

In the contribution entitled "The Battle of Lake Erie in Ballad and History", what purports to be the true history of James Bird was evidently gathered from the government authorities who were responsible for his arrest and execution. The story presented here is from the viewpoint of Bird's relatives and neighbors. Both are necessary to a just and impartial view. In many features the two accounts agree. In matters of controversy, the reader will come to his own conclusion. But, even at this late date, there will be general regret that Bird's heroic service in the battle of Lake Erie did not "plead for mercy," stay the stern hand of the executioner and restore him to his home and friends.



## THE COONSKIN LIBRARY.

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BY SARAH J. CUTLER, MARIETTA.

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Among the hills of southern Ohio in that portion now included in the county of Athens the sound of the woodman's axe broke oftentimes the forest quiet during the winter of 1797-98. A vigorous pioneer was making a clearing upon a few acres of ground and building a log cabin to which to bring his family.

For miles around the unbroken forest stretched away. Huge sycamores traced the courses of the streams, while beech, oak, maple, hickory and walnut covered the lowlands and hill-sides with their vigorous growth. To make the preliminary clearing was no light task. The sturdy arm of Lieutenant George Ewing, the wielder of the axe, needed to use all its strength against the giant hardwoods of this primeval forest. Under this luxuriant growth, the quick eye of a young New Englander had seen a year before the fertile properties of the soil. From a little settlement on the Muskingum River twenty miles to the northeast he had cut a bridle path through the woods to this place where he owned a large tract of land. This vigorous man of thirty-two years, Ephraim Cutler by name eldest son of Dr. Manasseh Cutler of Hamilton, Mass., had come to the western country in 1795, and now determined to make a permanent settlement on this spot which he found "exceedingly fertile and well watered."

The lands were in the Ohio Company's purchase in that section which is now Ames Township of Athens County. They lay along the course of a tributary of the Hockhocking River which having thirteen branches received from early explorers, so runs tradition, the name of Federal Creek, suggestive of the thirteen colonies now united in one nation.

Ephraim Cutler had engaged in his scheme of settlement Lieutenant George Ewing and Capt. Benjamin Brown, and as

we have seen, Lieut. Ewing built his cabin and moved his family there in March, 1798.

The next year in May, Ephraim Cutler and Capt. Brown, having cleared their little plots of ground and prepared temporary shelter, brought thither too their wives and children. From spring rains the waters of the creeks had been raised sufficiently to solve some problems of transportation. Goods and furniture were loaded on to pirogues and sent to the new home by way of the Muskingum to the Ohio, downward on this river to the mouth of the Hockhocking River, from thence up this stream and Federal Creek to within two miles of the new clearing. The distance traversed by this circuitous route was eighty miles and the time consumed in the journey six or seven days.

The families were brought across country from Waterford twenty miles by a newly cut path through the wilderness, a path which led across creeks swollen in freshet and involved the little party in perilous experiences.

Neighbors, these three families of Brown, Ewing and Cutler called themselves, though from one to two miles apart. But paths were soon cut through the woods to the different homes and in the kindly helpfulness of pioneer life they were closely united.

To the new settlement thus started there came frequent additions until two years later there were in the township, by that time incorporated under the name of Ames, one hundred and sixty-one persons, and steady increase came in the years following. This growing population consisted not alone of men and women, for in the scattered cabins boys and girls were growing up with that vigor of physical development which healthy labor and free range of woods and hills gave in remarkable degree. Many an anxious thought, however, did parents give to the mental training of their children. They secured, whenever possible, the services of a teacher, and as early as 1801 a school was taught by Moses Everett, a young graduate of Harvard, in a room of Ephraim Cutler's house. The subsequent terms of school no doubt were irregular, but one term we know closed on April 13, 1803, for then a quaint little testimonial was drawn

up by the pupils, giving to their teacher, Charles Cutler, another Harvard alumnus and a brother of Ephraim Cutler, their "tribute of thanks", speaking with innocent pride of "the progress we have made under the disadvantages which both you and we have had to encounter", attributing this progress to their teacher's "uncommon skill and unwearied diligence", and concluding with the assurance that "while the vital spark continues to warm our hearts the name of Mr. Cutler shall be had in grateful remembrance by us".

The little group of twenty signed it, the oldest a young man over twenty, but the most of them doubtless lads and lasses of the early teens and the names they subscribed were these: Geo. Ewing, Jr., Abigail Ewing, Sally Ewing, Rachel Ewing, Hannah H. Ewing, Thomas Ewing, John Brown, Richard Lenox, Samuel Brown, Aphia Brown, Patience Brown, Anna Steine, John Boyles, Eleanor Lenox, Joseph Brown, Martin Boyles, Jane H. Ewing, Abraham Lenox, John Lenox, James Lenox.

Some of these no doubt had learned to read during the term just passed, but scanty opportunity would they have to exercise their newly acquired accomplishment.

It is true that Ephraim Cutler took the United States Gazette published in Philadelphia, but that "except by fortunate accident did not arrive much oftener than once in three months," and being by no means even a sixteen page issue, the numbers hardly sufficed for the intellectual food of the settlement though it was loaned far and wide with the liberality of pioneer custom.

Not many books could be brought in the toilsome journey over the mountains and down the rivers to this wilderness. The Bible doubtless was to be found in the scattered cabins, where no other book was owned. Young Thomas Ewing read until he knew almost by heart Watts' Psalms and Hymns and the Vicar of Wakefield; but with all his eagerness to read he could find little else to interest him.

A few spelling books and arithmetics would be a necessity in the school room, though uniformity was not rigidly enforced and a pioneer teacher must perforce use a flexibility in the mat-

ter of school room equipment that would horrify a modern educational precision.

Recalling her early experiences as a country school teacher in the early decades of the last century, an old lady long after used to tell with quiet amusement of a little boy who was sent to school with a theological treatise on predestination as the book from which he was to be initiated into the mysteries of reading and spelling. "And did you do it?" was the astonished query. "Yes", she answered with a little satisfied nod of the head and the ring of triumph in her voice. "Yes, I did it. I taught him to read."

The intellectual need of their growing community was prominent in the thoughts of these busy pioneers. This became evident at a public meeting in the autumn of 1802 called primarily to devise means to improve their roads. This important matter was enough to engross their undivided attention. Their nearest outlet to the older settlement was twenty miles away at the mills on Wolf Creek near its entrance into the beautiful Muskingum. The way thither was as yet but little more than a pack horse trail. Some eight miles west a little settlement was springing up on the banks of Sunday Creek, a tributary of the Hockhocking River, and with these friends and neighbors they particularly desired communication.

The difficulties to be overcome in perfecting these highways and the measure of their own resources therefor needed to be thoroughly canvassed, but nevertheless, their discussions took a wider range.

They had brought with them from their eastern homes those ideas embodied in the famous clause of the Ordinance of 1787. "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

Schools they were indeed ready to sustain whenever practicable, but something more they desired, and to secure for themselves and their children the more liberal culture coming from acquaintance with literature, the suggestion was made that a public library be founded.



It may seem to us now a simple enough proposition, but recalling in imagination the setting given by circumstances we may more justly term it an audacious project. The sturdy men of this group with bronzed faces and toilworn hands, toughened in sinew by wielding the axe and saw, had come to this meeting doubtless wearing their every day homespun and buckskin garments. There was about them no atmosphere of the cloister or study. The log cabin where they met, even though it were the acme of pioneer splendor, a hewn log house, would suggest little connection with art or literature. The forest edge could not be even yet far removed from the house, and happy would be that settler from whose few acres of clearing the giant stumps were all removed.

The nearest neighbors doubtless came on foot, the paltry two or three miles from their homes, but the horses of the more distant travelers from seven or eight miles away would be tethered here and there to the nearby saplings. Incongruities indeed there were between the facts of outward circumstance and this scheme of a public library.

One might suppose, too, that pioneer life would leave little leisure for the use of books if they could be obtained. These pioneers were busy toilers. They had to wrestle against the luxuriance as well as the contrarities of nature. The wild beast of the forest must be subdued, and guard kept against the depredations of Indian hunters. Their wants must be supplied by domestic manufacture, the emergencies of their new life met by their own ingenious contrivances. In spite of all this, however, they would find time to read because they hungered for it, the parents because of what they remembered in their eastern homes, the children because of what they had heard from their elders. They knew that the long winter evenings always came in course when, though many hands must be kept busy with household work, the younger ones could exercise their accomplishments and read aloud to the busy fireside group. And into those cabin kitchens, if candles perchance were lacking, pine knots from the forest could be brought for their lighting.

The greatest practical difficulty was to get any money with which to buy books.

It is hard for us to realize the scarcity of money among these pioneers. Their personal wants were supplied by the products of the forests and the cleared acres. There was but little surplus, and for that little there was no market. All the small settlements about them were in the same condition. Whatever money they obtained must be used for taxes or applied on payments for their land for which many were still in debt. A lad of the settlement, A. G. Brown, said in later years: "So scarce was money that I can hardly remember ever seeing a piece of coin till I was a well-grown boy. It was with difficulty we obtained enough to pay our taxes and buy tea for Mother. As for clothes and other things, we either depended on the forests for them, or bartered for them or did without." The commercial transactions of the settlers were carried on by exchange. It was a notable business venture when a young man raised a little crop of hemp and took it by canoe a distance of some sixty miles on a circuitous route by Federal Creek into the Hockhocking River, down this stream to the Ohio, then up its current to Marietta, where the first colony in the Northwest Territory had been planted some twelve years before. No doubt the small sum of money received therefor seemed to him and his companions a little fortune.

So the financial side of the library project was a very serious matter. Among the plans to solve this problem one proposal met with peculiar favor, especially with the younger men. This suggestion came from Mr. Josiah True of the Sunday Creek settlement. He proposed that they catch coons and send their skins to Boston for sale by Samuel Brown who expected to go East in a wagon before many seasons. The plan was feasible. The skins of bears, raccoons and other animals would find a ready sale for cash. The young men were skillful hunters and wild animals still haunted the adjacent forests in sufficient abundance for their purpose. Indeed the country adjoining the settlement on the north and west was visited by hunting parties of Indians for ten years after this. So, with hopeful plans to busy their thoughts, the little company separated to seek their scattered homes and no doubt the project was one much discussed during the coming months. Thought and speech resulted

in vigorous action. The suggested fur-hunts were carried out and by the time Esquire Samuel Brown was ready for his trip eastward in his wagon, there was some money collected to be put into his hands, and a quantity of peltry to be disposed of for the benefit of the library fund. Thomas Ewing, a lad of fifteen, told in after years that he contributed all his available wealth — "ten coon skins."

So far in this sketch the facts stated are based upon the testimony, recorded in after years, of some of the founders of the library; the local color is in accordance with portrayals of pioneer times given by early settlers. The facts are reliable for accuracy, but very naturally there is a slight confusion as to dates. That meeting of settlers beginning with a road's project and ending in a library discussion is attributed by different authorities to three dates, viz.: the fall of 1801, of 1802, and of 1803. Whichever date is correct it is certain that the careful savings, the venturesome efforts involved in securing money and furs could not hastily be carried through. At this point however we begin to have the evidence of original documents in the history of this library, and a record of dates which is unimpeachable. A battered, timeworn record book with less than a score of yellowed leaves has survived this more than a hundred years and keeps guard yet over its ancient companions on the library shelves. The front page is adorned with a pen drawing where the name of the association and date are given, embellished with scrolls, with trailing vines of rosebuds and leaves and a pile of books in careful perspective. This was drawn by the clerkly pen of Moses Everett, a young graduate of Harvard University and cousin of Ephraim Cutler. With his neat penmanship, too, the laws and regulations are inscribed on the succeeding pages.

Minutes of business transacted at various times are recorded in this book until 1820. After that the stubs of cut out leaves furnish us only with curiosity as to what was recorded thereon, and regret for the ruthless shears. A second blank book takes up the records in 1824 and continues them as long as the library had a public existence. Turning these yellow leaves we find the history of this intellectual venture spread out before us.



The preamble to the laws of the association appears in the following words:

"Considering the many beneficial effects which social libraries are calculated to produce in societies where they are established both as a source of rational entertainment and instruction; we, the subscribers wishing to participate in these blessings agree to form ourselves into a society for this purpose under the title of the Western Library Association in the Town of Ames."

The formal title of the library, The Western Library Association, is here given, but in Ohio it is at present better known by the sobriquet of "The Coonskin Library." It is not known when this title was first bestowed upon it in popular speech. It is, of course, unofficial. Some interested in the library have resented the term, but it is not in the least derogatory. Rather does it give in suggestive phrase a swift vision of that condition of "high thinking with plain living" which was the glory of the early days of our republic. The library was not purchased wholly with coonskins it is true, but the picturesque epithet conveys a truer idea of the peculiarities of its origin than the sedateness of its official title could give us.

It seems by the entries in this record book, that at a meeting held at the house of Christopher Harrold on February 2d, 1804, twenty-five articles were adopted as the rules and regulations of the society.

Very full and precise are these regulations. The value of the shares is placed at \$2.50. An executive committee of three, one of whom was to be the librarian was to be elected annually. The manner in which future members shall be received is carefully specified.

Subscribers are entitled to draw books to the value of two-thirds of their share or shares, the price of each volume being marked upon it. The books are to be drawn out quarterly from the first day of May to the last day of October and monthly thereafter to the last day of April, thus recognizing the busy time of the pioneer and the greater opportunity for reading in the long winter evenings.



To keep up the funds an annual tax of twenty-five cents was laid on the members. The adjusting of fines and penalties make the subject of many of the articles. The regulations seem rather drastic. For instance, a member who shall lend a book to a non-subscriber shall be fined fifty cents for the first offense, suspended from the privilege of drawing books, for the second, and for the third offense shall forfeit his share.

Burns, grease spots, and torn places are rigidly fined according to their dimensions. Thumb marks and ordinary soiling, turned down leaves and fire cracks were given due penalty.

A refusal to pay these fines at the annual meeting of the Association would subject the offender to the loss of his privileges until all arrearages were made up, and if he failed to do this within one year he would forfeit his share.

Failure to return books exactly at the appointed time brings the unhappy delinquent under the fine of fifty cents, no small sum in those days, but probably with a just appreciation of the difficulties of backwoods traveling and the knowledge that with his best efforts the shareholder from seven or eight miles away might be delayed by swollen creeks, fallen trees or bottomless mud holes the provision is made that shall a member "feel himself aggrieved by the decision of the committee he may appeal to the meeting which shall consider of his excuse and may remit the fine." Each member is allowed as many votes as he holds shares and it is also permitted that votes may be given by proxy in all cases" — another side light on the difficulty anticipated in getting to the place of meeting. The money earned by such strenuous efforts to pay for shares was not to be lightly regarded, but held as an investment, so article six provided for the orderly transfer of shares, if desired, to any other resident of the township.

On the whole a more business like and methodical set of regulations could hardly have been drawn. One wonders how rigidly they were afterwards enforced, whether every tear and grease spot was duly measured, and one suspects that with the departure soon after of zealous young college-bred Moses Everett much of the rigor of the rules fell into abeyance. The records show however that sometimes penalties were duly im-

posed and fines paid. Judging from the condition of the original books which have come down through these many decades the books were handled with due respect and care by their readers.

On the second day of February, 1804, these articles were adopted. On April first five persons paid for their shares, viz.: Ephraim Cutler, four shares; Jason Rice, two shares; Sylvanus Ames, two shares; Benj. L. Brown, one share; David Boils (or Boyles), one share. These payments therefore amounted to twenty-five dollars. The rest of the subscribers, apparently, expected to pay for their shares by the sales of furs made for them by Samuel Brown in his proposed trip eastward, for we do not find any receipt of further money until December 17th, 1804, when a long list appears.

Before the middle of August, Samuel Brown was in Boston and its vicinity and had delivered his letters of introduction to the Rev. Thaddeus Harris and the Rev. Manasseh Cutler. These men, well fitted for their task, made selection of the books for the new library. According to the record the purchase was made August 15th, 1804. The number of volumes purchased was fifty-one, the money paid, including some incidental expenses, amounted to \$73.50.

Having finished his business in Boston, Mr. Brown started on his return journey to the Ohio, bearing with him the books so eagerly awaited in the scattered cabins on Federal Creek.

As Mr. Brown brought other articles than the books with him, it is likely that he was still using his light wagon as he passed through New Jersey and Pennsylvania. It is possible, however, that on reaching the Ohio he transferred his luggage to a flat boat for transport down the river to Marietta, whence he might go with horses the rest of his homeward way. At any rate, in the recollection of Thomas Ewing years later he recalled the event, the books finally reached the Ames settlement in a sack on a pack horse. "I was present," he says, "at the untying of the sack and the pouring out of the treasure." The date of the arrival of the books is not recorded, but at a regular meeting of the Association held at the house of Sylvanus Ames on November 17th, 1804, it was formally voted, "to accept

fifty-one books purchased by Samuel Brown as common property of the Association."

At this meeting twelve men are credited with paying for their shares, four paying for two shares each. That so many subscriptions could be paid up at this time is probably due to the settlement which Samuel Brown doubtless made on his return with those who had sent furs by him to the eastern market. The number taking shares the first year was twenty-four.

The following names compose this list to which are added, seven who paid for shares a month later. Daniel Withes [Weethee], Josiah True, Timothy Wilkins, William Green, Martin Boils, Benj. A. Brown, Samuel Brown, Esqr., Samuel Brown, Jr., George Ewing, George Ewing, Jr., Simon Converse, Christopher Harrold, Edna Dorr, Geo. Ewing, Sr., George Wolfe, Nat. Woodbury, Ezra Green and Ames Linscott.

That some of those whose names appear in this list were mighty hunters is well established by trustworthy tradition. A story related in Walker's History of Athens County of Josiah True, the young man who first proposed the sale of skins as a means to raise money for the library, is typical of that pioneer life. "Josiah True and another young man chased a bear into a cave where they succeeded in shooting the animal in a narrow passage, and having fastened a hickory withe to his nose, were about to drag it to the open air. Mr. True entered the cave and got behind the dead bear to assist Tuttle in shoving it out when another bear hitherto unobserved came rushing from the rear end of the cave directly on and over True's back, crushing him down on his face with great violence, and so made its escape out of the cave."

At the meeting of the Association December 17th, 1804, votes were cast for librarian, and to Ephraim Cutler fell the honor of being elected the first incumbent of that office. It must have been a moment of exceeding interest, when, according to vote, the members drew for the order of choice of the books. Who it was who felt the thrill of exultation in drawing first choice, or what he chose, can never be known. The entries



giving such information were on the pages long ago cut out from the record book.

On Jan. 7th, 1805, the first annual meeting in due course was held at the house of Ephraim Cutler, the new librarian. His short tenure of office was lengthened to extend through the year, and Daniel Weethee and Benj. Brown were elected to share with him the duties of the standing committee, whose members by the constitution had entire charge of the library during their tenure of office.

After this orderly beginning the records are given year by year, with but two or three omissions of stated meetings of the Association. Modifications of their original regulations were found necessary more than once, such modifications arising often, it is apparent, from the difficulty of getting about in a country still heavily timbered, with its newly cut roads almost impassable from mud in the winter season.

That taxes and fines were not always promptly paid is quite evident, and resolutions concerning the collection of arrearages not uncommonly appear in the reports of the action of the directors, while lists of delinquents occupy considerable space from time to time in the records. In 1813 at the January meeting it was resolved: "that the shares of all delinquent shareholders failing to settle their arrearages within six months shall be sold at auction," and the order is given for the notification to the shareholders concerned. In course of time it came about that arrearages of several dollars were settled by notes given to the directors.

Honorable and worthy names make up these lists of delinquents and in due time, no doubt, the good folk bearing them paid their just debts, but time was short and hill roads were long, harvest days were busy and winter daylight brief in span while the lure, too, of an ever westering frontier caused removals even from the midst of so young a settlement as Ames. So it is that appreciation of the intelligent interest in the library manifested by the records is more just than criticism of certain failures, and no students of the records now whose ancestors were shareholders, do well to cherish a pharisaic contempt toward these delinquents, for the chances are exceedingly



strong that in these lists will be found the names of these same ancestors. The price of shares first fixed at \$2.50 was raised to \$4.00 in 1819, then to \$5.00 in 1842.

By the time of the annual meeting in 1807 the need for a bookcase was recognized and it was voted to provide one from the funds of the society. At a much later date, in 1853, a vote is recorded to buy a new case, but no record can be found that the resolution was carried out, so it is uncertain whether the case now containing the books was purchased under the first resolution or the last. In its plain severity of outline it might belong to either period.

The record of four years is missing as stated before, but in the fifty-three years of which record is preserved, the librarians appear as follows: Ephraim Cutler, John Brown, Benj. Brown, Ezra Walker, Geo. Walker, Nathaniel Shepard, Sabinus Rice, Henry Brawley, Jason Rice, Geo. Walker, Jr., J. T. Glazier.

Three directors and a treasurer each year were elected and sworn in. Different members of a family frequently served, and the same name often appears. The list viz.: Cutler, Brown, Weethee, Green, Hamilton, Beaumont, Fuller, Ames, Ewing, Walker, True, Boyles, Boarman, Rice, Glazier, Wolf, Henry, Dean, Dickey, Fulton, M'Dougal, Brawley, Howe, Wyatt, Carter, represents in most cases, many, many re-elections and years of faithful service. An occasional fine for non-attendance is charged against an officer, but the meetings were regularly held the first of each year as long as the library had public existence, as attested by the records. No doubt the zeal of its first days abated somewhat, for there is no evidence that the rigorous article 9 of the constitution requiring the committee to meet on the first Monday of May and August and from November to May, the first Monday in each month precisely at nine o'clock A. M. to examine books, lay fines and do other business of the society and prepare for the draft which shall begin precisely at one o'clock P. M. was for long obeyed. It was voted in January, 1808, to allow to librarians "such compensation as they think proper", but no further entry is made on this subject, and it is not known whether this was done.

At the annual meeting in 1808 the directors elected are instructed to take such measures as they see fit to have the library incorporated. Among the archives is found a copy of the "Act to incorporate the Western Library Association." This is dated February 19th, 1810, and duly constitutes the library in the depths of the Ohio forests, "a body politic and corporate in law," capable of suing and being sued, pleading and being impleaded in any court in this state." And the names of Edward Tiffin, speaker of the House and Duncan M'Arthur, speaker of the Senate, give official sanction to the document.

Some years after the founding of the library, changing conditions led to a swarm from the original literary hive.

Some eight to ten miles west of the lands on Federal Creek first cleared in 1798, a creek known as Sunday Creek found its way between forested hills to the Hockhocking the "bottle river" of Indian nomenclature, and thither as early as 1799 two hardy young men, Daniel Weethee and Josiah True found their way through the woods guided by their compasses, began to clear the ground and build their log cabins. These young men and their brides whom after three years of lonely life they had persuaded to share their remote homes, took an active interest in the formation of the library, and their names still stand in the faded list of original proprietors.

These westward settlements on Sunday Creek grew and in 1811 the district was organized as a separate township to which was given the name of Dover. Other proprietors of the library had come hither. The difficulties of the trail back to Federal Creek were hardly at all decreased and it is not surprising to find an entry appearing in the records of 1816, directing that one of the directors should be chosen from among the shareholders resident in Dover and that "provided the number of shareholders reached twelve, a certain proportion of books should be kept in his care for their use with provision for changing the set of books every six months.

This plan was presumably carried out but its disadvantages were many, and fourteen years later at the annual business meeting, it was resolved: "That the shareholders of this society living in Dover be allowed, on forming a new library Society

to withdraw their equal share of the books and other funds of the society." Arrangements were made also to call in all the books of the Association and to make an equitable division thereof. So it came about that the Dover Library Association was formed and incorporated. Daniel Weethee, Alanson Hibbard, Azariah Pratt, Josiah True, John B. Johnson, William Hyde and John Pugsley became the incorporators.

The first librarian of the Dover Library Association was E. Hibbard, and following him Azariah Pratt, D. Hibbard, John True and Josiah True. When the last named died in 1855, the books were at his house and continued under the custody of his son Austin True for many years. There had been additions to the 104 volumes sent over to Dover in 1830, some as late as the time of Dickens' publications, but the bulk of the books bore an ancient look indeed when in the fifties young Hiram True, grandson of Josiah True, sought books to read in the time-honored collection.

Within recent years, this Hiram True, an honored physician of McConnelsville, Ohio, has recorded his impression of the substantial leather bound volumes. Frayed edges and loosened covers gave evidence of use in times gone by. The thick, porous, coffee-colored paper with the clear type, the long "s" and the lower corner catch word all spoke of past fashions in printing and book making. When the Centennial Exposition of 1876 turned attention in unusual degree to the relics of pioneer days east and west some of the books of the Dover Library Association were taken by Gen. Thos. Ewing (son of Hon. Thos. Ewing) to the Exposition at Philadelphia and there placed in a suitable department for exhibition. Returned in due time to Gen. Ewing at his home in Yonkers, N. Y., the box of books was there when the house was destroyed by fire. Though rescued, the volumes when the box was opened, were found so scorched and water soaked as to be almost ruined. Those in the best condition were taken out by Mrs. E. S. Martin, granddaughter of Hon. Thos. Ewing, and have since been preserved by her in her home at New Straitsville, Ohio. The portion of the library remaining in Dover township was finally

given into the custody of the Athens County Pioneer Association and is kept in the library of the Ohio University at Athens.

Energy, ingenuity, method and carefulness certainly were displayed in the inception and subsequent management of this pioneer library, but what, we may ask, were the books for which so much effort was expended? Some analysis of the first purchase and subsequent additions must hold interest for us.

This original purchase was selected, be it remembered, by two clergymen of Boston or vicinity, Rev. Dr. Cutler and Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, men fitted by general information and education to make wise choice. Dr. Cutler, too, knew well the character of the future readers. As an agent for the Ohio Company he had not only been instrumental in making purchase of the lands and securing for colonists of the northwest territory an ordinance for their government, of exceptional merit, but his personal acquaintance among the pioneers was intimate and extended. Not only books but readers would be considered by these men selected to make the purchase.

It is with some interest that No. 1 in the original catalogue is inspected after the lapse of more than a century since the numbering was made. It is a small, leather bound volume of somewhat less than two hundred pages bearing the title:

The History of America  
Books IX and X  
Containing  
The History of Virginia  
To the Year 1688  
And of New England  
To the Year 1652  
By William Robertson, D.D.

At the bottom of the title page is the statement:

Walpole, New Hampshire  
Printed for Thomas & Thomas  
By David Carlisle  
1800.

History thus led the way in the Coonskin Library and works of an historical nature formed always a large part of



the book list. Ten volumes among the fifty-one of the first purchase bear the name of Goldsmith, still thirty years after his death a popular author. Among them would be found his poetry, as well as his histories, and his "Animated Nature". Ramsey's History of the American Revolution would be eagerly read by the old soldiers who had come in such numbers to retrieve their fallen fortunes in the new country. Playfair's "History of Jacobinism" had the interest of current events in those times so near the French Revolution, while short biographies of Columbus, Cortez and Pizarro would appeal readily to these new American pathfinders.

Some half dozen volumes contained sermons and religious reflections and Burgh's "Dignity of Human Nature" was a good example of the moral essays read and assimilated by our forefathers with patient thought and sturdy comprehension. As the leaves of this latter volume are turned today, the question will intrude, whether many readers of the present would as faithfully peruse its pages. The book shows signs of use. Indeed the investigation into condition provided for by the article nine of the constitution seems in this case to have been duly performed, for on a blank leaf are written varying statements by which one learns, for instance, that on page 81 is a "grease spot" that page 236 is "torn  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in in the side margin" that page 283 was marked by "two spots" with more items following which show that the "Dignity of Human Nature" created interest enough among the dwellers in scattered farmhouses to leave suggestive tokens of perusal on the tough yellow pages.

For the inquisitive seeker of facts there was ready Harris' "Minor Encyclopedia" in four volumes while Morse's Geography and his Gazetteer with their maps supplied any student with a vast amount of information concerning the world as then known to travelers.

The same shelves that bore the sedate histories and sober philosophies, displayed also a few works of fiction, only one of which perhaps is known even by name to the present generation. Miss Burney, however, and her novel "Evelina" will be recognized by any student of English literature as marking a certain stage in the history of fiction, and it will be acknowledged that

among the stories of the day it was a good selection. True, one can hardly avoid thinking of the contrast between the robust, alert pioneer maiden, accustomed to the labors of kitchen and spinning wheel and loom, perchance of field and garden, who knew the howl of wolves, the track of the bear and the signs of Indian hunters, and the helpless languishing beauty of London drawing rooms and Bath promenades. Doubtless the maiden of the backwoods could not realize that the clear vigor of her common sense, her readiness to act wisely in emergencies was far and away more picturesque and admirable than poor Evelina's propensity to get herself into awful scrapes from which the least glimmering of common sense might have saved her.

An early purchase by the committee was a selection most natural to former revolutionary soldiers—the “Life of Washington” by Chief Justice Marshall. Later addition brought such old time standard works as the “Spectator” where readers could grow familiar with the limpid purity of Addison's English; as Bacon's Essays and Pope's poetry, and Plutarch's sketches of Greek and Roman heroes.

Mr. Charles Shipman, merchant of Athens in 1825, purchased for the library in Philadelphia books, the bill for which amounted to \$61.77½. Among these books were the works of Hume, Bolin, Gillies, Robertson, the poet Thomson and Samuel Johnson. These authors are rarely read now it is true, but they were in the front rank ninety years ago when they were first laid on the library shelves.

It is the tradition that the forty-four volumes of the Waverly Novels, were the gift to the library before 1830 of one man, Mr. William Walker. Here, too, we must needs put ourselves back in imagination to the literary world of that day to understand the great impression made by such an acquisition. The Wizard of the North threw his witching spell over the dwellers in the farm houses of Ames township as surely as over fashionable readers in London or Edinburgh.

The year 1826 seems to have been a good reading year, and the record of books drawn out stands at four hundred sixty-two. Daniel Weethee leads the way in this list with thirty-six, but Polly Green is not far behind with thirty-three.

It will perhaps be noticed that nothing has been said as to a place of priority for this old library. There are other claimants for that distinction. The circumstances surrounding the origin of the Western Library Association are sufficiently interesting in themselves to claim our attention and to inspire respect for its sturdy founders. Certainly their methods had enough originality to give the impression of force and initiative. Let it be remembered too, that plans for the library were started only four years after the first blow was struck in the forest to make a clearing for settlement. Those familiar with the family history of Athens County bear strong testimony to the beneficent influence of this library upon the community where it was established. Walker's "History of Athens County" affords interesting reading in this connection. The young people growing up when the library was in its prime were intelligent, progressive, anxious for education.

The Hon. Thomas Ewing has been quoted. His eager mind fed upon these books and going from that backwoods settlement, he earned money for a college course and became in due time, the first graduate of Ohio University at Athens, indeed the first to receive a diploma within the bounds of the state of Ohio.

So far as the records show the high tide of interest in the Western Library came within the first thirty-five years of its existence. By the close of that period rivals had come into every home in the shape of newspapers and magazines. Perhaps, too, the necessity was not recognized of keeping up the library by adding books by high class modern authors. Certainly the later purchases are of inferior value. In the last twenty years recorded it is evident that but few cared to draw books. In 1861 the directors sold the library to three men of the community, E. H. Brawley, A. W. Glazier and J. T. Glazier. Reduced by an auction sale of old and defaced books and doubtless by some losses the volumes at this time numbered 208. In 1862 these three purchasers sold the library to William P. Cutler for \$73.50 and it was sent from Athens county to the Cutler homestead which Ephraim Cutler had built on the banks of the Ohio river when he removed in 1806 from Amesville to

the new location six miles below Marietta. Both as historical relic and family heirloom the old black walnut case with its leather bound volumes has been cherished in that household ever since.

Throughout a wider circle however it is believed that interest will be felt in these annals of an enterprise mingling so picturesquely the adventures of daring hunters, the glow of the old cabin firesides and the hardships of pioneer life valiantly met, with the refinements of historical and literary studies. Of such elements was woven the romance of "The Old Coonskin Library."





## FLAT BOATING ON THE OHIO RIVER.

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BY REV. ISAAC F. KING.

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In the early settlement of Ohio, the pack horse was first used on which to transport merchandise. The American Indian left us no high-way for wheeled vehicles. A wagon road is a thing he never made, and if given to him, he seldom used.

As soon as the white-faced Emigrant reached the Northwest territory he projected wagon roads to bring his goods and supplies from the East. These roads were hard to make over the mountains and hills, and the crossing of the rivers added much to the task. Naturally he looked to every source for free and cheap transportation.

At a very early date, the Ohio pioneer launched his canoe, framed his raft and made his Keel boat. Many of the first settlers were men whose early life had been spent in European Country where rivers and water courses were used to transport merchandise.

It is a matter of surprise to us, in this age, when we read the findings of the men who first surveyed the State of Ohio. They put down on their charts such streams as the Darbys and Deer Creek as navigable. At that time our territory was mostly unbroken forest and the creeks and rivers kept, at all seasons, a larger and more sustained volume of water, than now exists.

For these reasons, the early settlers used the water courses much, and they had high hopes that these streams would in the future be the great arteries of trade.

The Ohio and the Mississippi rivers were looked upon as the hope of the West, not only to reach such markets as the cities located on their banks might afford, but also as the route to reach the ships of the ocean.

As soon as the lands of this State were cleared off, and the farmer had a surplus of corn and pork, he sought for cheap conveyance to such markets as were afforded down these rivers.

It was not until 1795 that Spain granted to the United States free transportation to the mouth of the Mississippi river. Before that no water craft could enter New Orleans, without paying an exorbitant tax. The first flat-boat to reach New Orleans was in 1782.

For good reasons the early settlers of Ohio made and used flat-boats to carry to market certain kinds of products. This began about 1790 and continued for some sixty years. Since these boats have so long since gone out of use, it may be proper, here, to describe the structure of this kind of water craft.

Along our water courses, in the early part of that century there was a liberal supply of timber of many kinds. From this source the pioneer made his flat-boats at small cost. These boats were often called "broad hornes" because the stem was not sharp, nor even rounded, but square. They were made to float after the manner of a raft of logs. These boats usually were about 100 feet long; 18 feet wide and 8 feet deep, drawing when loaded 4 feet of water. The logs used as a floor were either held together with wooden pins or withes. Such a craft could carry a cargo of 350,000 pounds. Usually the crew consisted of 8 men, though half that number sometimes did the work. It had a good supply of large strong rope called hawser. There was a steering oar some 80 feet long, which had a blade which went into the water, being three feet by seven. This was balanced on the stern-post at the extreme end of the boat. On each side was an oar, some 36 feet long, with a blade two by six feet. There was a similar one on the bow called a "gouger". This was used to aid in steering, in extreme cases. On the boat was a cabin or tent for sleeping and eating.

The bottom of these boats was calked with tow, and some times painted with tar. Many of them were supplied with poles about 18 feet long, finished with iron spikes on the end, which went into the earth. These were used in emergencies to move the boat and start it to floating.

At first each owner made his own boat. In later years some were built by companies for sale. They brought \$3.00 or \$4.00 per lineal foot.

When these boats were first used, they encountered many dangers in a trip to New Orleans. At that time the rivers were not made safe for navigation, as they were in after years. In them were snags, from felled timber; also there were hidden rocks and sand bars. I need not mention dangers from fog, which imperils navigation to this day. At that time there were eddies, whirlpools and sand banks. There were also dangers because of the crookedness of the Mississippi. We are told if one were to follow its current, it would be 3,300 miles long; when on a straight line it is only 675 miles. One of the places of the greatest known peril was the falls of the Ohio river, where the stream falls  $22\frac{1}{2}$  feet in two miles. On an average as one descends the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers the fall is 9 inches to the mile. We are not surprised to learn that the average speed of a flat-boat was three miles per hour. These boatmen encountered more dangers in a trip from Marietta, Ohio, to New Orleans than we encounter now in circumnavigating the globe. In those early days the crew often had to forsake the wrecked or stranded boat and walk through the wilderness for many miles to find a way to get home. Experienced boatmen had some one, at least, at all hours, on guard.

Since these boats made little or no use of their oars, they depended mostly on the current of the river to propel them. Sometimes it took three months to go from the mouth of the Muskingum river to New Orleans; but some boatmen in 1850 made the trip in one-fourth of the time.

The merchandise carried at first was corn, pork, potatoes, whiskey and cider. This last commodity cost then in Ohio, not more than \$3.00 per barrel, and was sold down the river for \$5.00 and \$6.00 per barrel. In after years these boats carried also wheat, flour, apples, crockery and glass ware. As soon as we began to make salt in this state, it was shipped in this way to a great extent. A boat could carry 350 barrels of salt.

Toward the end of this kind of boating, much lumber was shipped; and in some cases sheds were constructed on the boat, and families used this means of passing as emigrants from Pennsylvania to Illinois and Missouri. In some cases the

emigrants had on board much of the material for his future home in "the new country".

It is a well known fact that the first school house used in Cincinnati came to town on a boat.

On reaching its destination the owner first disposed of the cargo and then sold the flat-boat for either building material, or fuel. The return trip was usually made on a steamboat, which took some 18 days.\*

In about the year 1855 these crafts went out of use, and steam boats and steam cars supplanted them.

Many of the old flat-boatmen found employment, especially as pilots, on the steam boats, and some of the owners became proprietors of the nineteenth century crafts. As a rule flat-boatmen made a good living at the business, and not a few made comfortable fortunes.

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\* The first steamboat on the Ohio River was the "New Orleans," launched at Pittsburgh, October 20, 1811.—EDITOR.





## THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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SOCIETY BUILDING, COLUMBUS, OHIO, Nov. 27, 1916.

The meeting was called to order by First Vice President George F. Bareis. There were present Messrs:

George F. Bareis,  
E. O. Randall,  
F. W. Treadway,  
W. C. Mills,  
H. E. Buck,  
D. H. Gard,  
H. C. Shetrone,  
Frank Tallmadge,  
F. D. Hills,  
W. H. Cole,  
Edgar Butler,  
A. M. Schlesinger,  
E. C. Derby,  
Leonard Marker,  
J. M. Dunham,  
Almer Hegler,

D. J. Ryan,  
James E. Campbell,  
Webb C. Hayes,  
C. D. Slosson,  
W. C. Moore,  
W. L. Curry,  
E. F. Wood,  
E. E. Hockett,  
Van A. Snider,  
B. F. Prince,  
G. Frederick Wright,  
W. H. Siebert,  
J. S. Roof,  
W. D. McKinney,  
C. W. Justice.

There being thirty-one members of the Society present, the requisite quorum (ten), required by the constitution, was complied with.

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### SECRETARY'S REPORT.

The report of the thirtieth annual meeting of the Society is found in Volume 24 of the Society annuals. Two sessions were held: the preliminary one, held May 21, 1915. This meeting adjourned to September 24th, 1915. The proceedings of these preliminary and adjourned meetings will be found in full on pages 544 to 582, inclusive, volume 24.

The proceedings of the Society, worthy of record, since the date of the last annual meeting (September 24, 1915) are as follows:

November 19, 1915, there was held a specially called meeting of the Trustees. Present Messrs. Ryan, Treadway, Wright, Buck, Cole, Prince, Schaus, Wood, Moore, Hayes and Randall. Absent, Messrs. Campbell, Thompson, Bareis and Herrick.

Mr. Schaus, chairman of the Spiegel Grove Building Committee, made a full and formal report of the final actions of that committee. It held its last meeting on November 13th, 1915, all the members being present except Col. Hayes. The amount remaining due the contractor was ordered paid. Final settlement was also made with the architect. This closed the work of the building committee, and the final report on the Hayes Memorial Building, by the committee, was received and approved. The committee received a vote of thanks from the Board of Trustees for their long and trying services, and the committee was discharged.

Mr. Ryan, speaking for the Spiegel Grove Building Committee — of which he was a member — said that: "All credit is due to Mr. Schaus, chairman of the committee, and public acknowledgment should be made that he is the man who bore the chief burden. It would have been almost impossible for the Society to have completed this work without his assistance, because of his practical knowledge and his willing and constant sacrifice of time and labor. He has done a great and splendid work for the committee, and the Trustees of the Society, and the Society itself, should feel under the greatest obligations to him."

Upon the discharge of the Spiegel Grove Building Committee, which consisted of Messrs. Schaus, Hayes, Ryan, Bareis and Mills, the care of the Spiegel Grove property was transferred to the new Hayes Memorial and Spiegel Grove Committee, consisting of Messrs. Hayes, Wright, Treadway, Ryan, and Mills.

After report of the Finance Committee, by Mr. Wood, the salaries of the paid officers of the Society were agreed upon, as follows:

Curator, \$2,500.00; Assistant Curator, \$1,500.00; Secretary, \$1,000.00; Chief Janitor, \$900.00; Assistant Librarian, \$840.00; Library Stenographer, \$720.00; Assistant Janitor, \$660.00; Janitor, \$600.00; Treasurer, \$300.00; Bookkeeper, \$150.00; Assistant Librarian, Spiegel Grove, \$500.00; Caretaker, Spiegel Grove, \$720.00; Caretaker, Fort Ancient, \$300.00; Caretaker, Serpent Mound, \$240.00; Caretaker, Logan Elm Park, \$25.00; W. L. Curry, Civil War Historian, \$2,000.00.

The Library Committee, consisting of Messrs. D. J. Ryan, G. W. Knight, W. H. Scott, J. E. Campbell and W. L. Curry, reported that it met on November 15th and 18th. The duties of this committee having heretofore been included in the duties of the committee known as the Museum and Library Committee, it is now proposed that the Library Committee be a separate and distinct standing committee, having full and exclusive authority over the general management of the library, the policy of which management should be, in brief, to confine the library purchases almost exclusively to books and material connected with the history of Ohio and the Northwest Territory, and that it should be the function of the committee to search for, and where possible obtain, worth-while papers, books and manuscripts pertaining to this field; that this committee should act in co-operation with the Library Council of

the Ohio State University Library, with a view to avoiding unnecessary duplication of books and other historical material. This report, with minor details, after considerable discussion, was adopted. It was further proposed, and adopted,—“That the employment of assistants in the library of the Society should be by the Board of Trustees, on recommendation of the Library Committee; that the direction and supervision of the library assistants should be vested in the Librarian, under the direction of the Library Committee.”

Concerning the subject of the origin, growth and management of the library, Curator Mills made an interesting and lengthy statement, to the effect that the library had been turned over to his care in the year 1900, when the historical part of the library was moved to the University and placed in Orton Hall building. The library then owned by the Society consisted of only about 260 volumes. It now consists of some twelve thousand volumes. For the most part this library has grown without a dollar of expense; only within the last few years have we had money to purchase books, prior to which time the accessions to the library were made by exchanges or through donations to the Society. The library now possesses the largest collection of county histories of any library in the city, even greater than that in the state library.

Reports of the various committees being called for, Secretary Randall reported for the committee on Publications, that the set of twenty-three volumes of the annuals of the Society were being reprinted, in accordance with the last appropriation bill, and it was hoped that they would be ready for distribution at the beginning of the next year. The October Quarterly was then in press, and would soon be ready to mail; that completed volume twenty-four of the Society Annuals.

Curator Mills reported for the Museum Committee, consisting of Messrs. Mills, Bareis, Hegler and Buck.

The Spiegel Grove Committee, through Col. Hayes, made a report, suggesting certain changes be made in the plan of the heating plant in the Memorial Library Building; that it would cost about \$750.00 to make the changes desired and proposed. Col. Hayes stated he would meet this expense personally, as there was no fund coming from the state to defray the same. The Trustees authorized the changes in the plans as suggested. The thanks of the Trustees and the Society were extended to Col. Hayes for his generosity in this matter.

#### FORT ANCIENT.

Prof. B. F. Prince made a report for the Committee on Fort Ancient. The committee had authorized Mr. Cowen to make certain repairs of the house of the custodian, the shelter house and the roadway. The total expense was figured at about \$200.00. Those improvements, so far as the money allowance would go, had been or were being made.



## SERPENT MOUND.

Mr. Cole made a lengthy report concerning Serpent Mound, which he had visited recently. He spoke highly of the care given the property by the custodian, Daniel Wallace. The committee thought that \$350.00 should be allowed for the improvement of Serpent Mound Park, particularly for the erection of a shelter house for the convenience of temporary visitors; certain improvements and repairs on the roof and portico of the home of the custodian had been made, in accordance with directions given by Curator Mills to Mr. Wallace. The committee thought the property ought to be adorned with additional shrubbery and trees, so as to give it a more decorative and picturesque appearance. The suggestions of the Serpent Mound Committee were approved, but no action could be taken from their accomplishment, because of lack of funds for that purpose.

There were no formal reports from the committees on Logan Elm, Big Bottom Park, Harrison Memorial, History and Manuscripts, and Necrology.

## SPIEGEL GROVE.

The Committee on Spiegel Grove reported that they had decided to hold the dedication ceremonies for the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum Building on Memorial Day, May 30th, 1916. The chief address on that occasion would be delivered by Charles Richard Williams, author of the Autobiography of Rutherford B. Hayes. The fixing of this date for this occasion was approved by the Trustees.

President Wright announced that Col. Hayes had set aside \$50,000.00, in the hands of The Citizens Savings and Trust Company, of Cleveland the income of which was to be expended for books and historical material for the library of Spiegel Grove. This announcement was received with applause by the Trustees. This \$50,000.00 is to be permanently invested, and the income of which is to go to the purchase of books on Americana for the library in the Hayes Memorial Library Building, at Fremont. The books thus to be purchased to supplement, from time to time, the unequalled collection of Americana left by the late President Rutherford B. Hayes. This added resource, with the material already secured, will make the library the finest and most complete collection of strictly Americana, perhaps, in any library in this country, and thus place the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society in the forefront of all similar institutions, and will make it the mecca among scholars and students who desire to consult original literature pertaining to the history of our country.

President Wright further stated that the amount of moneys Mr. Hayes had previously expended, personally, upon the grounds and building, since donating the same to the state, amounts in round numbers to \$50,000.00. A formal vote of thanks was voted to Col. Hayes for his generous and magnificent donation of \$50,000.00.



The donations by Col. Hayes, and also that of \$50,000.00 by his wife, Mrs. Hayes, for a public hospital in Fremont, were fittingly observed by the public on October 21, 1915, upon which occasion President Wright, of the Society, presided. This event, is duly reported, beginning page 591, volume 24 of the Society Annuals.

Mr. Treadway earnestly advocated the proposition that the fee for life membership in the Society be raised from \$25.00 to at least \$50.00, and that an honorary membership be established, the fee for which should be not less than \$100.00. He believed that the benefits which life members are now receiving from the Society is entirely too great for the small sum of \$25.00. He knew of no other Society in the country where so much could be obtained for so little, and he had no doubt that a large list of members could be secured if efforts were properly put forth. The matter was taken under advisement by the Trustees, but no definite action was taken at this meeting.

On November 24th, 1915, Governor Myron T. Herrick tendered to Governor Willis his resignation as Trustee of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, on the ground that he had just been appointed to the Commission on Rural Credits, and that he would not be able to render the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society the time and consideration it deserved. The resignation was accepted by the Governor, and Mr. William P. Palmer, President of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, was appointed to fill out the unexpired term of Governor Herrick, which term would end February 18, 1916. At the expiration of Mr. Palmer's partial term Governor Willis appointed him Trustee for the Society for the regular term of three years. At the same time he reappointed Hon. James E. Campbell (whose term expired at that time) Trustee to succeed himself, for the term of three years, ending February 18th, 1919.

There was no further meeting of the Trustees until April 14th, 1916, when there was a special called meeting. There were present Messrs. Wright, Ryan, Wood, Randall, Buck, Bareis, Schaus, Hayes, Prince, Cole and Moore; Curator Mills was also present. Absent: Messrs. Campbell, Thompson, Treadway and Palmer.

Reports of the various committees were called for. These reports will be found in full in the stenographic report of the minutes in the Secretary's Minute Book.

Treasurer Wood made an itemized statement of the balances of the appropriation in the various funds, which would be available to the Society until July 1st, 1916.

Secretary Randall stated that the reprints of the twenty-three volumes of the society's annuals for the members of the Legislature, as provided by the appropriation bill of the last session, had been published, boxed, and were being shipped to the members of the General Assembly. Accompanying the bill of lading to each member was a circular prepared by the Secretary, to the effect that the method of distributing the books

was left to the Society by the General Assembly; that it was decided to follow the usual course, and send each member of the general assembly five complete sets, with the request that the books be distributed to public and school libraries, rather than to individuals. Reports from many members of the legislature indicated that as a general thing they endorsed and were following that method of distribution.

Prof. Mills reported that he had secured the McCulloch collection of archaeological specimens, and it was installed in the museum. The collection of rifles and muskets owned by the Society had been placed in upright cases and attached to the columns of one room. Mr. Mills further reported that after several days of preparation, cataloguing and boxing, the relics from the flag-room of the state house were, on February 28th (1916), transferred to the building of the Society. The total list of the items was 1,177 — that made many more in number of specimens, as in many instances one item included several specimens. This material has been classified, properly labeled and placed in cases in the museum department. This was the culmination of a plan which had been suggested many years before, and often discussed by the committees of the legislature. It is a great acquisition for the Society, and is a proper outcome of this long discussed plan.

Prof. Wright made a lengthy report for the committee on Historical Sites, recommending that the Society obtain, repair and preserve the Serpent Mound near South Lebanon, in Warren county, which is second in importance only to the great Serpent Mound in Adams county. This Warren county Serpent Mound had been surveyed and mapped by Dr. C. L. Metz in 1892, and was visited a few years ago by Secretary Randall and President Wright. An account of this prehistoric relic may be found in the January number of the *Quarterly* for 1909. Professor Wright further advocated securing the remains of Fort Miami, eight miles south of Toledo on the west bank of the Maumee river, two or three miles north of Fort Meigs, which latter fort is already owned by the state and marked by a monument. Fort Miami was a military post established by the British in 1786, and occupied by them until Wayne's victory over the Indians at Fallen Timbers, August 20th, 1794, and was again occupied by the British after General Hull's surrender in 1812.

A committee, consisting of Trustee Cole, Dr. Charles Hough of Lebanon, and Prof. Mills, was appointed to enquire into the means of obtaining and preserving Serpent Mound in Warren county. Messrs. Sherman, Treadway and Buck were made a committee to consider the matter of securing the site of Fort Miami.

Prof. Prince made a report on Fort Ancient, stating that certain improvements which he specified had been made, the total cost being \$250.00. Many other improvements were still needed, such as regraveling the roadway in the fort and replacing certain fences enclosing the grounds; a new gateway should be built.

Trustee Cole made an itemized report on the improvements made at Serpent Mound, the total cost of which had been \$66.75, in addition to which \$19.25 had been expended for the planting of certain fruit trees adjacent to the house of the custodian. A book was provided, to secure a complete registration of the visitors to the park. The custodian reported that the number of visitors to the park would average in the neighborhood of fifty a day.

Prof. Mills was authorized to attend the annual meeting of the American Museum Association, to be held in May, at Washington.

The Secretary brought up the matter of a new general index of the twenty-four volumes of the *Annals* of the Society. As it stands now, the first eleven volumes are not indexed separately, but there is in the eleventh volume a general index, covering eleven volumes; all volumes subsequent to that are independently indexed. It is greatly desired that there be a new general index, completely covering the volumes from one to twenty-four, in order to make the material thus published by the Society easily available.

On May 30th, (1916) at Spiegel Grove, was held the dedicatory ceremony of the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum Building. The program occupied the entire day, Governor Willis being present in the morning, and delivering an address, and the ceremony pertinent to the building itself, and the address of Charles Richard Williams upon "Rutherford B. Hayes" was held in the afternoon, in which many speakers participated. The entire proceedings of this day, including the addresses, were published in the October Quarterly.

On October 21st, (1916) under the auspices of the Society, there was celebrated at Logan Elm Park the dedication of a log-cabin recently erected on the grounds of the park, the erection of a flag-pole, and raising of a flag, and the unveiling of two tablets, one containing the names of the Chiefs and pioneer army officers who took part in the treaty of reconciliation at Camp Charlotte, between Lord Dunmore and Cornstalk, the Chief of the Indian Confederacy, in November, 1774. The second tablet, erected by the descendants of Michael Cressap, was a memorial to Captain Michael Cressap. This occasion at Logan Elm was one of extreme interest. Mr. Henry J. Booth delivered the address on the occasion of the unveiling of the tablets. There were present twenty-two lineal or collateral descendants of Michael Cressap, who was present at the making of the treaty in 1774. These Cressaps took preliminary steps at this time to organize a Cressap Association. The proceedings of this day, in detail, with the addresses made, will be published in volume twenty-six of *Society Annals*.

In accordance with a circular sent out by the Secretary early in September, asking the chairmen of the various committees to report to Treasurer Wood the budget which they desired for the two years, 1916-1917 and 1917-1918, for their respective committees, reports were made to Mr. Wood, and early in October the finance committee held meetings,



considered the reports made by the various committees and made out the budget for the Budget Commissioner. It was placed in his hands early in October. November 8th, Messrs. Wood, Randall and Mills met the Budget Commissioner in the room of the finance committee of the house, and went over the items asked for in the budget.

On November 15th news was received that Mr. Daniel Wallace, who had been custodian of Serpent Mound since its acquisition by the Society, died on November 9th.

Since the last annual meeting the following parties have qualified as life members of the Society:

W. H. Siebert, J. S. Bracken, H. J. Booth, Lowry F. Sater, W. R. Lazenby, Dr. John M. Henderson, E. R. Sharp, E. M. Poston, all of Columbus; Dean M. Hickson and Van A. Snider, of Lancaster; Mrs. A. P. Brown, of Groveport; Robert G. Kinkead, Clintonville, and W. L. Silvey, of Dayton.

Mrs. A. P. Brown is the author of the article in the October Quarterly, just published, concerning John Rarey, the horse-tamer. She has donated to the Society some valuable and rare books and mementoes formerly the property of John S. Rarey.

Treasurer Wood then made his report, as follows:

# ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1916.

## RECEIPTS.

From July 1st, 1915 to July 1st, 1916.

Balance on hand, July 1st, 1915.....	\$2,147 82
Life Membership Dues.....	240 00
Active Membership Dues.....	96 00
Subscriptions .....	41 00
Books sold .....	186 38
Interest .....	588 72
Payment for Supplies Sold.....	3 40
From State Treasurer on Sundry Appropriations.....	30,212 91
Total .....	\$33,516 23

## DISBURSEMENTS.

Salaries .....	\$12,855 00
Wages .....	250 00
Supplies .....	483 70
Publications .....	2,400 00
Library Equipment .....	226 40
Museum Equipment .....	647 90
General Plant Equipment .....	108 29



Repairs and Upkeep.....	236 67
Water Rent .....	44 10
Light, Heat and Power.....	1,280 64
Express .....	73 39
Expenses of Trustees and Committees.....	455 60
Telephone Rent .....	93 28
Sundry Expenses:—	
Auditing Books .....	\$37 50
Meeting of Ohio Valley Historical Association .....	84 30
Treasurer's Bond .....	15 00
Hayes Memorial Library, Court Costs.....	42 56
Hayes Memorial Library Dedication.....	25 90
Sundry Expenses .....	77 41
	<hr/>
	282 67
Field Work .....	999 79
Insurance Premiums .....	99 00
Logan Elm Park, Care and Improvements.....	112 40
Spiegel Grove Park, Care and Improvements.....	203 58
Serpent Mound Park, Care and Improvements.....	92 01
Additions and Betterments.....	139 77
Fort Ancient, Care and Improvements.....	245 84
Postage .....	80 00
Reprinting Publications .....	8,500 00
Hayes Memorial Library Building.....	402 18
Transferred to Permanent Fund.....	830 00
Balance on hand, June 30th, 1916.....	2,374 02
	<hr/>
Total .....	\$33,516 23

Amount of Permanent Fund, June 30, 1916..... \$12,500 00

(Signed) E. F. Wood, *Treasurer*.

The report of the Auditor being called for, Mr. W. D. McKinney read the same, as follows:

COLUMBUS, OHIO, September 6, 1916.

*The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Honorable E. O. RANDALL, Secretary, Columbus, Ohio.*

DEAR SIR:—At the call of your Treasurer Mr. E. F. Wood for the usual annual audit of the Books of Account of your Society the same has been completed for the period June 1st, 1915 to June 30, 1916 inclusive, report of same containing statements and schedules representing the financial transactions for the period and the financial condition at June 30th as follows:

- Page 1. Trial Balance as at June 30, 1916.  
 Page 2. Summary of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the Period.  
 Page 3. Statement of Appropriations for the Period.  
 Page 4. Schedule of Appropriations for the Period.

The cash balance as stated herein is supported by the statement reported by the bank and is set forth in the Bank Reconciliation at the bottom of page 2. The personal verification of this account by comparison with the books of the Auditor of State completes the support of this balance.

We have also verified the certificate of deposit for \$12,500.00, representing the permanent fund of your society.

The Books of the Treasurer were found in their usual good condition.

(Signed) J. J. McKNIGHT,  
 Certified Public Accountant.

POST CLOSING TRIAL BALANCE JUNE 30, 1916.

Ledger

Folio.	DR.	CR.
3 State Treasurer .....	\$2,632 65	
26 Personal Services A-2.....		\$50 00
28 Office Supplies C-4.....		3 85
32 General Plant Supplies.....		13 70
34 Equipment E-8 .....		773 60
36 Equipment E-9 .....		781 99
38 Contract and Open Order Service General Repairs F-1 .....		600 12
40 Contract and Open Order Service Water F-3. ....		11 90
41 Contract Open Order Service Light, Heat & Power F-4 .....		119 36
42 Transportation F-6 .....		244 17
43 Contract Open Order Service Communication F-7 .....		10 80
44 Contract Open Order Service Contingencies F-8 .....		22 50
45 Contract Open Order Service Field Work F-9. ....		21
47 Fixed Charges, Insurance H-9.....		40
52 Cash .....		2,374 02
56 E. F. Wood, Treasurer.....	2,374 02	
150 Investment .....	12,500 00	
151 Investment .....		12,500 00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$17,506 67	\$17,506 67

SUMMARY OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR PERIOD.  
(CURRENT FUNDS.)

July 1, 1915 to June 30, 1916.

Balance, July 1, 1915..... \$2,147 82

RECEIPTS.

Life Membership Dues.....	\$240 00
Active Membership Dues.....	96 00
Subscriptions .....	41 00
Books Sold .....	186 38
Interest Received .....	588 72
Supplies Sold .....	3 40
	<hr/>
	\$1,155 50

From State Treasurer on Appropriation as per Schedule .....	30,212 91	31,368 41
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DISBURSEMENTS.

Transferred to permanent Fund.....	\$830 00
Care and Improvement—	
Logan Elm Park.....	\$112 40
Spiegel Grove Park.....	203 58
Serpent Mound Park.....	92 01
Fort Ancient .....	245 84
Salaries .....	12,855 00
Wages .....	250 00
Supplies .....	483 70
Publications .....	2,400 00
Library Equipment .....	226 40
Museum Equipment .....	647 90
Repairs and Upkeep.....	236 67
Equipment .....	108 29
Water Rentals .....	44 10
Light, Heat and Power.....	1,280 64
Express, Freight and Drayage.....	73 39
Expenses of Trustees and Committees.....	455 60
Telephone Rentals .....	93 28
Sundry Expenses—	
Auditing .....	\$37 50
Hayes Memorial Library Dedication.	25 90
Treasurer's Bond .....	15 00
Hayes Memorial Library Court Costs	42 56
Meeting of Ohio Valley Historical Association .....	84 30
Miscellaneous .....	77 41
	282 67

Field Work .....	999 79	
Insurance .....	99 00	
Additions and Betterments.....	139 77	
Postage .....	80 00	
Hayes Memorial Library Building.....	402 18	
Reprinting Publications .....	8,500 00	31,142 21
Balance June 30, 1916.....	2,374 02	
		<hr/>
Total .....	\$33,516 23	

Balance Capital City Bank per Pass Book.....	\$1,992 76	
Add: Receipts not deposited.....	\$70 86	
July Checks cleared in June.....	325 00	395 86
		<hr/>
	\$2,388 62	
Less: Check No. 1725 outstanding..	\$13 32	
Transferred to Permanent Fund....	1 28	14 60
		<hr/>
Adjusted Bank Balance.....	\$2,374 02	

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR PERIOD JULY 1, 1915 TO JUNE 30, 1916.

	<i>Balance June 30, 1915.</i>	<i>Amount Appropriated During Year.</i>
Appropriations For —		
Personal Service —		
A-1 Salaries .....	\$50 00	\$12,855 00
A-2 Wages .....	50 00	250 00
Maintenance —		
C-4 Office Publications .....	3 35	300 00
Publications .....	2,400	
C-11 General Plant Supplies.....	123 57	250 00
E-8 Educational and Recreational Equipment .....	.....	1,000 00
E-9 General Plant Service.....	27 28	1,425 00
Other .....	18 18	100 00
Open Order Service —		
F-1 General Repairs .....	50 78	925 00
F-3 Water .....	8 30	56 00
F-4 Light, Heat and Power.....	386 45	2,400 00
F-6 Transportation .....	93 23	750 00
F-7 Communication .....	9 37	105 00
F-8 Contingencies .....	.....	200 00
F-9 General Plant Service.....	3 83	1,000 00



## Additions and Betterments —

## G-3 Non-structural Imp. —

Cement Walks, Museum. 3 75

Hayes Com. Library..... 2,393 27

## Fixed Charges —

H-7 Insurance ..... 50 99 40

Reprinting Archaeological Reports..... 8,500 00

\$3,221 86	\$32,615 40
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## RECAPITULATION OF TOTALS.

Total Balance July 1, 1915..... \$3,221 86

Amounts Appropriated during Period..... 32,615 40

Total Appropriations .....	\$35,837 26
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Amounts Lapsed During Period..... \$605 85

Cash Drawn from State Treasurer..... 32,498 76

Total Withdrawals .....	\$33,304 61
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Total Balance June 30, 1916.....	\$2,632 65
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## STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR PERIOD JULY 1, 1915 TO JUNE 30, 1916.

	<i>Transferred From.</i>	<i>Transferred To.</i>
Open Order Service —		
F-1 General Repairs .....		\$1,000 00
F-4 Light, Heat and Power.....	\$1,139 77	
Additions and Betterments —		
G-3 Non-structural Imp. —		
Cement Walks, Museum.....		139 77
	\$1,139 77	\$1,139 77

## STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR PERIOD JULY 1, 1915 TO JUNE 30, 1916.

	<i>Total Appropri- ation.</i>	<i>Amount Lapsed.</i>	<i>Cash Drawn from State Treasurer.</i>
Appropriations For —			
Personal Service —			
A-1 Salaries .....	\$12,905 00	\$50 00	\$12,855 00
A-2 Wages .....	300 00		250 00

Maintenance —

C-4 Office .....	303 25	3 25	296 25
Publications .....	2,400 00	.....	2,400 00
C-11 General Plant Sup- plies .....	373 57	123 57	236 30
E-8 Educational and Recreational Equipment ...	1,000 00	.....	226 40
E-9 General Plant Service .....	1,452 28	27 28	647 90
Other .....	118 18	.....	113 29

Open Order Service —

F-1 General Repairs...	1,975 78	30 78	1,344 88
F-3 Water .....	64 30	8 30	44 10
F-4 Light, Heat and Power .....	1,646 68	246 68	1,280 64
F-6 Transportation ...	843 23	91 12	507 94
F-7 Communication ...	114 37	9 37	94 20
F-8 Contingencies .....	200 00	.....	177 45
F-9 General Plant Service .....	1,003 83	3 83	999 79

Additions and Betterments —

G-3 Non-structural Imp., Cement Walks, Mu- seum .....	143 52	3 75	139 77
Hayes Com. Li- brary .....	2,393 27	7 42	2,385 85

Fixed Charges —

H-7 Insurance .....	99 40	50	99 00
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Reprinting Archaeological

Reports .....	8,500 00	.....	8,500 00
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	<u>\$35,837 26</u>	<u>\$605 85</u>	<u>\$32,598 76</u>
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STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR PERIOD JULY 1, 1915 TO JUNE 30, 1916.

	Total Withdraw- als.	Balance June 30, 1916.
Appropriations For —		
Personal Service —		
A-1 Salaries .....	\$12,905 00	..
A-2 Wages .....	250 00	\$250 00
Maintenance —		
C-4 Office .....	299 50	3 85
Publications .....	2,400 00	

C-11 General Plant Supplies.....	359 87	13 70
E-8 Educational and Recreational Equipment .....	226 40	773 60
E-9 General Plant Service.....	675 18	777 10
Other .....	113 29	4 89
Open Order Service —		
F-1 General Repairs .....	1,375 66	600 12
F-3 Water .....	52 40	11 90
F-4 Light, Heat and Power.....	1,527 32	119 36
F-6 Transportation .....	599 06	244 17
F-7 Communication .....	103 57	10 80
F-8 Contingencies .....	177 45	22 55
F-9 General Plant Service.....	1,003 62	21
Additions and Betterments —		
G-3 Non-structural Imp., Cement Walks, Museum .....	143 52	
Hayes Com. Library.....	2,393 27	
Fixed Charges —		
H-7 Insurance .....	99 50	40
Reprinting Archaeological Reports.....	8,500 00	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$33,204 61	\$2,632 65

## SCHEDULE OF APPROPRIATIONS JULY 1, 1915 TO JUNE 30, 1916.

Laws of Ohio 105-106, Page 678, H. B. No. 701.

## Personal Service —

## A-1 Salaries —

Secretary .....	\$1,000 00
Curator .....	2,500 00
Assistant Curator .....	1,400 00
Two Assistant Librarians.....	1,340 00
Stenographer .....	720 00
Treasurer .....	300 00
Three Janitors .....	2,160 00
Four Caretakers .....	1,285 00
Bookkeepers .....	150 00
Author "Ohio in the Civil War".....	2,000 00

A-2 Wages .....

250 00

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Total Personal Service..... \$13,105 00

## Maintenance —

## C Supplies —

C-4 Office .....	\$300 00
Publication .....	2,400 00
C-11 General Plant .....	250 00
	2,950 00

E Equipment—			
E-8 Educational and Recre-			
ational, Books,			
Maps, Engravings,			
etc. ....			
	1,000	00	
E-9 General Plant—			
Museum Equipment....			
	1,425	00	
Other .....			
	100	00	2,525 00
F Contract and Open Order Service—			
F-1 General Repairs .....			
	925	00	
F-3 Water .....			
	56	00	
F-4 Light, Heat and Power....			
	2,400	00	
F-6 Transportation .....			
	750	00	
F-7 Communication .....			
	105	00	
F-8 Contingencies .....			
	200	00	
F-9 General Plant .....			
	1,000	00	5,436 00
H Fixed Charges and Contributions—			
H-7 Insurance .....			
	99	40	11,010 40
Printing and Distributing Archaeological Reports, Laws of			
Ohio 105-106, Page 841, House Bill No. 721.....			
			8,500 00
Total Appropriations .....			\$32,615 40

On motion of Mr. Ryan, duly seconded, the reports of the Treasurer and Auditor were accepted, approved and ordered placed on file. Curator Mills then submitted his report, as follows:

### REPORT OF THE CURATOR OF THE MUSEUM.

During the year the Museum Committee held five meetings. At the first meeting Mr. Buck was elected chairman and Mr. Hegler Secretary.

At the last meeting the matter of an addition to the building was thoroughly discussed; looking over the building, the committee found that every storage-place was filled with specimens that should be on exhibition. During the last two summers we have been very successful in our field work, and secured a great many valuable and interesting archaeological specimens which should be placed on exhibition at once. We emptied one entire row of cases in the north exhibition room, placed the contents in storage, and installed the new specimens in the cases. We have enough material in storage to fill another room as large as the north room. A number of collections have been offered to us, which would at least fill such a room. We need three times the space now available to care for our historical exhibitions.

During the year 402 human skeletons were brought to the Museum. We have, of course, no place to exhibit any of them. We plan to



have a room devoted entirely to skeletal remains, which would make the skeletons available for study. Colleges throughout the state would, no doubt, take special interest in this collection, as material pertaining to human history.

Every place of storage is now filled with material which should be on exhibition. For this reason the Museum Committee felt it advisable to ask the incoming legislature for an addition to our building, and after full deliberation decided to ask for \$50,000 a year for the next two years. We have requested our Finance Committee to place this item in the budget, and we hope all members of the Society will exert their influence to secure this much needed addition.

The rotunda of the Museum building needed painting badly. An estimate was recured from painters, which proved far beyond our means. Finally, after consultation with the superintendent of the building, we decided to do the work ourselves, which was done at a cost less than \$100.00.

On February 27th I was directed by our Secretary to arrange for the transfer of the specimens in the old relic-room of the state house to the Museum. On the morning of February 28th we commenced taking an inventory of the specimens, finishing on Thursday morning, March 2nd. The inventory consists of forty-two pages of manuscript. There being 1,177 items listed, numbering more than 5,000 specimens. We placed the specimens in the audience room, cleaned and recatalogued them, and entered them upon our books as the property of the Society. While many of the specimens were entirely destroyed by vermin and had to be discarded, the bulk of the relics were cleaned and placed on exhibition. The making of the card and accession catalogue of this material, and placing the specimens in cases, took the spare time of our entire force during the months of March and April, and the greater part of May.

On May 15th I was authorized to attend the meeting of The American Association of Museums, held in Washington, D. C., as a representative of our Society. The meeting lasted three days; then the Association met with the Federation of Arts. One entire week was devoted to listening to papers and addresses on such subjects as: "Museums and the Public Schools," "Use of Enlarged Photographs in Museums," "New Methods of preparing Natural History Specimens," "Museum Cases," "Museum Floors," "Plans of Museum Buildings," etc. We profited by the experience of others. The meeting was an inspiration to every museum man in attendance.

During the year many improvements were made to the campus lawn surrounding the building. A number of shrubs and trees were planted.

In July Mr. William Fleischer, assistant janitor, resigned. On September 1st we secured the services of Mr. Elmer Hart, who has filled the place with credit.

In our report last year we emphasized the need of a night-watchman for the building. This year the Museum Committee has requested an appropriation for that purpose, which we hope will be granted.

We have also asked for an additional man to help in printing and binding. This has become an important service. We are unable to print the number of labels needed, and it was decided to attempt to secure a man to do this work exclusively.

During the year the large collection taken from the Tremper Mound was placed on exhibition. It occupies three single and one double case in the north room, and is one of the most sought for collections in the Museum. The complete report of the exploration of the Tremper Mound was published in the July Quarterly, 1916.

On June 29th we commenced field work for the year 1916. We selected the mounds and village site directly across the river from the Tremper Mound, on the farm of Mr. W. O. Feurt. This farm is five miles north of Portsmouth, along the Scioto river. The site comprises three mounds and a large village site. The three mounds were examined. We unearthed therefrom more than 300 skeletons, and from the village site surrounding the mounds we took 100 skeletons and many specimens of artifacts. We had considered the Museum very rich in bone implements, but we were able to duplicate these bone implements many times over, and secured many new types of specimens. We also found one new animal, the porcupine, which we added to the fauna of the state.

The artifacts secured during the summer number more than 5,000, now on exhibition. The report upon this work will be out sometime during the coming spring.

During the year we secured, both by gift and purchase, a large number of private collections, archaeological and historical.

Mr. Truman B. Mills, Dayton, examined the Ulrich mound, located near Farmersville, Montgomery county, Ohio, and took therefrom 43 leaf-shaped flint blades, one very large flint blade (10 inches long), and one leaf-shaped gorget; all of these were deposited in the Museum.

Dr. H. O. Whittaker, New Burlington, presented a number of specimens, taken from a mound near New Burlington, Clinton county.

Dr. J. B. Nicklin, Chattanooga, Tenn., presented through Trustee H. E. Buck, a very fine shell ornament, saucer shaped, with intricate conventional engraved designs, taken from a mound in Tellico, Tenn., in 1910; also a string of beads made from the columella of ocean shells, found in a grave on Williams Island, in the Tennessee river.

Mr. J. A. Rayner, Piqua, presented specimens taken from the Keifer mound, which he explored in 1908. Included in this collection is half of an engraved tablet of sandstone, bearing on the face a finely wrought conventional design, specimens of copper and disk shaped pieces of sandstone.

In January, 1916, a large collection of pre-historic Indian specimens, assembled by the late Eber Hyde of Lancaster, was presented to the Museum by his heirs. It consists of pipes, ceremonials of slate, axes, hammers, pestles and arrow and spear points, knives and various objects made of flint.

Mr. T. W. Cowles, Columbus, presented a fine specimen of slate gorget, found at Jeromeville, Ashland county.

From Mrs. Katherine D. Sharp, was received a very fine, rare crescent ceremonial, found near London, Madison county.

Dr. N. H. Grove, Wyoming, Ohio, presented the Museum a cast of a flat stone, having peculiar markings on one side. It was found by Mr. George Gavitt in 1910, on the site of a large mound at Jacksonburg, Butler county.

Mr. Paul Esselborn, Portsmouth, presented the Museum a perfect pottery vessel of rare type, found on the Bannon farm, nine miles north of Portsmouth.

Mr. Fred M. Avery, Cleveland, presented to the Society several grooved axes of granite; one fine celt and one hammer stone.

Mr. Bruce Rogers, superintendent of parks at Youngstown, presented to the Museum a pipe made of sandstone, conical in form, with widely flaring rim at the top of the bowl, found while excavating in the City Park in 1915.

Received from Mrs. Bessie G. McCullough her entire collection of specimens found in Franklin, Darke and Coshocton counties. This collection consists of pestles, grooved axes, hammers, arrow and spear points, knives, hematite specimens, pipes and ceremonial pieces, totaling 3,840 specimens.

Miss Kate Ayers, Columbus, presented two fine granite celts and two cones — one of hematite.

Mr. G. W. Lorimer, Troy, presented a skull which had been penetrated by a flint arrow point, still in place. The skull was found three miles below Piqua, while excavating for a railroad cut. He also presented a very fine bird-stone, with large, extended eyes.

Mr. S. C. Gray, Deavertown, presented a sandstone disk, with a human face cut on one side. This was found near Deavertown, Ohio.

From Mr. J. P. Burkhart, West Salem, Wayne county, we secured by purchase a very interesting collection, from the region of West Salem. The collection consists of pestles, stone axes, hematite celts, chipped flint implements, and numbers almost 500 specimens.

Mr. Edward S. Smith, Warren, presented a stone hoe, found on his farm in Warren.

Mr. G. H. Heinisch presented his entire collection of Indian relics, taken from the Heinisch mound, Gallia Street, Portsmouth, which consists of a very fine ceremonial pick, 12½ inches long, made of mottled granite, and smoothly polished; several platform pipes and two very fine celts of diorite, the latter highly polished. The collection consists of about 80 specimens.

Mr. Arthur W. Hall, Lakewood, presented six stone sinkers, found in the Lake Erie district.

Mr. J. Gorrell, Holmesville, presented the Society a sandstone pipe, found on his farm; also a large nodule of hematite used as a celt.



Mr. Earl Truster, West Middletown, Butler county, presented a lizard-shaped ceremonial found on his farm.

Mr. T. B. Bowers, Columbus, a life member of the Society, presented a leaf-shaped, unnotched type of arrow head, found while digging out the bones of a mastodon, near Shadesville, in 1915.

Mr. Leonard Young, Columbus, presented a large black leaf-shaped spear point, five inches in length, found on the ground of Camp Willis while grading for the military camp, 1916.

Mr. Wilbur Stout has added several small additions to his collection from Scioto county. He has also sent many specimens of flint, and Ohio pipestone, from the various regions of Ohio.

From Mr. Thomas W. McCullough was secured, by purchase, his entire collection of pipes, ceremonials, pestles, axes, hammers, knives, arrow and spear points. This collection numbers 4,000 specimens.

Mr. Clay Barnes, Waverly, presented his excellent collection of prehistoric stone relics, collected in the vicinity of his farm, near Sargents, Pike county.

Mr. N. T. Patterson, Piketon, presented a small collection of archaeological specimens, from the region surrounding Piketon.

Mr. S. A. Barr, presented two necklaces made of shell, taken from a mound on his farm, near East Monroe, Highland county.

We secured from Mr. J. W. Lorimer, by purchase, one of the finest private collections in the state, numbering upward of 10,000 specimens, typical of western and northwestern Ohio.

Dr. H. E. Twitchell, Hamilton, presented choice specimens from his collection, which includes many specimens from mounds in Butler county.

Mr. Charles V. Wertz, Portsmouth, presented a number of fine specimens from the Feurt village site.

Mr. Morris Hicks, Portsmouth, presented a splendid specimen, made of cannel coal.

Mr. J. C. Shreve, Atlantic City, N. J., presented a number of archaeological specimens, taken from the shell heaps of Florida.

Mrs. L. C. Hoover, Laura, presented a small collection of archaeological specimens, collected at Laura, Miami county.

Mr. H. C. Shetrone, assistant curator, presented a very choice collection of archaeological specimens, found in Franklin, Darke and Miami counties.

Mr. King G. Thompson presented a specimen of 25c fractional currency.

Mr. H. E. Buck, Delaware, presented several bones of the mastodon, and an early make of a glass flask.

Dr. Edward C. Mills, Columbus, presented a brick taken from the Coliseum at Rome, and the first ballot box used in Franklin county.

Mr. Fred A. Bill, Minneapolis, Minn., presented a large spinning wheel, used in Ohio in early days.



Mrs. Jennie Talbott, Springfield, Ill., presented, through Mr. C. M. Smith of Columbus, samples of silk and silk plush, woven in the first silk factory west of the Alleghany Mountains, located at Mt. Pleasant, Jefferson county.

Mrs. Mayme B. Stout, Beaver, presented a cavalry helmet of the War of 1812.

Nitschke Brothers, Columbus, presented an old plummet found on the site of the first jail in Columbus, and a piece of bone taken from a tree, many feet from the ground.

Miss Ida Covault Schults, Cerro Gordo, Ill., presented a large spear, used by her great-grandfather, Timothy Covault, in fighting Indians in the remote settlements near Ft. Washington (Cincinnati) in 1787, three years before Ft. Washington was established.

Mr. E. P. Elliott, Natal, South Africa, presented to the Museum a splendid collection of native ornaments, consisting of necklaces, bracelets, snuff boxes, etc.

Mr. Samuel Butler, Columbus, presented a number of historic relics, including an Indian scalp.

Mrs. W. O. Thompson, Columbus, presented a large piece of cloth woven by natives of Central America.

Mr. J. J. Cramer, Los Angeles, Calif., presented a Henry rifle, used in the civil war.

Mr. Almer Hegler, Washington C. H., presented a 6½c silver piece; one Malay Kris and one double barreled Belgium pistol.

Mr. E. L. Clarridge, Columbus, presented paper money used by the provisional Mexican government.

Prof. J. R. Taylor, Columbus, presented parts of an old spinning wheel.

Mr. F. M. Alexander, Newark, presented a spur worn by Edward Tiffin, first Governor of Ohio.

Mr. Harry W. Kennell, Dayton, presented a number of old political tickets and newspapers.

Mr. George M. Finckel, Columbus, presented a most rare and valuable collection of U. S. cents, and a number of Colonial and State bank notes.

Prof. Chas. E. Albright, Columbus, presented a splendid example of Hawaiian grass skirt.

Mr. F. H. Nichols, Columbus, presented specimens from the pyramids and paper money from Japan; also a paper bill found in the ruins of a bank that had been destroyed, at Martinique.

Mrs. Mack Roberts, Dennison, presented tanned skins of various animals.

Prof. S. C. Derby, Columbus, presented a variety of political and convention badges.

Mrs. J. N. Searles, Stillwater, Minn., presented a quilt made in Ohio in 1841. The quilt represents the highest art in needle work.

We purchased from Mr. Aaron DuBois, Columbus, a beaded war bonnet, which is the finest specimen of its kind in our collection.

Mrs. Sarah J. Coleman and Miss Marietta Comly, of Columbus, presented a collection of natural history specimens, owned by their father, the late Dr. J. W. Comly.

Miss Anna E. Southard and Mrs. C. S. Moore, Columbus, presented a collection of historical specimens pertaining to the Moore and Southard families.

Mr. T. B. Bowers, Columbus, presented a very large collection of early Ohio historical and pioneer specimens.

Mrs. Margaret McAllister Wilcox, Columbus, presented a collection of pioneer objects used in the home of her father in Delaware county, in the early days of the last century.

Mr. J. W. McCarty, Columbus, loaned a collection of specimens from the Philippines.

A number of specimens of historic interest were received from the heirs of the late Eber Hyde, Lancaster.

Mr. Frank Tallmadge, Columbus, presented a number of documents concerning the early stage-coach days in Ohio.

Mr. A. E. Fletcher, M. D., of Byesville, presented, through Mr. Fred Fletcher, Columbus, the lower jaw of a mammoth, found in 1914 along Bird's Run, eight miles north of Cambridge.

Mr. John B. Gibson, a Kentucky soldier of the Union Army, presented a piece of the flag which was raised on the flag-staff at Cameron Hill, Chattanooga, Tenn., by Union and Confederate veterans during their reunion in 1881. The flag was raised after word had been received of the assassination of President Garfield. The flag was divided between the Union and Confederate soldiers.

We received from Prof. Edward Orton a promissory note, signed by Josiah Wedgewood. The note illustrates the manner in which commercial paper was endorsed and circulated in England in 1789. This specimen is mounted under glass.

#### LOGAN ELM:

Mr. Tallmadge made the following report for the Committee on Logan Elm Park:

Your committee has for four years had charge of the small tract of land known as the Logan Elm Park, consisting of four and seven-tenths acres, it having been presented to the Society, upon which is the tree known as "Logan Elm," and a very handsome monument known as "Boggs Monument." We have to report the past year as one of great activity and progress. We have constructed upon the tract of land a building, not a reproduction but the real thing, a log cabin, with all its old-time accessories and equipment—it was very much needed as a shelter house. On that subject I want to report that every Sunday, during good weather, there is an average of one hundred automobiles visiting the park. This

season there were placed there two memorials, one from the Cressap descendants — Captain Michael Cressap — and one by our Society. The tablets contain twenty names of those who were present at the Dunmore Treaty in October, 1774, at that site. These memorials are not now permanently placed, because they are not embedded; we expect in the spring, when we get more money, to place them upon a larger boulder, or upon the present one built up, with a large face. As to the tree itself, I want to report it has been vigorous during the year. Some insect attacked it last season, which did not appear this season, because we were ready for them. The tree's condition is due to the care of the late Professor Lazenby. It has been suggested that our Society should pay as much attention to other historical sites within the confines of Pickaway township as we have paid to this little tract. There are, perhaps, half a dozen other historical sites which are just as important. To these suggestions your committee has made one reply, and that is that our Society cannot improve other people's property.

#### SPIEGAL GROVE PARK :

Col. Hayes made the following report :

On Decoration Day, May 30th, 1916, the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum was formally dedicated, an account of which appears in the October, 1916, Quarterly.

On January 29th, 1916, an endowment of \$50,000 was established, the net income from which is to be devoted to the purchase of books, manuscripts and other articles of historical interest in line with the present collections, when recommended and selected by the Archaeological and Historical Society, and purchased by the Citizens Savings and Trust Company, as Trustee for the fund, if included under the terms of the trust. The Trust Agreement provided, however, that during the life of the donor and his wife, the income was to be expended by them as they saw fit, for the benefit of the Hayes Memorial. Since the last annual meeting there has been expended from the fund, \$3,630.27; of this amount \$856.20 was used for the necessary changes in the boiler room and heating plant, and \$2,773.97 for the purchase of thirty-four portrait windows and for show cases and additional furniture in the library and museum.

The immediate physical needs are: Iron bars and fly screens on windows; coal storage supply; arrangement of specimens in museum and printing of labels by Mr. Shetrone; a catalogue for the library.

The Memorial Building has been closed since November 18th, on which day the supply of natural gas for fuel was cut off by the local gas company.

The diaries of Rutherford B. Hayes, covering the period from 1834 to 1893, practically sixty years, have been ready for copying for the last two years. The Librarian of the University of Texas desires to publish them in the 20th volume of the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, pub-



lished by the Texas State Historical Association. Our Library Committee has asked for an estimate of the cost. The copying and publishing of these diaries should be done by our Society and no other.

The books of the library Americana practically fill the shelves of the two large library rooms on the main floor. The large collection of papers, pamphlets and letters, as yet unexamined, likewise fill the two storage rooms on the third floor, and the exhibition cases in the museum have in them perhaps two or three times as many articles as can properly be shown to advantage. From the above it will be seen that if any additional books or curios are to be purchased with the income from the endowment fund, or if the papers, pamphlets and letters on the third floor are to be arranged so as to be accessible, it will be necessary to build an addition to the present building. A library stack-room, two stories high, would have four floors for books, sufficient for all time, with a capacity of possibly 50,000 books. An addition 20 x 30 feet in size, built off the south side of the present building, and in architectural harmony with the main building, would cost \$10,000.

#### FORT ANCIENT:

Your committee on Fort Ancient has made a number of visits to the Fort since our last annual meeting. During the year a number of improvements have been made.

1st. The roadway at the entrance of the Old Fort was extended through the marshy ground by laying a foundation of flat stones and covering the same with gravel.

2nd. The shelter house has received a new roof.

3rd. Steps were made to the spring, which gives access to much needed water.

The expense for these improvements has been reported to a mid-year meeting.

The following further improvements have been made:

1st. A new well has been dug, near the shelter house, and provided with pump.

2nd. The retiring houses have been repaired.

3rd. The roadway has been extended by graveling several hundred feet toward the "look-out" at the northwest angle of the Old Fort.

The cost of these last improvements is \$369.35. There is left a balance of \$156.65, which will at once be used in the repair of the road in the New Fort.

#### HARRISON MEMORIAL:

Mr. Ryan made the following report:

The committee on Harrison Memorial, consisting of Governor Campbell as chairman, Mr. Randall and myself as associates, respectfully desire to report: We visited Cincinnati, had a conference with the Harrison Memorial Committee of the Cincinnati Business Men's Club, and with



them visited the tomb of General Harrison at North Bend. We found the tomb in a most dilapidated and disgraceful condition. There was four inches of mud in the sepulchre, making it impossible for anybody to go in the receptacle where the bodies of the Harrison family are deposited, and there is no way to tell, from outward appearances, where General Harrison lies. We had with us on that occasion Col. Russell B. Harrison, son of President Benjamin Harrison, and great-grandson of General Harrison. It was agreed, in connection with the Cincinnati Committee, that nothing should be done until options were procured for the adjoining property. That is necessary before any steps are taken. The Cincinnati people were to get these options. We haven't heard from the Cincinnati Committee since, but it is possible at the coming session of Congress a bill will be introduced, whereby an appropriation will be made by the general government, conditioned that Ohio also make proper contribution.

#### FORT MIAMI AND FORT MEIGS.

The committee submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Fort Miami and Fort Meigs met at noon October 27, 1916, at the office of W. J. Sherman in the city of Toledo. President Wright, H. E. Buck and W. J. Sherman were present. Fort Miami was inspected in the afternoon by your Committee accompanied by Mr. Howard Lewis, of Toledo, one of the owners.

On the following day your Committee accompanied by Wm. Corlett, President of the Maumee Valley Pioneer Association, inspected Fort Meigs and afterwards "Turkey Foot" Rock and the battle field of Fallen Timbers.

We now submit for your consideration the following report, viz:

#### FORT MIAMI:

Concerning the antiquity of Fort Miami and its early history we find the following on pages 9 and 10 of Knapp's History of the Maumee Valley, viz:

"One of these parties (of Frontenac, the French Governor of Canada 1672-1682) found their way to the Miami or Maumee River and in 1680 built a small stockade just below the site of Maumee City. \* \* \* On this very spot where the Fort of Maumee stood the British in 1794 erected Fort Miami."

Knapp quotes above from Goodman's report and states that Goodman obtained data from French records at Montreal and Quebec and from papers at Albany and Harrisburg. Knapp also adds:

"Hence the occupation of the Maumee antedated that sought to be established (1683) on the Detroit."

Graham in Vol 3, O. A. H. S. P., page 301, speaks of "Fort Miami the oldest fortification in Ohio" having been used by the French but a short time and adds:

"In 1785 the abandoned fort was rebuilt by the British who remained in possession until the treaty of peace with the Indians."

Randall & Ryan say at page 559, Vol. 2, of their History of Ohio:

"In obedience to the terms of this treaty Fort Miami was yielded to the Americans July 26, 1796."

Fort Miami was again occupied by the British during the war of 1812.

This old fort occupies a commanding site on the left bank of the Maumee river less than two (2) miles in an air line below Fort Meigs.

The earth works are very well defined at the present time. The property belongs to Messrs. Frank and Howard Lewis, of Toledo, but who recently purchased it for residential purposes at a cost of approximately \$12,000.00, for about seven acres, of which one-third is comprised in what are known as "water lots." They now state that they do not wish to sell the property, as they intend ultimately to live there.

#### FORT MEIGS:

This fort, directly opposite the Village of Maumee, and one (1) mile above the Village of Perrysburg, was completed by General Harrison February 16, 1813. It was unsuccessfully attacked by the British General Proctor in the summer of 1813. Concerning it Gunckal in his "Early History of the Maumee Valley" says:

"Fort Meigs covered a space of nine (9) acres, but this was increased to fourteen (14) acres during the second siege. It was the most important and imposing of the fortifications in the Maumee Valley and the great north west."

This property, still in a splendid state of preservation, belongs to the State of Ohio. A beautiful marble shaft has recently been erected in the center of the old fort. The care of this property is in the hands of a commission of five appointed by the Governor.

Recent improvements made by the Commission include a comfortable and modern caretaker's residence and a system of good drive-ways.

It is our understanding that the Fort Meigs Commission will probably be favorable to the acquisition by your Society of this valuable property from the State and your Committee respectfully recommends that the proper steps be taken to secure such action. The lands owned by the State at this point embrace about 36 acres.

#### THE BATTLE OF FALLEN TIMBERS:

On this famous battle field Mad Anthony Wayne defeated the Indians under "Little Turtle" and his British allies Aug. 20, 1794, and paved the way for the treaty of peace signed at Greenville the following year. This was the last battle with the Indians within the boundaries of the State of Ohio, and opened up this entire state for settle-

ment. "Turkey Foot," Chief of one of the tribes, was slain, and "Turkey Foot Rock" commemorates his memory and his death. The battle front was two (2) miles in extent, but the clearings next to the river were doubtless the scenes of the most severe fighting. "Turkey Foot Rock" is near the river; and Presque Isle, rising abruptly from the bottom lands to a height of fifty feet above the river, is near by. The acquisition of Presque Isle and Turkey Foot Rock by your Society is favored by your Committee. The lands to be acquired would comprise perhaps eighty (80) acres, now highly improved and situated about three (3) miles above Maumee. We have not conferred with the owners concerning the matter.

#### LIBRARY COMMITTEE:

Mr. Ryan reported for the committee, as follows:

Since the last meeting of the Society the committee has had several meetings. The committee has made investigations, looking for proper literary matter for the library, at Chillicothe, and after a complete survey it regrets to report a total lack of books, literature, pamphlets or manuscripts available. Years ago all of the original manuscripts of historical characters of Chillicothe were either sold to the Western Reserve Historical Society, forwarded to Washington, or sold to private parties in New York. The libraries have been disposed of, principally to private purchasers. The committee has been disappointed to find, at the most historic center of the state, no available material. The committee finds in its constantly received catalogues of various second-hand book concerns throughout the country a remarkable dearth of material concerning Ohio. As a matter of purchase it is practically impossible to secure early Ohio literature—it has already been acquired by private and public libraries. The Committee has within recent days purchased a complete file of the *Crisis*, published here in Columbus by Sam Medary during the war. The committee have purchased from a Boston party some eighteen autograph letters of Salmon P. Chase, letters written during his college days at Dartmouth and first residence in Washington, D. C.

#### SERPENT MOUND:

W. H. Cole, chairman of the Serpent Mound Committee, submitted the following report: When assigned to the care of the Serpent Mound Park there was pending certain repairs on the home of the custodian, consisting of a new roof on a portion of the house, replastering the kitchen, rebuilding a veranda and papering certain rooms—in all amounting to \$40.00. This work was all done in a satisfactory manner.

We provided a book for the registration of visitors. During the present year up to date, nearly eight thousand visitors registered their presence, while many others did not register. In the past spring we had planted an orchard, consisting of apple, cherry, pear and plum trees, together with gooseberry, currants and strawberry bushes. We prepared and had published a map and pamphlet, as a guide to the Serpent



Mound. These are to be sold at the park by the custodian, at 25c, cloth bound, and 10c paper bound. The revenue derived from this sale will be turned over to the Treasurer of the Society, Mr. Wood.

In October we had the steel observation tower at the mound repainted. We also had the barn and the fences on the property white-washed, and in October, under the direction of a landscape gardener, and through his courtesy, we planted seventy ornamental forest trees.

The road from the entrance to the mound is in very bad condition, owing to washouts, and should be repaired. Another pressing need is that of a shelter house, and a rest room at the park.

It is our sad duty to report the death of our genial and efficient custodian, Mr. Daniel Wallace, who died of typhoid fever on the morning of November 9, 1916. In addition to his long-time efficient service and his genial personality, Mr. Wallace was an interesting character, from the fact that he had been at the Park from the beginning of Prof. Putnam's explorations, and improvements, and was therefore familiar with everything connected with its recent history. Mr. Wallace was a very valuable man to the Society, and his place will be difficult to fill.

#### WARREN COUNTY SERPENT MOUND:

The committee on the contemplated purchase of the serpent mound in Warren county simply had to report that they had visited the site, found it very advantageously located on the banks of a creek, and there are great opportunities there for a beautiful park. It is two and a half miles west of Morrow. When in its complete condition it was about the size, and very similar to the Serpent Mound in Adams county. The committee found that about half the serpent, from the head, is in an excellent state of preservation. It would not be a difficult thing for an expert to restore it. It seemed to the committee a very desirable acquisition for the Society.

#### BIG BOTTOM PARK:

Mr. C. L. Bozman made the following report as to the conditions of Big Bottom Park. Have visited twice this season the landmark and find things there in reasonably good shape, considering the great damage done by flood of 1913, which demolished a portion of the fence and upset the monument or rather the "spire" which has been placed in position. Since the Society has come into possession of the Park a new public road has been established at the rear of the park, thereby abandoning the old road between park and river. I presume the park could be extended across this road.

#### NECROLOGY:

Mr. Mills reported the death of the following members during the past year:

Col. John W. Harper, December 27, 1915.

Jeptha Gerard, December 15, 1915.



Dr. W. B. Rosamond, May 15, 1916.

Charles A. Dana, August, 1916.

W. R. Lazenby, September 15, 1916.

Obadiah Brokaw, May 5, 1916.

E. H. Archer, September 2, 1916.

R. M. Voorhees, July 22, 1916.

J. T. Holmes, February 17, 1916.

Alfred A. Thomas, March 3, 1916.

Mrs. Mary McArthur Tuttle, September, 1916.

General E. B. Finley, August 21, 1916.

The nominating committee, which had been named by Mr. Bareis, chairman of the meeting, consisted of Messrs. Prince, Gard and Cole. This committee recommended the election of Messrs. L. P. Schaus, D. J. Ryan and F. W. Treadway as Trustees, to succeed themselves, for the term of three years. They were elected.

Two amendments to the constitution were proposed and adopted. Section 2 of Article II provides that the payment at any one time of twenty-five dollars shall constitute the person paying a life member. That section was amended by striking out the word "twenty-five" and inserting in lieu thereof "fifty", and furthermore in that section it was provided that any person who shall make a donation to the Society, the value of which is not less than fifty dollars, shall be entitled to life membership.

The section as amended reads:

"Sec. 2. The payment at any one time of fifty dollars (\$50.00) to the Society shall constitute the person so paying a life member. Life members shall be exempt from all further dues, and shall be entitled to all the privileges of active membership. Any person who shall make a donation to the Society, the value of which shall be determined by the trustees to be not less than fifty dollars (\$50.00) shall be entitled to life membership. Said life membership payments shall constitute a permanent fund to be invested at the discretion of the Trustees. The income only of this fund to be used by the Society for such purposes as the Trustees may direct."

It was then, without any definite action, agreed and understood by the meeting that the amendment as to the fifty dollar membership fee should not become effective until January 1st, 1917.

Article V, Section 1, now provides that the annual meeting shall be held within thirty days after the end of the fiscal year of the Society. That article and section was amended by striking out the word "thirty" and inserting in lieu thereof the word "ninety."

Section 1, Article V, as amended reads:

"Section 1. The fiscal year of the Society shall end June 30, and the annual meeting shall be held at Columbus within ninety days thereafter at the discretion of the President and Secretary. Due notice of the

meeting shall be mailed by the Secretary to all members of the Society at least ten days before such annual meeting is held."

The following were duly elected to life membership: Mr. Clay Barnes, Waverley; Dr. H. E. Twitchell, Hamilton; Mr. A. J. Rayner, Piqua; Prof. A. M. Schlesinger, Columbus; Mr. H. C. Shetrone, Columbus; Hon. Harry L. Goodbread, Nevada, Ohio; Dr. Wm. D. Tremper, Portsmouth; Mr. W. O. Feurt, Portsmouth; Mr. Geo. H. Heinisch, Portsmouth; Mr. Wilbur Stout, Sciotoville; Mr. Henry J. Booth, Columbus; Prof. John E. Bradford, Oxford.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

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## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES.

SOCIETY BUILDING, NOVEMBER 27, 1916.

Present: Messrs. Wright, Ryan, Prince, Cole, Wood, Randall, Buck, Bareis, Hayes, Treadway, Moore, Thompson, Campbell; absent, Messrs. Schaus and Palmer.

The meeting was called to order by President Wright, who stated that the first thing in order was the election of officers. The officers elected for the ensuing year (1916-17) were as follows:

Mr. G. Frederick Wright, President; Mr. George F. Bareis, First Vice President; Mr. Daniel J. Ryan, Second Vice President; Mr. E. O. Randall, Secretary; Mr. E. F. Wood, Treasurer and Mr. W. C. Mills, Curator.

Thereupon the salaries for the different officers and employes for the year beginning July 1, 1917, were determined upon as asked for in the forthcoming budget but subject to the legislative appropriations.

Mr. Wood stated that the salaries here fixed are for the year beginning July 1, 1917, and the figures are those furnished the Budget Commissioner.

All of the present employes of the Society were appointed for a term ending June 30th, 1917.

Mr. Wood gave the names of the employes thus reappointed, as follows: Oscar F. Miller, bookkeeper, Mr. H. C. Shetrone, assistant curator; Mr. Starling Eaton, superintendent of building; Mr. John Gill and Mr. Elmer Hart, janitors; Miss Bushfield, assistant librarian, Columbus building; Miss Grace Harper, stenographer; Mrs. Elizabeth P. French, assistant librarian, Hayes Memorial Library; Mr. Warren Cowan, caretaker, Fort Ancient; Mr. Chauncey Hawk, caretaker, Spiegel Grove Park; Mr. Jerry Estell, caretaker, Logan Elm Park.

Dr. W. O. Thompson, who was present, stated briefly the attitude which he thought the Society ought to take in regard to any cooperation with the Ohio State University. The suggestion had been considered that the Society cooperate with the historical department of the University, to the effect that a teacher of history, particularly relative to Ohio history, be employed, the salary of whom should be shared by the

Society and the University, and that one of his special functions should be to conduct a survey and research for original material along the lines of Ohio history, which material the university could use in its instructional department, and which should be published by the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society. He (Dr. Thompson) thought it would not be wise to attempt any such double arrangement, as it would be difficult to avoid certain conflicts, and he thought it more pertinent for the Society to do that work itself, securing, if necessary, additional appropriations for that purpose, leaving to the University alone the functions of giving instruction in historical topics. That would leave each institution to follow strictly its lines of work, with freedom to each as to its own methods and results.

As to the suggestion that appropriations be asked of the legislature for additions to the Ohio Society building, that was a matter entirely within the scope and purpose of the Society. If they needed more room for their own collections and their special lines of exhibit, that was well and good, but he understood that one of the arguments in favor of the additions was that additional room should be utilized for enlarging the museum territory so as to incorporate certain museum features now belonging to the University, namely, exhibits in zoology, natural history and perhaps geology. The university now has three or four museums, in connection with its different departments of natural history, geology, botany, etc. He understood the idea to be that these were to be transferred to the Society building, thereby giving to the University the room thus vacated for other purposes. He was emphatically unfavorable to such an attempt. The university would not consent at all to give up their own museums. It would be inconvenient and perfectly impractical, as the museums in question were inseparable parts of the departments of instruction to which they respectively belong. He further thought it would be very impolitic for the Society to attempt the furtherance of any such plan.

Mr. Wood, Treasurer, read the budget of the Society for the years 1917-1918 and 1918-1919. He read the itemized requests for appropriations, of which the following is the index summary:

1917-1918.

A. Salaries .....	\$15,245 00
B. Wages .....	500 00
D. Supplies .....	3,060 00
E. Equipment .....	1,870 00
G. Miscellaneous Service .....	7,037 30
I. Contingencies .....	200 00
J-2. Buildings .....	50,200 00
J-3. Non-Structural Improvements .....	250 00
J-5. Miscellaneous Capital Equipment.....	500 00



1918-1919.

A. Salaries .....	\$15,245 00
B. Wages .....	500 00
D. Supplies .....	3,060 00
E. Equipment .....	1,600 00
G. Miscellaneous Service .....	6,649 80
I. Contingencies .....	200 00
J-2. Buildings .....	50,000 00
J-5. Miscellaneous Capital Equipment.....	500 00

Mr. Carl Rakeman, the artist who decorated the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum Building, presented the proposition of decorating the interior of the rotunda of the Society Building at Columbus. The scheme was to decorate the four panels of the frieze on the lower floor, and the four panels of the frieze on the upper floor, and the interior of the dome. Mr. Rakeman exhibited model drawings, giving his idea of the artistic and historical nature of the mural paintings. The plan met with approval by the Trustees, and it was referred to a special committee for consideration and such action as the committee might deem advisable.

Mr. Ryan presented a proposition submitted by The Old Northwest Genealogical and Historical Society, concerning the sale of the library of that Society to The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. The matter was referred to the Library committee for consideration.

\* \* \*

President Wright appointed the following standing committees:

*Finance:* Messrs. Campbell, Schaus, Ryan, Bareis and Wood.

*Publications:* Messrs. Ryan, Wood and Randall.

*Museum:* Messrs. Mills, Buck, Bareis and Hegler.

*Library:* Messrs. Randall, Ryan, Campbell, Hockett and Siebert.

*Historical Sites:* Messrs. Wright, Prince, Cole and Moore.

*Hayes Memorial and Spiegel Grove:* Messrs. Hayes, Wright, Treadway, Ryan and Mills.

*Fort Ancient:* Messrs. Prince, Moore, Buck and Dunham.

*Logan Elm Park:* Mr. Tallmadge, Mrs. Jones, Messrs. Booth and Roof.

*Serpent Mound:* Messrs. Cole and Mills.

*Big Bottom Park:* Messrs. Martzloff and Bozman.

*Harrison Memorial:* Messrs. Campbell, Ryan and Randall.

*Necrology:* Messrs. Mills, Bareis and Prince.

*Fort Miami:* Messrs. Sherman, Wright, Treadway and Buck.

*Serpent Mound, Warren County:* Messrs. Wright, Cole, Mills and Hough.

On motion the meeting adjourned.



## SILVER MINES OF OHIO INDIANS.

PROFESSOR R. S. KING.

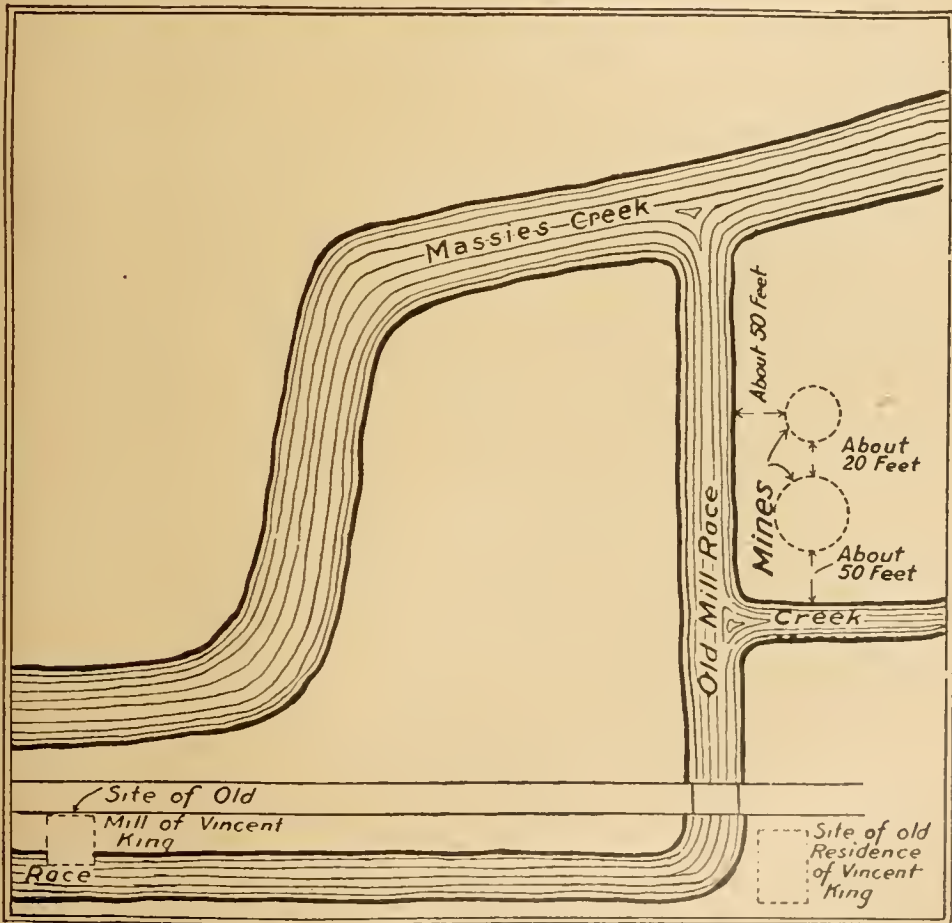
[We occasionally have had inquiries concerning the history or myth, if it was merely traditionary, concerning some silver mines worked by the Indians, which mines were supposed to have been located near Old Chillicothe, Greene County, Ohio. We have never been able to secure any definite information in regard to the same until we received the following from Professor R. S. King, now of the University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.—EDITOR]

Some time ago I mentioned to my father, Mr. William Harrison King, that I had once upon a time read a legend of silver mines located in Greene County, Ohio. As my father was born and raised in that county he has vivid recollections of events that happened in the early days. The following is his version of these mines and their locations:

According to some of the prisoners of the Indians they were made to pack heavy loads from a distance up Massie's Creek down to Old Chillicothe, now Old Town, Ohio. These prisoners were some of the early pioneers who ventured into this region before the first settlement was made. It was related by these men that the Indians would blindfold them early in the morning and march them up the trail along Massie's Creek for a distance estimated between three and three and a half miles. Then they would be left under guard for a period of time, usually estimated at about one-half day, at the end of which time the Indians who had departed would return with material in bundles that was very heavy for the size of the package. These heavy bundles or packs would be forced on the prisoners and they would be compelled to carry them to Old Chillicothe without any rest.

One of these prisoners whose name is not recalled claimed that he was able to remove the bandage partly from his eyes and that the Indians did not leave the party but remained with them so that the prisoners would think that the material had been brought to them from a distance. He also claimed that

he saw them load up the packs and that they were bars of silver which came from a mine near by. As this prisoner had a reputation among his companions of "handling the truth in rather a reckless manner" not much faith was put in his story. However the tale was told from time to time and efforts have been made to locate this mythical mine. It might be said that the claim was also made that the Indians buried part of this



Location of Mythic Silver Mines of Indians, Greene County, Ohio.

wealth near Old Chillicothe and carried a part of it north where it was buried. Shortly after Old Chillicothe was destroyed by Gen. George Rogers Clarke and those who had the location of the wealth were either killed later or did not return to claim the silver.

Mr. James Stevenson, a son of Samuel Stevenson of near Lexington, Kentucky, moved into Ohio about 1796 or 1797 and

located his land in the region of these mines. He afterward married Miss Anna Galloway, who was the daughter of William Galloway, who lived near Paris, Kentucky. A daughter, Jane Stevenson, married Mr. Vincent King, who later purchased from his father-in-law the land that, according to what follows, contained these mines. As soon as this land was acquired Vincent King erected thereon a flour mill, the approximate location of which is shown on the accompanying map. In digging the race a short distance from the bed of Massie's Creek small flat stones were thrown out that contained or rather had engraved on their sides some marking or hieroglyphics. Nothing was thought of this at the time but later some men who were interested in trying to locate these mythical mines heard of it and near by they found what appeared to be two round holes about twelve feet in diameter that seemed to be filled up with rocks. They started to sink a hole or shaft beside one of these rock-filled holes and as far down as they went this rock fill continued. Their digging was in earth. This showed beyond a doubt that there had been a hole or shaft here at some former time that had been filled with "nigger-heads" and other rock. As the surrounding ground was all deep earth and no rocks in the soil it seemed certain that the lost mine had been found but the digging was discontinued because of water encountered. Considering the finding of peculiar marked rocks at the time of digging the race and the two circular holes filled with rock leads one to think that perhaps there may have been some work of some sort done here by the Indians or their predecessors.

The accompanying map shows the approximate location of these two circular holes. I certainly would like to see this "particular" mine investigated, not that it is likely to disclose any hidden wealth but that it might be worth while for what it would yield in an archaeological way.

The above account may have been elaborated extensively but I believe that all the facts are set forth. I trust that this paper may bring out further information in connection with this myth. I might say that this land is located just north of Wilberforce University, Greene County, Ohio.

## BIRTH PLACES OF THREE OHIO PRESIDENTS.

BY FELIX J. KOCH.

Ohio has been well-named "The Mother of Presidents," — and while to give the list of all the Chief Executives who were either born, or who grew up, — for some years, at least, — within her confines were tedious, — it is an interesting play of the Fates, worthy the noting, that three Presidential birth-places are so closely located, one to another, that a day's motor jaunt out from Cincinnati permits of one visiting them all! Grant, the warrior-President, was born at Pt. Pleasant, O.; Benjamin Harrison, descended of another Presidential family, was born at North Bend, and the late President, Taft, saw the light of day at Cincinnati, — all these almost within view of the Ohio River and the opposite Kentucky shore.

The logical sequence for such a pilgrimage, — determined by locations, that is to say, — is to visit, first, the slumbering river hamlet, Pt. Pleasant, in which President Grant was born. Then, following the river to Cincinnati, on whose heights the substantial Taft birth place still stands, to tarry; after that, following the 'Belle Riviere' once again, to stop at North Bend, where old "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" had his home and where Benjamin Harrison first saw light of day.

The entire journey is, indeed, delightful!

Much of the country 'round both Pt. Pleasant and North Bend, or, as the hamlet there now is called, Cleves, is given over to farms, with corn and wheat and meadows of cattle and sheep, that have their rail fences and old orchards and quaint well-sweeps, much as they did when Grant lived here.

Pt. Pleasant is quite as much a sleepy river hamlet as it was at the time.

Approaching Pt. Pleasant today, for one has a long ride through the hilly fields, you note where the timber rights have been sold for poles the size of younger elms and the like,



— these being cut into wagon hubs at a mill just beyond. Rounding a curve, you find this hub factory, just next the pike, with a thrasher engine, mounted in a shed near by, to run the saws. The short, round hubs for heavier wagon use are stacked outside, their edges covered with paint. Most the work is done in the winter, when the farmers have nothing to do, and are glad to clear their \$1.25 the day. The proprietor of the place is the "big man" of the Pt. Pleasant settlement: the postmaster and proprietor of the general store.



Monument on Grant's Birthplace.

Just beyond, there comes the village proper. It's a wee, little village, with neat country homes, in their gardens, and plenty of trees and fences about. At its midst is the general store aforesaid, and our friend, the hub-maker, introduces you to his mother, a woman of 93 at last accounts, who was here when Grant lived in the place. You hear her recollections, then stroll on to the cross-lane to the river, where an old house, just at the stream, overlooks the boat landing where Grant's folk left, or came.

So small is the town, though, that you pass on, surprised, first, that a President should have come from it; and then wondering that it has never grown more. There's a schoolhouse atop a high hill just behind, this reached by a huge flight of steps to the top of the peak, then beyond, frame homes, white-painted most of them, line the street. A modern green-painted dwelling is on the site of Grant's birthplace, — the original cabin was taken away on a flatboat at one time and has never been replaced.



Site of Grant's Birthplace.

Pt. Pleasant's only awakening, however, came a very few years since, when, before a distinguished company, including a son of General Grant, a small cannon was unveiled in the street, just before the place where the President had been born. On beyond, an iron bridge leads across a stream flowing to the Ohio and then one is in the country once more.

The birthplace of President Benjamin Harrison is perhaps better known than the other, because of the charming drive, high over the Ohio from Cincinnati, to the place. The



old Harrison farm has long since been dismantled, but, set into a bluff overlooking the river's huge bend is the ancient stone tomb of the Warrior-President, grandsire of the later Chief Executive, and his family. The top of this tomb is flat and cemented over, it having been intended to mount a great statue of the warrior Harrison, now in Cincinnati, out here.

The old tomb has had some strange experiences: neglect has characterized the place for years and the iron door has rusted and the lock been broken. Only a few years ago some boys, playing hide and seek 'round about, had a queer experience with the tomb. Finding the lock broken and the door open, one of their number crept inside the tomb to hide, somehow the door wedged and the child could not re-open it. By and by the dark, the closeness of the air caused it to be overcome, and cease its poundings to be free. Meanwhile the other lads played their game, then, failing finally to find the one boy, went to their homes, thinking him to have done the same, long before. When night came and no little one, the parents organized a search; but, since the tomb door was shut, no one ever thought of looking in such a place as that. Desperate, the parents hunted far, but without success. Late next evening a traveler on the road, hearing queer sounds from the tomb, gave warning of his fears. Saner folk went to the tomb and found the child revived a bit, and striving to get free.

Resting beside the old tomb and looking inland, 'cross the lots, to what was the cellar-hole of Ben. Harrison's birthplace, or listening to the bells of the passing steamers, who toll here, as boats do in passing the tomb of Washington, one wonders at the neglect of a nation for the birthplace of one President and the burial place of another. Otherwise there is just the view to attract, unless one goes to Ft. Hill, some miles away, to visit its prehistoric earthworks.

President Taft's birthplace, as already suggested, is still in good condition. It is a very imposing brick residence, of a style affected by the well-to-do in the middle of the past century; crowning a knoll amid some tall trees, and with the lawn sloping down to the walk and avenue.

Within, things are largely changed to meet the needs of its subsequent tenants.

In view of the place, though, there's a great, modern public school, that's the outgrowth of the little hilltop school which President Taft had attended. Quite a few of his teachers still survive in the Queen City and, when Taft was raised to the Presidency, innumerable anecdotes of his early school days here, 'round the Mt. Auburn birthplace were told.



Birthplace of President Taft.

"Taft," one such recounts, "was a good-natured, big boy; with bones too big for him, inspiring the nickname, Lubber, which was sometimes shortened to Lub. But Lub Taft was not a slow mover, in spite of his size. He entered the fields of boyish sports with the same zest as other lads. He loved history, he loved to read, but he was not a 'grind.' He merely labored at each of his lessons until he got it; but he never forgot that he was human, or how to be a boy, or how to get the joy out of life."



Somehow we Americans aren't any too much given to sentiment and so we fail to mark our historic sites as our European kinsmen do. The birthplaces of the Presidents, however, possess an interest of their own, and even the most prosaic of our young folk, as well as old, cannot but wish that tablet, or other marker, be set to indicate such points as these, that we might know them as we travel by.



## UNVEILING OF THE CRESAP TABLET.

LOGAN ELM PARK — OCTOBER, 1916.

On Saturday, October 21, 1916, an interesting ceremony was held at Logan Elm Park, under the auspices of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. The program, arranged by Mr. Frank Tallmadge, comprised the erection of a flag staff and the unfurling of the stars and stripes; the dedication of a log cabin, not a modern imitation but a well preserved relic of the real thing, a left over of the pioneer days, secured on a neighboring farm and transported to the Park; the unveiling of two bronze tablets attached to opposite sides of a large boulder, firmly placed upon a concrete foundation. The inscriptions on these two tablets read respectively as follows:

AMONG THOSE PRESENT  
ON THIS SPOT AT THE  
DUNMORE TREATY, OCT. 1774  
WERE THE FOLLOWING

GEN. GEO. R. CLARK	-	KY.	GOV. JAMES WOOD	-	-	VA.	
CAPT. M. CRESAP	-	MD.	CAPT. JNO. WILSON	-		KY.	
GEN. JOHN GIBSON	-	PA.	LIEUT. GABRIEL COX	-		KY.	
SIMON KENTON	-	-	VA.	CAPT. JOHNSON	-	-	PA.
COL. BENJ. WILSON	-	MD.	CAPT. JAS. PARSONS	-		VA.	
LIEUT. J. CRESAP	-	MD.	CAPT. WM. HARROD	-		VA.	
BENJ. TOMLINSON	-	-	MD.	CAPT. WM. HENSHAW	-		VA.
GEN. DAN'L MORGAN	-	VA.	LIEUT. M. CRESAP, JR.	-		MD.	
SIMON GIRTY	-	-	PA.	CAPT. DAVID SCOTT	-		PA.
COL. L. BARRET				CAPT. WILLIAMSON			

IN MEMORIAM  
CAPT. MICHAEL CRESAP

A COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY HERO OF OHIO, VIRGINIA  
AND MARYLAND, WHOSE MILITARY SERVICES ASSISTED IN

GAINING THE "DUNMORE TREATY," AFTER THE BATTLE OF POINT PLEASANT, IN WHICH HE FOUGHT IN THE HAMPSHIRE COUNTY, VIRGINIA REGIMENT. CAPTAIN MICHAEL CRESAP WAS PRESENT HERE AND A SIGNER OF THE "DUNMORE TREATY," IN OCTOBER 1774.

CAPTAIN MICHAEL CRESAP'S COMPANIONS IN ARMS, EBENEZER ZANE, GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE, COLONEL BENJAMIN WILSON, BENJAMIN TOMLINSON AND OTHERS, CORRECTED LOGAN'S MISTAKE IN ASSOCIATING CAPTAIN CRESAP WITH THE YELLOW CREEK AFFAIR.

CAPTAIN MICHAEL CRESAP TOOK THE FIRST COMPANY FROM THE SOUTH TO GENERAL WASHINGTON AT CAMBRIDGE. HE DIED IN THE SERVICE AND WAS BURIED WITH THE "HONORS OF WAR," AND HIS TOMB STANDS IN TRINITY CHURCH YARD, NEW YORK CITY.

The day proved inclement in weather and not over a hundred gathered to participate in the occasion. Conspicuous among those present were twenty-one of the lineal descendants of Col. Thomas Cresap of early American pioneer fame, and whose son Captain Michael Cresap was the one designated by the Mingo Chief Logan as the destroyer of the Chief's family.

After the unfurling of the flag by Mr. William Neil as many of those present, as could, assembled within the log cabin, in the ample fireplace of which the burning logs snapped and sparkled as of "ye olden time," while Colonel Henry C. Taylor read the following dedicatory address:

ADDRESS OF HENRY C. TAYLOR.

The ground on which we meet today has many interesting associations. It was the scene of conflict of two races of men, the white and the red. Here were the troublous days of a retiring and oncoming race. The aboriginal had roamed over these plains for uncounted years until something like two centuries ago the pale face began here and there to appear. In a short time antagonisms grew into open hostility and continued with increasing energy until at last treaties of peace were made, the red men seeking other hunting grounds and the white men entered in and possessed the land. After the conflict of many trying years, it is recounted that the representatives of the Indian and the pale face as-

sembled here in friendly council. We are pleased to think of the times when they met here, to smoke the pipe of peace.

The home of the red men was the wigwam and around this were held the council fires and to these were brought the trophies of the hunt for game, then so abundant. The wigwam was conical in shape with long poles driven into the ground and was generally covered with bark and skins. At the top an open space was left for the escape of smoke. It was temporary in its structure, easily made and could be quickly taken down and removed. The Indian wigwam was of the tent type, the home of man in all countries in the early ages of the world. It is said that when an Indian wandered far and wide and could not find his wigwam, the wigwam was considered lost but not the Indian. Such was their pride of location in forest and plain. In the now distant days the home of the white man was the log cabin. This was their refuge from danger and place of rest and protection. Around these log abodes clustered the home ties of the pioneers. Living in these they went forth to subdue the earth for their uses and purposes. Not relying on the woods and streams for their sustenance they planted the Indian corn. Soon the potato and cabbage found their way into the cleared ground, also some wheat and patches of buckwheat grew about the cabins. Upon the sides of the cabin were often stretched the skins of wild animals, especially those of the coon, mink, opossum, groundhog and fox. The wolves were at large in these plains and woods and their skins were turned to commercial use by the pioneers. There was not so very much light in the cabins, the windows being small and usually no light from the door. In the evening and during the night a large open fire furnished the light and made the interior bright and cheery, after the day of hardship, exposure and toil. The back log was from four to five feet long and was hauled to the cabin door by a horse. It was then rolled in and put into place by two men and served the purpose for several days. The longer pieces, consisting of limbs and split wood, were placed in front and a roaring fire would be the result. The chimney would be so open and of such large proportions that one could look up through it at night and see the stars. Great care was exercised in selecting the back log and the kind of wood largely determined the time it would last. It was said of the buckeye that one good back log of this timber would last all winter and then it could be taken out in the spring and planted and would sprout and grow. In the interior of the cabin the ceiling on the first or ground floor was generally low, probably  $7\frac{1}{2}$  or 8 feet in height. Heavy timbers extended across to support the loft or space above. From these timbers were many wooden hooks made from the saplings to support different household articles but especially the guns. It was customary to have at least two rifles and probably a flintlock shotgun so suspended. In the hands of the skilled hunters the rifles were deadly instruments; the flintlock was uncertain, not carrying far and was only fatal at short range.



In the beginning of things in the history of our state it was a great class of men and women that lived in the log cabins. They were the stalwarts from the East and South, of English, Irish, Scotch, Welch, German, Dutch and French descent. The prevailing type of the first settlers was, I think, a mixture, and what is known as the Scotch-Irish. They were the settlers of whom General Andrew Jackson was a representative man. The characteristics of the people who built and lived in these cabins were industry, economy, courage, self-sacrifice, morality and a firm belief in churches and schools. Their education was often limited and some of them who were most highly esteemed and honored could scarcely read or write. Andrew Johnson was taught to read by his wife after he was married. It is said that Andrew Jackson was always quite deficient in spelling and one version of the original of O. K. is that on some measure which met his approval he wrote O. K., which he supposed was the initial letters for "all correct." This branch of education is not now so highly valued since the advent of simplified spelling and spelling reform.

The national campaign of 1840 resolved itself into a celebration of the log cabin period of our country. The enthusiasm knew no bound and the candidate whose name was associated with this humble structure was elected president of the United States. On the 22nd day of February, 1840, there was held in Columbus a political demonstration, the like of which had never before been seen and which for many years after was referred to with the greatest pride.

A log cabin with a con on top was placed upon a wagon and hauled down High Street, to the infinite satisfaction and amusement of the public. On this occasion Mr. William Neil, the elder of two brothers who came in an early day from Kentucky to Columbus, drove the six pairs of horses for the float on which were seated the young ladies dressed in white representing the different states of the Union. My father took a part in this notable procession of that time, and today there are representatives here in the third generation of these two families.

The log cabin has a place in our literature in prose and verse. In the winter of 1851 in the *National Intelligencer*, published in Washington, D. C., a story was commenced which was destined to become, when published in book form, the most effective work ever written by an American. This story was finished in 1852 and was published under the title of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." In a short time it gained a wide circulation and continues to be largely read unto this day. It has been translated into twenty different languages and has gone into all parts of the world. Its effect in our country after the first year of its publication was tremendous and it has been credited with having accomplished more in the work of overthrowing the institution of slavery than all the abolition societies ever formed and anti-slavery orations ever delivered. The alternative part of the title, though seldom heard, is quite significant, the full title being "Uncle Tom's Cabin or Life Among the Lowly."

From the log cabin in Ohio we had General Grant, the successful leading general in our Civil War from 1861 to 1865. His monument on Riverside Drive, New York, attests the nation's appreciation of his rank and service in our great crisis. From a log cabin in Kentucky came Abraham Lincoln, our president when the life of the nation was in peril and whose name now belongs to the world and to the ages.

It is not in human probability that another of the sons of men will arise from any condition, humble or exalted who will threaten his pre-eminence in the world and have a loftier and more enduring fame. In the sterling virtues and simplicity of life, the Scotch Cotter as pictured in Burns' "Cotter's Saturday Night," must have borne a strong resemblance to our forefathers of the log cabin days. The same integrity of character, the same reverence, the same self-denial, the same sacrifice and the same faith.

If you will permit some slight substitutions we shall have:

From scenes like these Ohio's Grandeur springs

That makes her loved at home, revered abroad;

Princess and lords are but the breath of kings,

And honest man's the noblest work of God.

And certes in fair virtue's heavenly road

The cabin leaves the palace far behind.

To the memory of our forefathers and foremothers who wrought so valiantly and lived such worthy lives, we their grateful descendants now dedicate this log cabin to their lasting remembrance.



WILLIS CRESAP.

From the cabin the participants proceeded to the Cresap monument, located almost under the lengthy branches of the Logan Elm. Mr. E. O. Randall, Secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society presided. Rev. C. B. Beckes pronounced the invocation after which Master Willis Cresap, aged eight, assisted by Master Ben O. Cresap, both lineal descendants from Captain Michael Cresap, removed the flag that covered the Cresap tablet, while Willis recited the following lines:

Hurrah for our Country! May she ever be free.  
Hurrah for our Patriots! On land or on sea,  
Who gave this Liberty, to you and to me.  
We will hold their deeds, and memory bright,  
While the Sun and the Moon give us this light;  
To their principles, we boys will be true,  
And we will live and die, for the Red, White and Blue.

The speaker of the day was Hon. Henry J. Booth, who delivered the following address:

ADDRESS OF HON. HENRY J. BOOTH.

In the midst of the greatest war that has ever exposed the vices and weaknesses of what we call civilization, we have met to commemorate events which were a prelude to another war, that ended at Yorktown four generations ago. As to the results of the present world-wide conflict let us not attempt to speculate, lest our opinions be colored by our sympathies. But the heritage of the American Revolution is known of all men. The supreme outstanding fact is that in the great family of nations, for more than a hundred years our people have enjoyed the best fruits of civilization to a greater extent than any other nation. And now, in the great cataclysm of destruction and passion in Europe, our country is the one great neutral, when enemies arrayed against each other in the grapple of death are so many, and neutrals are so few. Hence when the present war is ended, whether in victory or through exhaustion, whether celebrated by triumphal entries into conquered capitals, or terminated by the mutual withdrawal of shattered ranks from the blood-soaked fields of conflict to their homes, where nearly every house will be a house of mourning, the influence of America will be exerted to establish and maintain a world peace; and America, more than ever before, will be an asylum for the oppressed of all nations.

A state as well as an individual is endowed with a personality. Its history may long antedate its birth as a commonwealth. So it was with the six states which were carved out of the Northwest Territory. But, in one respect at least, more than any of the others, the history of Ohio is unique. As a member of the sisterhood of states its history commenced in 1803. But much of its most important history was written before that time in events which fixed its status and molded its character.

Among the most important events which affected the early history of the territory which we now call Ohio were the organization of the First Ohio Company in 1748, although the grant to that company for six hundred thousand acres was located on the northern and southern banks of the Ohio river, the treaty between Lord Dunmore and the Indians in 1774, the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787, and the settlements during colonial times of which the most conspicuous was the one at Marietta.



The First Ohio Company was composed principally of influential men in Maryland and Virginia, including General Washington, Colonel Thomas Cresap and Colonel George Mason. It was the name of George Mason which was given to Mason and Dixon's Line, that for nearly two generations was the invisible line which served as the northern boundary of the slave states. Lord Dunmore's treaty, concluded twenty-five years later, in the shade of the giant elm under which we now stand, on the eve of the revolution, broke the power of the Indians in what was then known as the "Dark and Bloody Ground" north of the Ohio River. The peace so secured effectually protected Virginia and the neighboring colonies for a time at least from attacks in the rear while they were forming a confederacy of the colonies and launching the war of independence against their white brethren across the sea.

In 1787 was secured the Magna Charta which defined the rights of the few who had already settled, and the millions yet to come, in the great Northwest Territory, from which slavery was permanently excluded. So fundamental were the rights thus granted in perpetuity that even yet the courts of Ohio recognize all provisions of that great compact, which are not repugnant to the constitution of the state, as being still in force, although granted fifteen years before Ohio became a state. Prior to the adoption of that ordinance, which was in effect a constitution for six central northern states, a few thousand adventurous spirits had found their way as traders and settlers among the hills bordering the Ohio River and into the fertile valleys of the larger streams which flowed into the Ohio River from both the north and the south.

Within a few years after the civil rights of the inhabitants north of the river were fixed by law, colonies composed of the best blood of the states along the seaboard were organized for the settlement of the New West. The first and most conspicuous of these was composed principally of men and women of New England, who settled at Marietta, which marks the confluence of the Muskingum and the Ohio. They were soon followed by others who settled in eastern, southeastern and southern Ohio and later by colonists located farther north and west.

It was thus that the heart of our country was established in the Central West comprising the states which were carved out of the great Northwest Territory. It is not in any spirit of egotism that the men of today pay tribute to their forbears who commenced to write history for us, on the soil of what is now Ohio, more than a hundred and fifty years ago.

The organization, development, growth and prosperity of colonies, far more than the history of states, depend upon their natural leaders. Those who are resolute, brave and strong become by common consent leaders in every great emergency, whether in repelling force with force in the acquisition or defense of new territory, or in the settlement and development of large areas of fertile soil so acquired. Land is the ultimate



source of all wealth. Therefore, whether on the rocky shores of Massachusetts, in the fertile valleys of Virginia, in the more fertile valleys of Ohio, and in the prairie states farther west, and on every other continent as well as on this, the acquisition of land, by those we call civilized from those we call savage, has been the potent cause of that ceaseless aggression to which neither precept nor practice has yet placed a limit.

On land so acquired stands the little cabin in which Lincoln was born, now enclosed by a grateful people in a magnificent granite memorial building near Hodgenville, Kentucky. So Washington's forbears obtained their plantations east of the Alleghenies. So Washington himself acquired extensive tracts of land in Western Pennsylvania. To this policy the early settlers were indebted for the site of every cabin, every church and every school. As the result of the inevitable race conflict between the indigenous race which held the land and those who wished to improve it, one hundred million American people are now enjoying peace and plenty. The passing of the Indians east of the Mississippi is pathetic beyond words; but the problem of their benevolent assimilation has never yet been satisfactorily solved.

Sometimes it is quite as interesting and instructive to read history backward as to attempt to trace it chronologically from cause to effect. That method may furnish the better perspective. A picture so drawn may be more true to life. That is also the quicker way when the facts are not disputed. But what romantic incident has ever been embodied in history without challenge? What important event has been accepted from first to last as first told? What chapter of history has run the gauntlet for the last time? Who knows?

The details of history are frequently obscured by the inherent defects of human testimony. At best history is largely hearsay. As to such testimony it is a rule of court, that its probative force is subject to the criticism, that statements are often thoughtlessly made, imperfectly heard, inaccurately remembered, and carelessly detailed. If the historian is too near to the events described he fails to see their proportions and their relationship to each other. If he be too far away he finds that the details have faded into the uncertainties of mere tradition. Indeed, the personal observations of honest and intelligent men are not always reliable. This is illustrated by a story told of Sir Walter Raleigh. It relates to an incident which occurred when, after losing the favor of Queen Elizabeth, he was confined as a prisoner in the Tower of London. Quess Bess did not like her distinguished courtier so well then as she did when he threw his cloak on a muddy pathway so that the Queen could pass over it dryshod. If you have ever visited the Tower you must have observed that its thick stone walls are pierced by high windows, so narrow, however, that while a prisoner could readily see what occurred in the courtyard below, he could not escape. While held a prisoner there, so the story goes, Sir Walter occupied his time writing a history of England and her colonies. One day, while looking down from

his window, he saw something unusual which especially attracted his attention. Shortly afterwards a friend called to see him and narrated the incident as he observed it while passing through the courtyard. Soon another friend called and detailed the incident as he saw it. Each of the three had an entirely different version of the affair from that narrated by both of the others. Thereupon Raleigh exclaimed, "If I cannot believe what my own eyes have seen, how can I expect my countrymen to believe events as narrated by me, many of which I did not see?" So he threw his manuscript into the fire.

Various causes conspired to distort the history of our colonial heroes, whose activities were devoted to subduing the forest and in combating enemies at home, as well as in repelling enemies from abroad, and not in writing diaries.

Captain Michael Cresap made history but did not write it. Therefore, much that pertained to important events in which he played a leading role were for a time lost in the mists of the almost forgotten past until they were rescued from oblivion by the patient and persistent research of members of the Cresap family and by them restored to their proper place in well authenticated history.

Colonel Thomas Cresap, the founder of the American family of that name, was born in Yorkshire, England, in 1702; emigrated to the new world at the age of fifteen; first settled in Maryland on the Susquehanna, near what is now Havre de Grace; became a surveyor; espoused the cause of Lord Baltimore; surveyed the line between Maryland and Pennsylvania; shortly afterwards moved to what is now called Old Town in Western Maryland; acquired fourteen hundred acres of land, and became an Indian trader; was one of the members of the First Ohio Company, which made the first English settlement at Pittsburg; surveyed the road from Cumberland to Pittsburg, over which General Braddock's army marched to its defeat; was colonel of the Provincials from 1730 to 1770; in October, 1765, when the Provincial Assembly adopted resolutions against the Stamp Act, organized the Sons of Liberty; was the host of General Washington while on a trip to visit the Ohio country; took an active part in the border wars with the Indians; was active in making the most effective preparations for the war of independence; was a delegate to the first convention of the Province of Maryland, which met at Annapolis, June 22, 1774, and proposed the first Continental Congress; in the year 1775 served as a member of the Committee of Observation of his county, to assist in carrying out the plans of the new Congress, and in raising money to buy arms and ammunition; at the advanced age of 90 years made a business trip to Nova Scotia; and died in 1808 full of years and honors, at the great age of 106 years.

Condensing a statement of Mrs. Mary Louise Stevenson, one of his descendants, and now the official historian of the Cresap family:

"Colonel Cresap's voice has echoed in the halls of Congress through his descendants. On the Judge's Bench, from legal forums, and in Legislative Assemblies in most of our states, including Ohio, his descendants have served with the hereditary wisdom for which he was so esteemed in the Assemblies of the Province and State of Maryland. From that time to this on land and sea they have proved worthy of the example of the American founder of the Cresap family, in the war of 1812, in Sherman's march to the sea, with Grant at Vicksburg, Shiloh and Appomattox, at San Juan Hill in Cuba and at Manila, — where his children's children to the seventh generation have fought for "Old Glory," and supported the cause which he loved and for which he suffered, the cause of liberty, loyalty and country."

Colonel Thomas Cresap had five children, three sons, Daniel, Thomas and Michael, and two daughters, Sarah and Elizabeth, whose descendants have been, and are, as prominent and influential as they are numerous. Michael Cresap, in whose honor an appropriate historic memorial has been unveiled here today, was the youngest and most distinguished son of Colonel Thomas Cresap. He was born June 29, 1742, in Allegheny County, Maryland. He was sent to school in Baltimore, but, finding his work uncongenial, he left school without leave or license and walked home, a distance of 140 miles. But the Colonel promptly gave the truant Michael a severe flogging and compelled him to walk back to school, where he remained until his studies were finished.

Soon after leaving school he married a Miss Whitehead, of Philadelphia, and the young pair, described as being a little more than children, established a modest home in the mountains on or near the Colonel's plantation.

All three of the sons were actively engaged in Indian warfare, making common cause with their father, whose home, protected by a stockade, was always a rallying point for all the settlers in his neighborhood.

Daniel, a farmer, was twice married, and the father of eleven children. Thomas, the second son, while yet a young man, was killed in a battle with the Indians at the west foot of Savage Mountain. He and the Indian who shot him fired at each other at the same instant, and both fell dead. He was survived by a widow and one child, Charity, of whom the Cresaps of this state, in Fairfield, Licking and Franklin Counties, are lineal descendants.

Young Michael, son of Colonel Thomas, soon after his marriage, was established in business by his father as a trader. Of his life for the first few years after his marriage we know but little. Abandoning his business as a trader near the old home, like Washington and many others at that time, he became interested in the rich bottom lands of the Ohio Valley in Western Pennsylvania, and later much farther down that stream. About 1770 he took measures to secure title to several hundred



acres of land above Pittsburg by the customary method then known as "a tomahawk improvement." That was accomplished by girdling a few trees and blazing others as evidence of possession and ownership. It is said that "in order that his act and intention might not be misconstrued," he built a house of hewed logs with a shingle roof nailed on, which is believed to have been the first building of that kind in that part of our great domain west of the mountains.

During this period he was carrying on his business as a frontier trader and at the same time locating and improving land for himself and for others farther down the Ohio, below Wheeling and finally as far west as the mouth of the Scioto. For his last expedition of this kind he left Maryland early in the spring of 1774 with laborers employed to improve the farms he located.

Of Captain Cresap's plans and purposes we may adopt the estimate of an author who made a careful study of conditions during that critical period, and expressed his views as follows:

"He was there neither as a speculator nor a land jobber, as many of the emigrants of those days were unjustly stigmatized. His purpose was peaceful settlement, and he is no more to be blamed for his manly progress into the wilderness in the quest of land, than were Washington and many other distinguished Americans of those days who possessed themselves of property in the prolific valleys of the west."

Hostile demonstrations and actual conflicts between the pioneers and the Indians, fomented by influences which were not fully appreciated at the time, and for which neither side was responsible, became so frequent and so alarming that the work of peaceful settlement along both sides of the Ohio River was perforce soon practically abandoned, and the axe and the surveyor's compass were exchanged for the rifle.

In 1774 a state of actual warfare existed. It was not a mere war of races, but a prelude to a greater war, the seven years' conflict between men of the same race, the colonist and the Briton. That phase of the conflict which developed along the Ohio and its tributaries in the spring and early summer of 1774, and terminated by a treaty on this spot a few months later, has sometimes been called "Cresap's War." If by that it is meant that Captain Cresap instigated the conflict, the phase is obviously a misnomer. If it is used to imply that Cresap led or directed certain attacks which were exploited as excuses for bloody reprisals, it is no less a distortion of the verities of history. But the history which some men make is not always the history which other men write.

Did Cresap's self interest lie on the side of peace or of war? Did he enlist an army for the invasion of the Ohio country, or employ and equip men to locate, survey and settle plantations in its fertile valleys? If they were enlisted to fight for the Province, why were they not paid



by the Province? When nearly a hundred white men, hunters and emigrants, believing that the Indians were determined to make war, knowing Cresap's experience in Indian warfare farther east, as well as his intrepidity, his intelligence and his skill in organization and leadership, in the early spring of 1774 decided to attack an Indian town called Horse-Head Bottom on the Scioto River not far from its junction with the Ohio, and besought him to act as their leader, who was it that counseled peace, dissuaded them from their purpose, and induced them to retire to Wheeling? Captain Cresap. Who was it a few days later that refused to attend a conference with the Indian Chief Kilbuck, lest he might be tempted to kill that notorious scalp-lifter who had lain in wait to kill his father, Colonel Cresap? Michael Cresap, the son. Who was it late in April of that year that refused to attack the Camp of Logan composed of two or three men and a few women and children? Captain Cresap.

Throughout his strenuous career Captain Cresap displayed the essential qualities of the successful soldier, not only in actual battle and in his memorable march to Boston, but also in recruiting only the best men, and in personally looking after their equipment, health and training. Like all soldiers born to command, no details were too small to receive his constant personal attention. For instance, it is recorded of him by one of his soldiers, Abraham Thomas, that, in what is known as "The Wokotamica Campaign," in the early summer of 1774, when four hundred frontiersmen left Wheeling to attack the Indians in their villages at Wokotamica, "on the waters of the Muskingum," on the night before the battle:

"Captain Cresap was up the whole night among his men, going the rounds and cautioning them to keep their arms in condition for a morning attack which he confidently expected."

Young Thomas describes his own enlistment and his determination to enter the service as follows:

"The collected force consisted of four hundred men. I was often at their encampment; and against the positive injunctions of my parents could not resist my inclination to join them. At this time I was 18 years of age, owned my own rifle and accoutrements and had long been familiar with the use of them. Escaping, I made the best possible provision I could from my own resources and hastened to enter as a volunteer under old Mike, then Captain Cresap."

The naivete with which this youngster refers to the difference between his own age and that of the gallant young captain under whom he served becomes all the more impressive when we are reminded that the man he describes as "old Mike, then Captain Cresap," was only 32 years of age. Possibly he meant that Captain Cresap was a veteran in the service compared with less efficient officers, of greater age, including

Colonel Angus MacDonald, the ranking officer in that little army. But it seems more probable that his artless description but illustrates the fact that in 1774, as well as in 1916, to a boy of 18 a man of 32 was as he is today an old, old man, notwithstanding the fact that nearly all of the officers now in general command in Europe are considerably more than 60 years of age.

Always and everywhere Captain Cresap's men loved him and respected him. He seems to have been the most popular young officer in the service, whether in recruiting men to fight the Indians or to fight the British. Therefore, when he called for volunteers there was always a surplus of those who wished to join his command, to be assigned against their wish to other officers less popular than himself. He was a strict disciplinarian, but not a martinet. His sense of discipline was inherited from his father and confirmed by his own experience.

The Captain mentioned in the memorial unveiled today is sometimes referred to as Captain Michael Cresap, Sr., because there were other Cresaps in Dunmore's army. The Captain Michael Cresap whose life we now commemorate, commanded a company in the famous invasion of Ohio, known as Lord Dunmore's War, which terminated in the historic treaty between the white men and the Indians on this spot on the 19th day of October, 1774, almost exactly 142 years ago today. With Captain Cresap, and serving in his command, were his three nephews, sons of his brother Daniel, viz.: Daniel Cresap, Jr., who became a Colonel in the Revolutionary War, and Michael Cresap, Jr., and Joseph Cresap, both of whom became lieutenants. The army of invasion was composed of two divisions, one under the command of Lord Dunmore, which reached here shortly before the treaty was signed, and the other commanded by Colonel Andrew Lewis, who fought a bloody but decisive battle with the Indians at Point Pleasant, West Virginia, on the 10th of October, but did not join Dunmore's division until the 24th of that month, too late to attend the conference at which the terms of the treaty were agreed upon. Having already expressed my own views concerning the results of the treaty and the battle at Point Pleasant, I take the liberty of quoting the following lines concerning that great battle from Theodore Roosevelt's "Winning of the West":

"The battle of Point Pleasant was the most extensive, the most bitterly contested, and fought with the most potent results of any Indian battle in American history."

After the close of the Dunmore War Captain Cresap returned to Maryland and spent the latter part of the fall and following winter with his family; but early in the following spring he hired another band of young men and repaired again to the Ohio country to finish the work which had been interrupted the year before. On this trip he stopped on the Kentucky side of the river, where he made some improvements. Be-

ing ill, however, he soon left his workmen and departed for his home on the other side of the mountains in order to rest and recover his health. But before he had crossed the Alleghenies he was met by a friend bearing a message that the Committee of Safety at Frederick, Maryland, had appointed him as the first of two captains selected and commissioned to recruit and command the two Rifle Companies required of Maryland by a resolution of the Continental Congress. The Committee of Safety demanded the most experienced officers and the very best men who could be secured, "as well from affection to the service as for the honor of the Province."

It is said that when he received the message, instead of being elated, Captain Cresap seemed to be depressed, as if he had a presentiment that the service required of him was his death warrant. He told the messenger that he was in bad health and that his affairs were in a deranged condition, but that, nevertheless, as the Committee had selected him, and as he understood from the messenger that his father had pledged himself that his son would accept the employment, he would go, let the consequences be what they might. His friend was directed to proceed to the west side of the mountains and call upon his old friends for recruits. This was done and in a short time young frontiersmen appeared at his residence in Old Town, who are described as "about 22 as fine fellows as ever handled a rifle, and most, if not all of them, completely equipped." These young men had already marched nearly one hundred miles, after receiving the message to join the standard of their former captain. This was in June, 1775.

The result of his efforts to recruit his Company of Riflemen and report to Washington with his company as soon as possible was that within about sixty days from the date of his commission he was marching at the head of a company of more than 130 men from the mountains and the backwoods, the pick of their class.

I take the liberty in quoting, from a letter written about that time, apparently by some one in Frederick, Maryland, a description of Cresap's Riflemen and of a test of their skill in marksmanship:

"Yesterday the company were supplied with a small quantity of powder from the magazine, which wanted airing and was not in good order for rifles; in the evening, however, they were drawn out to show the gentlemen of the town their dexterity at shooting. A clapboard with a mark the size of a dollar was put up; they began to fire off-hand, and the bystanders were surprised, few shots being made that were not close to or in the paper. When they had shot for a short time this way, some lay on their backs, some on their breast or side, others ran twenty or thirty steps, and firing, appeared to be equally certain of the mark. With this performance the company were more than satisfied when a young man took up the board in his hand, not by the end but by the side, and holding it up, his



brother walked to the distance and very coolly shot into the white; laying down his rifle, he took the board and holding it as it was held before, the second brother shot as the first had done. By this exercise I was more astonished than pleased. But will you believe me when I tell you that one of the men took the board, placing it between his legs, stood with his back to a tree, while another drove the center?"

This remarkable body of men, not surpassed if equalled in its personnel by any other body of troops during the Revolution, furnished their own accoutrements. Starting promptly on their long journey they marched from Frederick, Maryland, to Boston, Massachusetts, through a country, for the most part sparsely settled and much of it as wild as when the first white man trod the soil of the new world, subsisting on parched corn and such game as they could procure on the way, 550 miles in 22 days, an average of 25 miles per day, and, as the report comes to us, without the loss of a single man, a feat rarely if ever surpassed in ancient or modern warfare.

The difference between Cresap's volunteer riflemen in 1775 and some of the New York troops recently sent to the Mexican border is well illustrated by the public complaints of the latter, that the government did not promptly furnish them the latest thing in modern arms, or transportation in Pullman parlor cars from their homes to their destination, that they were not provided with the luxuries of the table, that some of their uniforms did not fit, and that they were compelled, on their arrival, to remove the sage brush and cactus from their camp sites. The contrast is further emphasized by the following description by an eye witness of the Maryland troops under the command of Captain Cresap:

"I have had the happiness of seeing Captain Michael Cresap marching at the head of a formidable company of upwards of 130 men from the mountains and backwoods, painted like Indians, armed with tomahawks and rifles, dressed in hunting shirts and moccasins, and though some of them had traveled near eight hundred miles from the banks of the Ohio, they seemed to walk light and easy, and not with less spirit than the first hour of their march. Health and vigor, after what they had undergone, declared them to be intimate with hardship and familiar with danger. Joy and satisfaction were visible in the crowd that met them. Had Lord North been present, and been assured that the brave leader could raise thousands of such like to defend his country, what think you, would not the hatchet and the block have intruded on his mind?"

Ridpath, the historian, after referring to the arrival during the summer of 1775 of the troops which were hurried to Washington's assistance in the east, as being "the first gleam of better hopes," and as "a begin-



ning towards making the army really continental," pays them the following well merited compliment:

"These were ten companies of riflemen from the mountain regions of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, so dreaded by the British that the latter outlawed them, by a proclamation that no one of them captured should be treated as a prisoner of war. The Riflemen soon gained prisoners enough so that the British never dared to carry out the threat."

Soon after he reported for duty at the head of his famous Sons of Liberty, Captain Cresap was commissioned by General Washington as a colonel and detailed on some mission to New York City, where within a few days he died, a martyr to his country, leaving a widow and five children. As said by Mr. Frank Tallmadge, a loyal and enthusiastic Cresap, in an address delivered on this spot four years ago:

"He was buried with military honors in Trinity Churchyard. When you are walking down Broadway, go in the open gate and turn to your right. Just opposite the north transept door you will find this hero's grave next to the walk, and if your experience should be like all of mine, you will find fresh flowers upon the monument."

Captain Cresap's career may not have been so picturesque as that of General Custer, but Cresap's men were never led into an ambushade. His death was not tragic like that of Major Andre, who fell a victim to Benedict Arnold's perfidy, but Cresap never betrayed his country. He did not leave to his descendants the lustre of battles won during the Revolutionary War, like Captain, afterwards General, Henry Lee, "Light Foot Harry," or Captain, afterwards General, Daniel Morgan, who was recruiting his Company of Riflemen in Virginia while Captain Cresap was performing a similar service in Maryland, and many others who entered the service with less prospect of great achievement than the first Captain of the Maryland Rifles. Nor could he acquire post-bellum fame in civil life like General Rufus Putnam and others of the fifty-two officers of the Revolutionary armies who won fame as founders of the Marietta Colony in 1788. If the arbiter of human destinies had prolonged Captain Cresap's life and smiled on his ambition, he might well have organized a colony from the best blood of Virginia and Maryland for settlement beyond the Beautiful River, for his heart was in Ohio. But with Captain Cresap, like many other young heroes who so promptly answered their country's call with the laconic phrase, *ad sum*, I am here, the path of glory led to an early grave. How appropriate it is, then, that representatives of his family, under the auspices of the Archæological and Historical Society on Ohio soil in the shadow of the historic Logan Elm, now dedicate to the memory of Captain Michael Cresap a monument as

simple as his life and as rugged as his character. And it is equally appropriate that we dedicate at the same time a fitting memorial to those historic characters, among whom Captain Cresap was so conspicuous, whose sacrifices secured to the people of six great states those fundamental rights which did not come to our country as a whole until generations afterwards by the gage of civil war.

On this spot and under the shadow of this historic and time-honored tree it might be expected that I say something of the famous Indian Chief, Logan, whose simple burst of native eloquence, traditionally uttered near where we now stand, has placed his name in the fore rank of aboriginal orators, but time does not permit and I assume you are all familiar with that story as your chairman has at length related it in Randall and Ryan's "History of Ohio."

But in closing, permit me to say a few words, speaking not by the book, but as I feel at the moment, concerning another great representative of his race, Chief Cornstalk, who for many years and until his death, was the master spirit of the great Indian Confederacy of the Ohio country. Of the three Indian Confederacies whose domains extended from New York to the Gulf the Ohio Confederacy was the strongest. The seat of its power was in what was then known, and is still known, as the Pickaway Plains. That region included the fertile low grounds and surrounding hills a few miles northwest of this beautiful park. In that neighborhood were located a number of Indian villages. In a sense that was the capital of the Ohio Confederacy. It was the home of Chief Cornstalk and his noted sister, known as the Grenadier Squaw. It was the rendezvous for representatives of a large region extending both east and west, and perhaps also south, of what is now embraced within Ohio, for the purpose of discussing tribal relations, and the momentous questions of peace or war with the whites.

Of the chiefs who met there Cornstalk was the greatest warrior. As an Indian diplomat he had no equal. He was the most conspicuous representative of the race during his generation. No Indian chieftain at any time has had a greater or more loyal following. None has ever commanded such universal admiration from his contemporaries among the white race. He was a man who knew not fear, was just to all according to his lights, generous to his friends, indomitable in war, but faithful to every compact whether of war or of peace.

Consonant with the spirit of this occasion there is another man who deserves mention at the same time and in the same connection. Captain Michael Cresap also was courageous, intrepid, resourceful, a natural leader of men, just, generous, not implacable towards his enemies. They were worthy counterparts of each other and splendid representatives of the races from which they sprung.

This Society, numbering many representatives of the Cresap family, will doubtless meet in this beautiful grove many times in the future, under the spreading branches of this surviving monarch of the forest.

to commemorate the historic events which culminated in the most important treaty ever made between the red man and the white man. On the monument which you dedicate today there is one space that is not yet occupied by any memorial. Permit me to suggest that on some future occasion when the Society meets here an appropriate tablet be placed on this granite monument to commemorate the respect and admiration to which Chief Cornstalk is entitled from the members of the present race who have succeeded to the domains of the race which has departed.

The name Chief Cornstalk deserves a place on the same monument which now bears a memorial to Captain Cresap. The life of each was sacrificed for the race from which he sprung. They were friends. On the memorable return trip of Dunmore's army, from Camp Charlotte to Point Pleasant, Captain Cresap and Chief Cornstalk and his son, Ellinispico, it is said, occupied the same tent. Having gone to another sphere let us hope that their spirits have met in a compact of mutual confidence, admiration and friendship which shall bless them as they dwell together in peace and amity forevermore.

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At the close of Mr. Booth's address, Mrs. Anna Cresap Bibb, of Kansas City, Mo., who was the donor of the tablet to the memory of Captain Michael Cresap, Sr., in behalf of the Cresap descendants who were present, read the following tribute:

*To the Trustees of the Ohio State Historical and Archaeological Society.*

GENTLEMEN—You are the directors of an organization of which every Patriot of the Great State of Ohio is justly proud, for the noble work which you have done for twenty-five years, and will continue to do in the future.

We, the Cresap descendants, of Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, the Great West, and the representatives of other States, greet you:

We come to you with thankful and appreciative hearts, for the privilege you have accorded us, of placing this Tablet, in this beautiful and historic Park, to the memory of Captain Michael Cresap, Sr., a Colonial and Revolutionary hero of Ohio, Maryland, and Virginia, who was first, last, and always, a friend of humanity.

Who stood for just what your noble Society stands for, American valor, patriotism, and loyalty to American ideals, principles and heroes. We thank you that you inaugurated the ceremonies as the old patriot would have wished, by prayer and the raising of the Flag of many stars, whose hues were all born in heaven.

We, the Cresaps, are proud of this your splendid organization, and its history. We are proud of its preservation of the records of the Red Men as well as of our pioneers. We are proud of your careful conser-



vation of their historic sites, mounds, circles, squares, and the tokens of a bygone civilization found therein.

To you, and to your keeping, we present this Tablet, and are happy in so doing.

We realize that you, and the great State of Ohio, are leading in the procession of progress. To you, the custodian of the glories of the past, peoples, records, and their trophies of valor, we consign this Tablet, and leave it under your protection, and that of "Old Glory." Once again in behalf of the Cresap Clan, we thank you.

With like purpose words of appreciation in behalf of the descendants of Captain Michael Cresap were tendered to the State Society by Mr. Charles H. Lewis, who is a descendant of the one in whose honor the tablet was erected. His closing words were:

"In this beautiful setting, now filled with peace and plenty, unafraid we breathe the spirit of pioneer heroism. Here met civilization and savage. Short the story —

Buried, — lost forever is the tomahawk;  
Broken, and useless is the flintlock;  
The voice of Logan is silenced."

In connection with this occasion Mr. Frank Tallmadge had offered a money prize to the school pupils of Circleville for the most meritorious essay on the historical plains of Pickaway Township. The prize was awarded to Miss Arista Arledge. The essay is here given in full:

#### PICKAWAY COUNTY.

Pickaway County is one of our most historical counties in Ohio. It was formed January 12, 1810. The name is a misspelling of Piqua, the name of a tribe of Shawnee Indians. We learn that most of our formal Indian settlements were near the Scioto river in the Pickaway Plains.

The remarkable Pickaway Plains may be designated as the section lying between the Scioto on the west, Salt Creek on the east, and extending north and south between lines which would run respectively east and west through Circleville and Chillicothe. This rich bottom land, the most fertile in Ohio, was the most favorite location of the prehistoric Mound Builders, as well as the most historic field of the Ohio Indians.

Of the earliest inhabitants of the Ohio Valley, the Indians had neither knowledge nor tradition. They belong to the prehistoric ages and, — "These ages have no memory, but they left a record."



Ohio is rich in its records of a prehistoric people. The records are the mounds raised, in some far off time by their hands. They are found in various forms. Some of them represent animals. The most noted of them is the famous Serpent Mound of Adams county. Some were for purposes of defense and some for religious rites and burial. Whence the builders came and whither they departed is an unsolved mystery. Some conclude that they were a distinct race; others say they were the ancestors of the Indian race.

In the Pickaway Plains on Sciippo Creek just north of where Congo Creek empties into it, was Grenadier Squaw's town, a wigwam center which was named from a Shawnee woman of great muscular strength, who was the sister of one, who at that time was the ablest and most influential chief of his nation. This man was Keightughqua, signifying a blade or stalk of the maize, hence the cornstalk, or chief support of the people, was therefore known as Cornstalk to the people.

Cornstalk was born about 1720, in one of the Scioto towns of the Shawnees and first appears in history as a leader in a Shawnee band into the settlements of Virginia during and after the French and Indian war and Pontiac's war. During his raids inhabitants were being murdered and many were taken to the Shawnee towns on the banks of the Scioto River. His capital, called Cornstalk's Town, was located on the north bank of the Sciippo Creek, a short distance from his sister's village, Grenadier Squaw Town.

The Indians had five villages, named Chillicothe. 1—The Chillicothe on the Great Miami, on the present site of Piqua; 2—Chillicothe, often called "Old Chillicothe," located about three miles north of Xenia; 3—Chillicothe also called "Old Chillicothe," on the west bank of the Scioto River, at present location of the village of Westfall; 4—Chillicothe, now called Hopetown, often designated as "Old Town," three miles north of present Chillicothe; 5—Chillicothe now Frankfort, Ross county. These five historic Chillicothes were Shawnee villages. The word Chillicothe, meaning "the place where the people live" or "a village."

Black Mountain is a ridge located on the farm where D. E. Phillips now resides. It is somewhat in the shape of an inverted boat, elevated from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty feet above the bottom of the prairie immediately in its vicinity, and commands from its summit a full view of the high plains and the country around it to a great extent. This elevated ridge answered the Indians some valuable purposes.

No enemy could approach in daytime, who could not from its summit be descried at a great distance and by repairing there the Red Man could often have a choice of the game in view, and his sagacity seldom failed him in the endeavors to approach it with success.

The burning ground in the suburbs of Grenadier Squaw's Town was also situated on an elevated spot, which commands a full view of all the other towns for a distance around, so that when a victim was at the

stake and the flames ascending, all the inhabitants of the other towns who could not be present, might, in a great measure, enjoy the scene by sight and imagination. The burning ground at Old Chillicothe was somewhat similar, being in full view of the burning ground at Squaw's Town and Black Mountain, and two or three other small towns in other places of the plains.

In 1770, the first congress of the various tribes met at the Shawnee headquarters.

In July, 1772, another congress was held at the Pickaway Plains at which the confederacy was consummated, if indeed, it had not been fully organized a year before. Thus on the banks of the Scioto were united Shawnees, Delawares, Miamis, Ottawas, Wyandottes, Illinois and western tribes. The Shawnees were the chief constituency of this union and Cornstalk, their leader, was recognized as the head of the tribal alliances.

About six miles south of Circleville, the county seat of Pickaway county, in an open field by the roadside, stands an ancient elm tree, whose broad branches stretch over a wide space and whose sturdy trunk has withstood the storms of two centuries. With each passing year it becomes more and more an object of interest and veneration. Under its falling autumn leaves, almost one hundred and forty years ago, Logan, "the friend of the white man," delivered the famous speech that has since become familiar in almost every home in the middle west. Who has not read the following eloquent and pathetic words?:

"I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin and I gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked and I gave him not clothing. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained in his tent, an advocate of peace. Nay, such was my love for the whites that those of my own country pointed at me as they passed, and said, 'Logan is a friend of the white man!' I had ever thought to live with you, but for the injuries of one man, Colonel Cresap, last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, cut off all the relatives of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any human creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. Yet do not harbor the thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

In this burst of Indian eloquence Logan told the truth in regard to his friendship for the white man and the murder of his family. He was mistaken, however, in placing the blame on Colonel Cresap. The deeds of unprovoked violence of which he complained were perpetrated near the

mouth of Yellow Creek, a short distance below the sight of Wellsville, in the spring of 1774.

A man by the name of Daniel Grathouse enticed some Indians across the Ohio near this point, gave them liquor until they were helplessly drunk, and then slew them. He and his followers afterward surprised and killed other Indians on Yellow Creek. Among those slain were the mother, brother and sister of Logan.

This outrage aroused his fury against the whites. After the battle at Point Pleasant, in which the Indians led by Cornstalk, Logan and other chiefs were overwhelmingly defeated, October, 1774, a peace was concluded on the Pickaway Plains, not far from the site of Circleville. Here Lord Dunmore at the head of the victorious army met the vanquished chiefs in council. Logan refused to be present but sent by Colonel John Gibson the famous speech already given. Of the later years of Logan, little is definitely known. While he did not renounce the nobility of his nature and on different occasions still manifested humane sympathy for the whites he withdrew from the borders of civilization, became sullen and moody, often sitting for hours, "buried in thought."

As he sat thus, so runs the story, one of his own race, to satisfy some personal grudge, slipped up behind him and slew him with a tomahawk. But the great tree still stands and flourishes greenly where he told the immortal story of the wrongs he had suffered at the hands of the white man.

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At the ceremonies of the unveiling of the Cresap Tablet, at Logan Elm Park there were present the following descendants of Colonel Thomas Cresap: Friend Cox, Brent Cresap Cox, and J. Frank Cox, Wheeling, W. Va.; B. O. Cresap and B. O. Cresap, Jr., Wellsburg, W. Va.; B. Worth Ricketts, Willis H. Cresap, and Ernest Wilfred Cresap, Coshocton, Ohio; Anna Sanford Cresap Bibb, Kansas City, Mo.; Charles Henrickson Lewis, Harpster, Ohio; Ellen Brasee Towt, Lancaster, Ohio; Ella Ogle Shoemaker, Massillon, Ohio; Mrs. M. L. C. Stevenson and Anna Thistle Cresap Dorsey, Dresden, Ohio; Blanche Cresap Longstreth, Union Furnace, Ohio; Frank Tallmadge, Howard Cresap Lemert, Madge Hibbard Potter and Hibbard Bethlo Potter, Columbus, Ohio.

These Cresap descendants, on the evening following the exercises at the Logan Elm, assembled at the Chittenden Hotel, Columbus, and organized "The Cresap Society," with the following officers: Honorary President and Official Historian, Mrs. Mary Louise Cresap Stevenson, Dresden, Ohio; President,



Friend Cresap Cox, Wheeling, W. Va.; Vice-President, Rev. Sanford Cresap, Nebraska City, Neb.; Secretary, Mrs. Anna Sanford Cresap Bibb, Kansas City, Mo.; Treasurer, Frank Tallmadge, Columbus, Ohio.

Advisory Board: B. Worth Ricketts, Chairman, Coshocton, O.; Ellen B. Towt, Secretary, Lancaster, O.; E. W. Cresap, Coshocton, O.; Richard K. Cresap, Wheeling, W. Va.; Charles H. Lewis, Harpster, O.; Logan Cresap, Sr., Lieut. Commander, U. S. S. Delaware, address Annapolis, Md.



THE LOGAN ELM.



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*E. O. Randall*

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### TARHE AND THE ZANES.

The Editor of the *QUARTERLY* has seen occasional references to the tradition or fact, if it be the latter, that Isaac Zane married a daughter of Tarhe, the Crane. Learning that General Robert P. Kennedy was familiar with and an authority on this matter, having gotten his information at first hand from members of the Zane family, we wrote the General concerning the same and received the following reply, which we regard worthy of permanent preservation.

BELLEFONTAINE, OHIO.

MY DEAR MR. RANDALL:—

In answer to your inquiry concerning Isaac Zane and Tarhe, the Crane, my information comes from different sources.

Of course the capture of Isaac Zane and his long and continued residence with the Indians has passed into undisputed history. There is one statement in my article—one published some time ago in a local paper—that I think I should correct, and it relates to his release and return to Virginia, and his election to the Virginia House of Burgesses, and his subsequent return to Ohio.

Information since writing that article persuades me that that is an error, and that Isaac Zane (our Isaac) did not return to Virginia, but that he remained with the Wyandots, and that the Isaac Zane who was elected to the House of Burgesses was another Isaac Zane,—a member of the same family which remained in Virginia,—and of course a relative of the Zanes of Wheeling and Ohio. Now as to Isaac Zane and his marriage. Of course we understand that in the absence of positive history, made fully of record—there is much *tradition* in the history of the Indian tribes.

It has long been the family history of all the Zanes that Isaac who was captured in his youth and brought up and remained with the Wyandots was adopted by the Chief and made a member of the Chief's family—and it was a part of that well understood history that he married what they were pleased to call an Indian princess, the daughter of the Chief.

That he was in the family of Chief Tarhe is almost unquestioned for Tarhe was the Wyandot Chief in this section of Ohio for many

years,—his home town being Solomonstown, near to and just south of Richland in this county—and somewhat known by all persons trading and trafficking with the Indians.

Isaac Zane was captured and carried away from Virginia in the year 1762, being at the time nine years of age and being the youngest of five brothers. He was carried to Buffalo, thence to Detroit, thence to Sandusky, and to what is now Logan County. His brother Jonathan, who was captured with him, was ransomed and released and returned to Virginia.

Isaac was adopted into the family of the Chief of this particular tribe and like hundreds of other captives became enamored of Indian life,—and sometime in 1796 or 1797 must have married for in 1786 when General Logan came from Kentucky to destroy the Indian towns in the Mad River Valley, Zane was living in what is now Zanesfield, and what was then his home protected by a fort, or blockhouse, and had some four or five children. He was not disturbed, it being understood that he was friendly to the whites. His eldest daughter married William McCulloch, the eldest of the three McCulloch brothers, William, Solomon and Samuel, all of whom were brothers of Ebenezer Zane's wife of Wheeling.

Before the time of his (McCulloch's) marriage, Tarhe, the Crane, had removed his village from Solomontown to the crossing of the Hock Hocking, at Lancaster, and it is family tradition that William McCulloch, who with his brother Jonathan was assisting Ebenezer Zane in cutting the road from Wheeling to the Limestone, there met the daughter of Isaac Zane, Nancy, who had gone to the home of Tarhe, her grandfather, on a visit and they were married in the year 1797,—and afterward lived for a time at Zanesville where Noah Zane McCulloch, their son, was born in 1798, being the first white child born in that county.

William McCulloch and his two brothers afterward moved to Logan County, and settled near Zanesfield where Isaac Zane then lived.

After the treaty of Greenville Isaac Zane was granted land by the Government for his services and located the land he was then occupying at Zanesfield,—of which he was practically cheated by trickery, but finally obtained the most of it. It is well known by the family that Isaac Zane's wife while an Indian was very fair and white and a very handsome woman and all of her children, especially her daughters, were very handsome women, and all married distinguished men.

It has always been understood by the family that the mother of Tarhe's wife was a white woman captured by the Indians with her young daughter, and that she was the wife of the Chevalier Durante, a French Canadian.

The wife was released but the daughter was held and afterwards married the young chief Tarhe—and from this union there descended a most distinguished family of children—the only child and daughter of Tarhe and his white wife becoming the wife of Isaac Zane.

Some writer a short time since told a story of Tarhe and his residence at Upper Sandusky—of his drunkenness and his marriage to someone there and his leaving a half-witted son.

This I don't think has a single particle of truth in it as Tarhe's character was too well known to justify any such statements.

Now I have given you family tradition and I am going to give you family history.

Judge Noah Zane McCulloch was for many years one of the most distinguished citizens of our county, the eldest born son of William McCulloch who married the eldest daughter of Isaac Zane. He was a man of wonderful mind and memory, and he has repeatedly told me of the Zane family and especially of his grandfather Isaac Zane who died in 1813, when Judge McCulloch was fifteen years old.

He gave the history of Isaac Zane's marriage which I have given you here,—as being with the daughter of Chief Tarhe, of course he remembered the death of his father which took place at the battle of Brownsville (Detroit) where Capt. Wm. McCulloch commanded a company of Scouts, and was killed in the battle.

Mrs. Catherine Dawson was the daughter of Robert Armstrong who married another daughter of Isaac Zane, and Mrs. Dawson always said that she was born at Solomontown which had been the village of her grandfather, Chief Tarhe.

In the year 1876 Dr. James Robitaille, formerly Treas.-Genl. of Canada, came to visit his half sister, Mrs. Genl. Isaac S. Gardiner—my wife being a daughter of General Gardiner I paid him a good deal of attention and took much pains to show him around, driving him to various points.

His brother Robert Bobitaille was a Canadian of considerable wealth, who came to this country as a trader in furs, etc. He became enamored with Elizabeth Zane, the youngest daughter of Isaac Zane, and married her, and opened the first store ever established in this section of Ohio, about the year 1795. His store was at what is now Zanesfield. To this union two sons were born, Robert in 1796, and Dr. James in 1798. In the year 1802 Robitaille died leaving a widow and two sons.

These sons were cared for by their grandfather Isaac Zane until their mother Elizabeth married James Manning Reed, the son of Seth Reed the founder of Erie, Penn., who had come out here to occupy the lands granted for service in the Revolution.

In 1817 or 1818, the uncle of the two Robitaille boys came out from Montreal, Canada, and persuaded the boys to return with him, which they did.

Dr. James was at the time of his visit 78 or 79 years old and exceptionally bright with a wonderful memory for locations, etc., and it was a pleasure for me to accompany him for he was an encyclopedia of information as to dates and locations of our early history.



His grandfather Isaac Zane had been buried in 1813 — and of course he attended the funeral.

He gave me the family history of Isaac Zane and his wife — whom of course he distinctly remembered and told me of the marriage of Isaac Zane to the daughter of Tarhe, who he said was his great-grandfather. At the time he left for Canada they were just cutting the brush out of the main street of Bellefontaine the new village.

There died here lately Mrs. Garwood, a grand-daughter of Wm. McCulloch, the son-in-law of Isaac Zane, and she and her brothers who visited her some time since, were full of the family tradition as I have given it to you, both of them being between 80 and 90 years old.

P. Zane Grey, of Columbus, uses the story of Zane's marriage to the Chief's daughter, but I think he does not give the name of the father of Isaac's wife. (His book is "Betty Zane").

Grey gives an account of the attempted escape of Isaac and his recapture by the Chief's daughter, — all of which I think fiction for Isaac did not care to escape, and never attempted to do so.

If I have given you any information of value I shall be glad of it. It is written quite hurriedly, and quite disconnected possibly — but I have not had time to hunt up any histories and I presume that you wanted something not found in histories as we understand it.

ROBT. P. KENNEDY.

P. S. — I should have said that Robert Armstrong, Mrs. Dawson's father, went from Solomontown to Wyandot County and became head chief or chief man of the Wyandots, and remained with them until his death. If I am not mistaken he went with them to Kansas in 1844.

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### A LOGAN MONUMENT.

The unveiling of the Cresap Tablet, and the erection of a log cabin at Logan Elm Park has revived the interest, of the people residing in the vicinity of the Elm, in the memory and speech of the Mingo chief. This interest has found expression in some of the newspapers of Pickaway county, and the suggestion is freely expressed that a monument or tablet should be erected near the Elm that bears the name of Logan. Curiously enough this idea of a monument to Logan was proposed by a correspondent in the year 1843 — nearly three-quarters of a century ago — in the "American Pioneer," a monthly periodical, as the title page announces, "devoted to the objects of the Logan Historical Society," and published in Cincinnati. The communication is in the form of the following poem, written by Joseph D. Canning:

#### EPITAPH FOR THE LOGAN MONUMENT.

Logan! to thy memory here,  
White men do this tablet rear;  
On its front we grave thy name —  
In our hearts shall live thy fame.



While Niagara's thunders roar,  
Or Erie's surges lash the shore:  
While onward broad Ohio glides,  
And seaward roll her Indian tides,  
So *long* their memory, who did give  
These floods their sounding names, shall live.

While time, in mindness, buries low  
The gory axe and warrior's bow,  
O, Justice! faithful to thy trust,  
Record the virtues of the just!

Mr. Canning's poem is followed in the volume (1843) by the following "Quere. — When will the Logan monument be built, if our citizens relapse into their late habits of speculation and extravagance, as means of doing so increase? Will they not always feel too poor for any enterprise of the kind?"

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### THREE INDIAN LOGANS.

In previous pages of this *QUARTERLY* is an account of the unveiling of the "Cresap Tablet" at Logan Elm Park. In connection therewith is a brief article by Miss Arista Arledge in which reference is made to the Logan speech and episode. A volume recently issued, entitled "The First Century of Piqua, Ohio," compiled by John A. Rayner, calls attention to the infrequently known fact that there was another Indian chief Logan, often spoken of by Colonel John Johnston, many years government commissioner for the Ohio Indians. This Indian Logan, no relative to the Mingo orator, was a Shawnee chief, and son of the sister of Tecumseh. He was called James Logan after Colonel Benjamin Logan of Kentucky. He must be distinguished also from another James Logan, Indian name Say-ugh-towa, a brother of John Logan, Indian name Tah-gah-jute, the well known orator. These two Logans, John the orator and James, his brother, were given the name Logan by their father in honor of James Logan, one time secretary to Wm. Penn and later president of the council of Pennsylvania.

Logan, the Shawnee, Indian name Spemica Lawba, meaning High Horse, had a noble and brave character and figured conspicuously in early Ohio history. He was captured at the destruction of the Mac-ochec towns by Colonel Benj. Logan in 1786. The Indian boy was then sixteen. His father, the head chief, Moluntha, was brutally murdered after he had surrendered. Colonel Logan took a fancy to the young son, carried him to Kentucky and adopted him into his family,

giving him the name Logan. After returning to his people James Logan settled at Wapakoneta, but during the period of the war of 1812 he resided at Upper Piqua. He was a warm and true friend of the Americans, the White pioneers, whom he led in several hazardous expeditions (against the British and Indians). In November (1812) after returning from a scouting expedition Logan was wrongfully accused of treachery to the American cause, by an officer of the Kentucky troops. Logan resented this implication upon his allegiance and to prove the falsity of the charge set forth to capture and "bring in" some hostile Indians. In this effort he was himself captured and in his attempt to escape was mortally wounded, but was rescued and brought into the American camp by his companions. He died after several days illness, and was buried with military honors at Camp Winchester. His dying request was that his two sons, named respectively, Henry Clay and Martin Hardin, should be sent to Kentucky to be brought up and educated by Major Hardin. This request could not be fulfilled, so Colonel Johnston brought the boys to Piqua and placed them in school. They soon, however, returned to their tribe and after the removal of their people to the western reservation Henry Clay became a chief. In later years both brothers became dissipated and ignoble, as runs the narrative, and died without honor.

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#### "STORY OF MY LIFE AND WORK."

A volume, modest in size, with the above title has recently been issued by the *Bibliotheca Sacra* Company, Oberlin, Ohio. The author is G. Frederick Wright, present president of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. It is an interesting relation of an eventful life. As the writer himself says, in the preface, his active life of sixty years, (he was born January 22, 1838) covers a period of unexampled intellectual as well as of material readjustments. And in this readjustment Dr. Wright played no insignificant part. He has been in the forefront of the moral, polemical, educational and political movements in his day and age. Born of sterling New England, revolutionary stock, his start in mind and character was greatly in his favor and through life he employed that initial capital to produce the best influential and intellectual results. His childhood was the happy and fortunate one of the New England home, not especially thrilling or unusual but peaceful, thoughtful and serious. His recital of his boyhood is most readable because not only happily told but is typical of the time, place and circumstances of his environment. He taught school and then entered Oberlin College, to the establishment (1833) of which his father and uncle contributed. His family were in sympathy with that institution because of its independent and progressive features; its broad policy in religious belief and in humanity, as evidenced by its admission of

students without restrictions as to sex and color. The political and religious features of his *alma mater* had much to do with the development of this student, who later and for many years was a distinguished and honored professor in the theological department of the college. This latter period was preceded by ten years of pastorate of the Free Church, in Andover, Massachusetts. Here Dr. Wright lived for the decade in the intellectual and theological atmosphere of New England. It was during this period also that Dr. Wright became interested in and a student of archæology, geology and more or less in kindred sciences. He was early recognized as one of the leading authorities in these subjects. He visited various parts of the North American continent to make observations and secure data at first hand, which afforded him material for many books on the topics of his investigations. Later he extended his scientific studies to Europe and the Orient, making four different journeys to the foreign countries, one of which entitled "Across Asia" he narrates at some length, taking up nearly a third of his volume. It deserves the space occupied and makes "good reading" for the layman. Indeed, the whole contents of the volume is presented in a simple, attractive style for the "common" reader and not the critical student demanding profundity and prolixity. For many years Dr. Wright at Oberlin held the chair, at first, of New Testament Language and Literature, then of the Harmony of Science and Religion or perhaps more specifically of the natural and logical evidences of the Biblical writings; one of his published volumes on this subject is "Scientific Confirmation of Old Testament History." Dr. Wright has led a most industrious life, having written half a score of books on scientific or theological themes. He drives a facile pen; is always courteous and fair in his argument and manner; tenacious of his own views but tolerant of the views of others. While at Andover he became associated with the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, then published at that place; in 1883 this scholarly publication, one of the foremost magazines in the field of theological literature, was transferred to Oberlin and Prof. Wright became the head of the editorial board and its chief guide and inspiration. In its volumes many of the leading theological scholars of the world have found avenue for the expression of their views. The last chapter of the book is devoted to "My Creed," in which the author makes statement of his beliefs, both religious and scientific and the reasons therefor. This "creed" bespeaks the man of Christian faith and broad humanity qualities that have ever actuated its acceptor. In 1897 Dr. Wright succeeded General Roeliff Brinkerhoff as president of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. That position the occupant has filled, and is still filling, with interested faithfulness. During the incumbency of Dr. Wright the Society has grown in magnitude and effective work until it ranks among the foremost organizations of its purpose in the country. Not only his personal friends, but innumerable readers at large will find this little autobiography interesting and stimulating.



## OHIO IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1824.

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### INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

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The characterization of the period of Monroe's presidency as the "Era of Good Feeling" has done much to obscure the true nature of the decade 1815-1825. It has been rather generally thought of as a period in which the Jeffersonian Republican party so completely dominated that the rival presidential candidates of 1824 represented substantially the same principles and policies. Recent scholarship is showing the superficiality of this view, and revealing the fact that the years in question were years of disintegration for the Republican as well as for the Federalist party, and of recombination of political elements into new party groupings.

The basic fact in the party transformation of this epoch is the revolutionary change which took place in the relations of the great economic interests and geographical sections. The Federalist and Republican parties were originally organized on the basis of conditions existing about the time of the adoption of the constitution. Their geographical basis was the region between the Alleghany Mountains and the Atlantic. But by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century a new world had come into being west of the mountains. One person in fifteen of the population of the United States lived beyond the mountains in 1790; in 1830 the ratio was six in fifteen. This relative increase in the West meant that the center of economic and political power, as well as of population, was moving westward. One result was an alteration of the relative weight of the economic groups engaged respectively in ocean commerce, manufacturing, staple-growing, and farming. Another result was a disturbance of the political alliance between economic groups and geographical sections involved in the two original parties. Finally, new groupings and



alliances resulted, forming the new party groupings of the Jacksonian Era.

To these changes is due, in the last analysis, the decline and fall of Federalism. To them is due also the disruption of Republicanism; for the Republicanism of the original southern states was at odds in many ways with the "young" Republicanism of the rising West. In consequence of differing interests, on questions of internal improvements, the protective tariff, and interpretation of the constitution, especially, the Old South and the New West diverged. By 1824 the Republican name had ceased to represent any vital union between the two wings of the party.

The working of the influences which disrupted the Republican party and foreshadowed the new party groupings can nowhere be studied to better advantage than in the State of Ohio. By 1824 Ohio led the western states in population and ranked fourth in the Union. Unlike Kentucky and Tennessee, she had no son of her own in the campaign of that year, so that her attitude was less affected by local pride. Moreover, the mingling of sectional elements in her population made the conflict within her bounds fairly typical of the contest in the country at large.

With these considerations in mind, it is evident that Mr. Roseboom's monograph is more than a study in local Ohio politics. It throws light upon the political situation in the entire United States. It is an example of that intensive analysis of local conditions upon which alone sound generalizations can be based.

Mr. Roseboom's study was presented as a thesis in candidacy for the degree of Master of Arts in American History in Ohio State University.

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# OHIO IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1824.

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BY EUGENE H. ROSEBOOM, M. A.

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION — GENERAL FEATURES.

When James Monroe became president of the United States it seemed to many superficial observers that party divisions were at an end and that the country would never see a recurrence of the bitter party spirit so evident in that period of our history when foreign relations were of primary importance. The close of the Napoleonic Era seemed to mean the end of party strife in the United States, and the terms Federalist and Republican lost their early meaning. But the disappearance of party divisions could not be permanent. New problems were arising during Monroe's administration which were to be the sources of party and sectional divisions, which have never since been absent from American politics.

In the election of 1824 these problems first show themselves as political issues and out of this election comes a new alignment of parties and the complete break-up of the old Republican party so long dominant in national affairs. Because it is the great transition election from the old era to the new, the election of 1824 is of more than ordinary importance.

In this campaign appear the beginnings of the characteristic features of the American party system as it is known today. Party conventions, addresses to the people, semblances of party organizations, division of local parties on national issues, all begin to take form while the old party machinery, of which the congressional caucus was a conspicuous feature, is relegated to the scrap heap. New machinery better fitted for growing democracy was in process of construction.

The most obvious feature of the campaign of 1824 and the one by which it is best remembered is the large number of can-



didates. Under the Virginia presidents the election of the chief executive had ceased to be a real contest but the year 1824 showed that such a condition was not to become permanent. Growing democracy was demanding a larger share in choosing the president, and statesmanship and long training were beginning to be regarded with distrust in some quarters. In this campaign at one time or another there were at least seven candidates, though not all formally nominated, and one or two others were considered as possibilities. Adams, Calhoun, and Crawford from Monroe's cabinet, Clay and Lowndes from Congress, DeWitt Clinton, and Andrew Jackson comprise the active list. This number was reduced to four at the election.

The number and prominence of the candidates and the bitterness of the campaign have caused many historians to overlook the issues and regard the campaign as largely decided on personal grounds. To take this view is to overlook the underlying sectional issues. The personality of a candidate always plays a strong part in presidential campaigns, and this was true in 1824 as it has been since. But to pass by the issues is to lose what is perhaps the most significant feature of this election.

The strong national feeling following the war of 1812 was giving way to the demands of sectional interests. The South, feeling the burdens of the tariff, was aligned in opposition to the protective system and was showing a noticeable lack of enthusiasm over internal improvements by the national government. New England was divided between her commercial and manufacturing interests but was still inclined to oppose the tariff. The Middle States were strongly for protective tariff to encourage their manufactures and for internal improvements to secure western markets. The West, almost wholly agricultural and suffering from lack of markets, was strongly in favor of both internal improvements and tariff. It felt that its demands had been too long ignored by the national government and that the time had come when western interests should be given the consideration the size and importance of that section deserved.

Then, too, there was the partially dormant slavery question which had arisen in 1820 over the Missouri question. At first it seemed probable that this would play a leading part in the presidential campaign, but, as nothing appeared to cause further



The election of 1824, showing the Geographical Distribution of the Voters.

friction, it was pushed into the background by more pressing questions, though it still had a real influence on the election.

With these opposing sectional interests at work no candidate, with so many competitors in the field, could hope to carry the election unless he conciliated opposing interests. This explains why the candidates themselves said so little about the issues and conducted the campaign on personal grounds. But their supporters in the various states fought it out on these issues and it is to the local campaigns that one must go to understand the real significance of the election.

Ohio in this election offers an interesting study of the forces of sectionalism. By 1824 Ohio had become the most important of the western states and ranked fourth in the whole union in population although she had been a state for only two decades. Her population had come from all sections in varying numbers and this partly explains the sectional character the contest of 1824 assumed in the state. Ohio was both western and northern in her interests. Drawn to the other western states by their common need for internal improvements and a protective tariff, she was partly repelled by the slavery existing in some of them. United with New York and Pennsylvania in opposition to slavery and in favor of tariff and internal improvements, she was kept from a union with the rest of the North by the opposition of the commercial Northeast to western policies. Though the South had been the chief market for the products of Ohio, the opposition of that section to the tariff and internal improvements, besides the slavery question, made a union of the South and the Northwest an impossible thing. Thus Ohio found herself both western and northern in her interests, and the attempts to choose the presidential candidate who would best represent her resulted in a bitter struggle which remained in doubt to the very last.

Of the more important states only New York and Ohio were really doubtful. This situation in the former state was due largely to the fact that the legislature chose the electors and its attitude was very uncertain. But in Ohio it was a question of how the people would vote and partisanship reached a white heat. This was an unusual situation as previous presidential campaigns had aroused but slight interest in the state, the vote always falling far below that cast at state elections. Ohio was so over-



whelmingly Republican that the small minority of Federalists had made but slight efforts for their candidates. Besides, the electoral vote of Ohio had not been of sufficient importance to affect the general result and the country at large was little interested in what the state did. But in the electoral college of 1824 she was to have sixteen electoral votes, and, furthermore, was not committed to any one candidate. It was a prize well worth fighting for. Thus in 1824 for the first time, Ohio played that important part in a presidential election which has been attributed to this state in so many campaigns since.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE SITUATION IN THE BEGINNING.

The Ohio campaign began as in other states very early in Monroe's second term but it can hardly be regarded as other than political maneuvering and sounding of public sentiment until the legislative caucus, early in January, 1823. From this time on the campaign was actually under way though it did not assume its final form until the spring of 1824 when the field of candidates was reduced in Ohio to the three who finally made the race.

In the early stages the slavery issue resulting from the Missouri Compromise loomed large. It was expected that this would largely determine the election. Charles Hammond, who played an important part in the Ohio campaign and who disliked Adams because of his desertion of the Federalist party, wrote at the time of the Missouri struggle: "A new state of parties must grow out of it. Give me a Northern President, whether John Quincy Adams or DeWitt Clinton, or anybody else, rather than that things should remain as they are."<sup>1</sup> Yet Hammond, always an opponent of slavery, found this issue so subordinated in 1824 that he took charge of Clay's campaign in Ohio and opposed the northern candidate.

Edward King, writing from Ohio to Rufus King in November, 1822, said of the situation: "Ohio is decided at present

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<sup>1</sup> Smith, Charles Hammond, 32.



for Mr. Clay, and I know no person, who would be able to alienate her, except Clinton, who would receive the support of the North and Eastern part of the State. He (Mr. Clay) will undoubtedly be the first choice, and I think Mr. Adams the second. If, however, the Missouri question should present itself, in the contest, Ohio probably would leave her favorite and support Mr. Adams."<sup>2</sup> King was not personally friendly to Adams.

Some two months later he further expressed his belief that the Missouri question would play a part in the election. "It does not appear to me," he said, "that the country has not so soon recovered from the Missouri question, and that the Eastern States, if they find the South and West too strong, will be inclined to cry out 'No Slavery', and by these means compel Ohio and the Western free states to abandon their choice and unite in this policy."<sup>3</sup>

The editor of the *Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette*, James Wilson, grandfather of Woodrow Wilson,<sup>4</sup> expressed in rather violent language his opinion of southern threats to divide the union.<sup>5</sup> He charged that Clay was the friend of slavery, that he had yielded to southern threats in the Missouri question and might yield to them on the tariff for the supposed integrity of the union.<sup>6</sup> Yet by the spring of 1824 this same editor was ready to declare for Clay. He explained that, while he had hoped the Missouri question would have a strong effect on the election, the northern states had selected their candidates without reference to it and there was no further use in agitating it when there were nearer and more vital interests at stake.<sup>7</sup> This was the view of many who had been strongly opposed to the Missouri compromise.

Clay himself was keenly aware of the Ohio situation in regard to the slavery issue. Writing to Francis Brooke in

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<sup>2</sup> King, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, VI, 487.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 497.

<sup>4</sup> Hunter, "The Pathfinders of Jefferson County," *Ohio Archæological and Historical Society Publications*, VI, 271.

<sup>5</sup> *Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette*, March 1, 1823.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, March 22, 1823.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, April 24, 1824.

February, 1824, he said: "As I have told you before the north-western states will go for Mr. Adams, if they cannot get me. They will vote for no man residing in a slave state but me, and they vote for me because of other and chiefly local considerations, outweighing the slave objections. On that you may depend."<sup>8</sup> This was doubtless true at this time. The Jackson movement had not yet developed great strength, and its partial success in the Northwest at the election must be attributed largely to Jackson's personal popularity and to the fact that Clay had to face two candidates in each of these states. With the slavery issue more prominent Jackson would probably have been injured more than Clay in the North.

With the absence of any further events to stir up the slavery question and with economic interests demanding to be taken care of, tariff and internal improvements became the dominating issues, or rather issue, as they were usually taken together to form one policy known as the "domestic policy".

For some years prior to 1824 there had been a growing demand in the West for legislation by the national government to provide for western interests. With increasing agricultural production, very inadequate and unsatisfactory markets, and general business depression in the early twenties, Ohio and her neighbors came to regard their future as inseparably connected with internal improvements and a protective tariff.

The cost of transportation over the mountains restricted the eastern market. New Orleans, the principal outlet of the West, had serious disadvantages. The voyage down the Mississippi and back was long and difficult, navigation was unsafe due to obstructions in the river, the climate was not healthful. Shippers in the northwestern states had to wait until there was sufficient water in the Ohio and upper Mississippi, which caused all shipments to be made at one time and thus flooded the New Orleans market, so injuring prices that often Ohio farmers preferred to let their produce go to waste at home. The falls of the Ohio at Louisville offered a further disadvantage. On the other hand, the eastern market could be reached only through

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<sup>8</sup> Clay, Works, IV, 86.

a national system of roads and canals. The Cumberland road had reached Ohio, the Erie canal was nearing completion in New York, and a Chesapeake and Ohio canal was under discussion. Ohio desired to take advantage of new routes to the East by a system of canals which would connect the interior counties with the Ohio River and Lake Erie and thus enable them to make use of both the Ohio river outlet to the South and the Erie canal to the East. Extensive preparations were being made for the proposed canal system in Ohio and the assistance of the federal government was especially desired. Furthermore, the southern part of the state was interested in a proposed canal around the falls of the Ohio. Hence internal improvements became a kind of obsession with the people of Ohio and visions of wonderful prosperity floated before them.

Closely connected with this was the tariff question. The development of home manufactures through the tariff in order to furnish a home market for agricultural products and make the United States economically self-sustaining was a western ideal. This would relieve the unprofitableness of agriculture, diversify industries, open new channels for capital and labor, and the whole country would profit thereby. Internal improvements would enable the products to reach the markets cheaply, the tariff would enlarge these markets by furnishing new demands for raw materials and food supplies.

Ohio newspapers were full of articles showing the necessity of such a policy. "Unless the western country can prevail upon the government to provide means for transporting its surplus agricultural produce to a certain and safe market, and unless their manufactures be so protected as to be placed on a permanent footing, property will continue to depreciate, and poverty and misery will be our constant companions,"<sup>9</sup> said the Steubenville Gazette. The picture of conditions in Ohio as seen by the Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette was depressing. Ordinary channels of wealth were overcrowded, professions full, competing merchants and shopkeepers driving each other into bankruptcy, agriculture overcrowded and declining. In the fall and

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<sup>9</sup> Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette, Feb. 7, 1824.



winter of 1822-3 most of the provisions shipped from the Cincinnati market involved almost all shippers in loss; in the winter of 1823-4 shipments of provisions were nearly one-half less than those of the previous year; land sales had greatly fallen off. If the markets of the European wars could be brought back, said the editorial, industry would revive; but that situation would not likely recur soon again, and now Europe was feeding herself. In the United States eighty-three out of every hundred persons were farmers raising a surplus. The remedy, then, concluded the article, must be a large and permanent home market, and this could only come by increasing duties to foster manufactures and to furnish new openings for labor.<sup>10</sup>

With such sentiments so general it is not surprising that Ohio felt such an interest in the presidential election. Congress, it was felt, was favorably disposed toward the West<sup>11</sup> but extensive plans for internal improvements had been checked by the executive. Monroe was tolerated rather than liked. His administration received some praise in general terms, but for the most part the end of his term was awaited with impatience by westerners, who desired the succession of a man with fewer constitutional scruples.

The Cincinnati National Republican declared that there was no hope for national aid to internal improvements during the Monroe administration. "There is a party of politicians at Washington, whose consciences are so tender, or whose minds are so contracted, that no general system of internal improvements can be anticipated, from the councils of the nation, until there is a radical change in the Executive department."<sup>12</sup> A little earlier this same paper expressed similar sentiments on the tariff bill then before Congress, whose failure it attributed to the influence of the treasury department. "How long we shall be compelled to suffer by the contracted view of our public interests, which can embrace only the growth of cotton and tobacco, and the necessary means to provide for these articles,

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<sup>10</sup> Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, May 18, 1824.

<sup>11</sup> Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette, March 25, 1824.

<sup>12</sup> Cincinnati National Republican, July 23, 1823.



a profitable foreign market, we pretend not to say; but we indulge a hope, that the proceedings of the present Congress will awaken a spirit of universal inquiry among the people, and produce such a change in the federal administration, as will ensure to it that wisdom which can discern the necessities of the country, and that liberality of feeling which will prompt to the adoption of the most efficient measures for its relief."<sup>13</sup>

It was all-important, therefore, that the next administration be favorable to western interests. The candidate Ohio supported must above all else be an advocate of the domestic policy. Said the Cincinnati Gazette: "So far as we have been able to learn the sentiments of this state, we believe, however they may differ on other subjects, that they pretty generally agree in this one important point:—that we ought to support that man for the Presidency, other things being equal, who will most effectually encourage domestic manufactures and internal improvements."<sup>14</sup>

Other papers uttered similar sentiments. The Steubenville Gazette declared that "the question is not now whether this candidate or that candidate is a democrat or a federalist, but whether he is a friend or an opponent to domestic industry and internal improvements."<sup>15</sup> As the Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette, ardently for Clay, expressed it, "this is a sine qua non—an article of faith, to which every political aspirant must subscribe, before he can expect to be honored with their suffrage."<sup>16</sup>

With this "article of faith" in view, the chances of the various candidates may now be considered. William H. Crawford, the Secretary of the Treasury, was at first regarded as the leading candidate by the nation generally but he did not have the slightest chance at any time of carrying Ohio. The fact that he was most strongly supported in the southern states where tariff and internal improvements were most unpopular was alone enough to condemn him. His silence on these questions com-

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<sup>13</sup> Cincinnati National Republican, March 4, 1823.

<sup>14</sup> Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, Jan. 6, 1824.

<sup>15</sup> Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette, in Scioto Gazette, Aug. 2, 1823.

<sup>16</sup> Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette, Aug. 2, 1823.

pleted his destruction in the west. The fact that he was from a slave state and the supposed intrigues in which he was engaged for the presidency were further counts against him. His few supporters in Ohio were largely personal friends and, in the absence of a Crawford electoral ticket, supported Clay.

The other southern candidate was Calhoun, the death of Lowndes giving him South Carolina's united backing. He was quite favorably regarded in Ohio despite the fact that he was from a slave state. His advocacy of national measures, especially internal improvements, won him many supporters in Ohio and early in the campaign he seemed to have a chance in the state. But Calhoun could not compete with Clay in advocating tariff and internal improvements while the latter had the further advantage of being a westerner. His candidacy overshadowed Calhoun's.

Henry Clay was the leading candidate in Ohio almost from the beginning. He was a westerner, a strong advocate of both protective tariff and internal improvements, and a champion of western interests. He was well known personally in Ohio and had a host of friends in the state. On the vital issues there was no man whose sentiments were better known or more strongly expressed. Indeed, Clay made himself so acceptable to the West that he ruined his cause in the other sections. But to Ohioans there were at least two important objections to Clay as their candidate, namely, his attitude toward the Missouri Compromise and his connection with the United States Bank, which was unpopular in the state. His apparently southern views on the Missouri question aroused considerable opposition to him at first but declined in importance as the campaign progressed. His position as attorney for the United States Bank injured him in certain localities, yet the opposition on this score was not widespread. Certain political charges raised against him proved to be as important as these objections just mentioned.

Adams as the northern candidate drew to his support in Ohio those opponents of slavery who believed in the necessity of electing a northern president to end the long monopoly the South had maintained over the executive department. As the state of Ohio was practically unanimous against the extension of slavery, in

the absence of other issues, Adams might well have succeeded in carrying the state in 1824, as Clay's friends at first greatly feared. But the domestic policy as the dominant issue worked injury to Adams. His apparent silence on this question was misconstrued in many quarters as opposition to tariff and internal improvements and played an important part in the election.

DeWitt Clinton never announced himself as a candidate because his own state would not support him but he was regarded as a possible candidate up to the time the electoral bill failed in the New York legislature. In Ohio Clinton found strong support. He was from a northern state, as Adams was. But unlike the latter, he was known as the great apostle of internal improvements, for the Erie canal was largely his work. Thus Clinton seemed to many Ohioans to be the one candidate who could draw western support from Clay and northern support from Adams, and unite the two sections behind him for the interests of both. The Ohio movement for Clinton had a real popular basis, and had New York appeared favorable to her native son, he would have run a very strong race in the Northwest.

Andrew Jackson was not taken seriously in Ohio at first but his personal popularity drew to him a party which grew as the campaign progressed until it seemed as if Ohio would be swept away by the magic name of Jackson. But it would be a mistake to assume that the Jackson party had only a personal basis. Its candidate was proclaimed as the strong advocate of western interests as well as democracy, and though his stand on the tariff and internal improvements was rather uncertain compared with Clay's attitude, it satisfied his supporters who demanded a united West back of him.

From this general survey of the candidates it is seen that Ohio was drawn two ways. The Clay men, and after them the Jackson followers, urged the necessity of a united West behind a western candidate to secure the triumph of western interests, which, they asserted, were, after all, the true national interests. This union of all the western states appealed strongly to the people of Ohio but was open to a serious objection which the *Ohio Monitor*, friendly to Adams, set forth early in the campaign.



It declared that the idea of a western sectional alignment was delusive, that the division would be northern and southern, as the North required protection to agriculture and manufactures while the South opposed such a policy. Then the editorial went at the heart of the question. "If a western interest is intended to effect the election of a president, as is proposed by all who speak of the feasibility of electing a western president, it must include all the southern states, and one or more of the middle states, and if a western candidate is elected by such votes he must be governed by their policy."<sup>17</sup> In other words the western states were not strong enough to elect their own candidate on such a frankly sectional platform as Clay's, while southern votes could only be secured at the sacrifice of those interests most vital to the West.

Ohio's other alternative was a union with the states to the east of her on the basis of their common interests in regard to slavery, the tariff, and internal improvements. Both Adams from New England and Clinton from New York were prospective northern candidates. If a union were to be effected between Ohio and her western neighbors and the East, then one section would have to give up its favorite candidate. That the former as the younger and less populous should yield to the older section, was the argument of the Adams and Clinton men.<sup>18</sup> "The west", said the Steubenville Gazette, "has no interest distinct from the interest of the grain growing and manufacturing states to the east."<sup>19</sup> But however true this may have been, there could be no agreement on the candidate they were to support in common. Since the states in each section found it impossible to agree on a single candidate for their section, it was too much to expect the two sections to unite. The results of the election showed this.

Yet in the House election of 1825 it was just such a union of West and East as this proposed one that elevated John Quincy Adams to the presidency. Had it been effected before the election of 1824 it might have produced happier consequences for all concerned.

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<sup>17</sup> Ohio Monitor, Feb. 15, 1823.

<sup>18</sup> Delaware Patron, Mar. 18, 1824.

<sup>19</sup> Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette, Mar. 1, 1823.



The chief interest of the Ohio campaign lies in this struggle between northern and western candidates and the attempted union of sections.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE PRELIMINARY CAMPAIGN.

The campaign of 1824 in Ohio may be said to have begun with the legislative caucus early in 1823. Prior to this time there was no definite alignment of parties though newspapers advocating their favorites were having preliminary skirmishes. When the legislature met in December, 1822, it was seen that sentiment was nearly equally divided for and against a legislative caucus to nominate a presidential candidate. Henry Clay had just been nominated by the Kentucky legislature<sup>1</sup> and his friends were anxious to see the Ohio legislature take similar action. An attempt made early in the session failed as it was deemed inexpedient to take action so long before the election. But the friends of Clay in Congress were very urgent that the Ohio legislature take action. "The idea of some holding back in expectation that Clinton will be brought forward is most extraordinary," wrote Representative Barber, who urged Clay's nomination and declared that the contest lay between Crawford and Clay in the country at large.<sup>2</sup> Representative David Trimble of Kentucky, writing to Allen Trimble, then speaker of the Ohio Senate, urged immediate action. "All depends upon Ohio, but it is especially necessary that she should express her mind by some mode that will leave no doubt of her intentions. A state caucus, or something like that. Think of this seriously, and if you do anything, the sooner the better."<sup>3</sup>

The Clay men worked energetically and succeeded in having a caucus called for January 3, 1823. Of the 102 members of the legislature about 90 were present. Speaker Trimble presided. A motion that it was inexpedient to proceed to make a nomination

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<sup>1</sup> Frankfort (Ky.) *Argus*, in *Columbus Gazette*, Dec. 5, 1822.

<sup>2</sup> *Cutler, Life and Times of Ephraim Cutler*, 182.

<sup>3</sup> *Papers of Gov. Allen Trimble*, *Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly*, X, 301.

at that time was voted down by the close vote of 43 to 47. Whereupon most of the friends of the other candidates withdrew and left the Clay men in control. A vote was then taken on the presidential question, Clay receiving 50, Clinton 5, Adams 1, Calhoun 1.<sup>4</sup>

The Clay men were much pleased with their success, the Columbus Gazette claiming that many of those who had opposed a nomination at that time and had withdrawn from the caucus were friends of Clay.<sup>5</sup> Henry Clay, himself, who arrived in Columbus a few days after the holding of the caucus, wrote to Francis Brooke expressing his satisfaction with the result. "Considering the great efforts made from without to prevent any legislative expression of public opinion, the proof which is afforded by the vote here is extremely strong."<sup>6</sup>

Naturally, the supporters of other candidates were displeased at the action of the legislators. It was declared premature and inexpedient,<sup>7</sup> and not deserving any consideration since Clay had obtained only fifty votes, less than half of the membership of the legislature, despite all the efforts made by his partisans.<sup>8</sup>

The Ohio nomination certainly added prestige to Clay's cause in the state and elsewhere, but it had a tendency to turn the fire of the supporters of all the other candidates against him, while the circumstances of the nomination led to charges of intrigue and disregard of public sentiment, which were repeated and enlarged until they came to be urged as one of the principal reasons why Clay should be defeated. The Jackson press especially delighted to compare the popular nomination of Jackson with the caucus endorsement of Clay, which was classed with the very unpopular congressional caucus as means by which intriguing politicians subverted the people's will.

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<sup>4</sup> Columbus Gazette, Jan. 9, 1823; Ohio Monitor, Jan. 4, 1823.

<sup>5</sup> Columbus Gazette, Jan. 9, 1823.

<sup>6</sup> Clay, Works, IV, 70.

<sup>7</sup> John McLean to Allen Trimble, Jan. 31, 1823, Papers of Gov. Allen Trimble, Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly, X, 302.

<sup>8</sup> Cincinnati National Republican, Jan. 14, 1823; March 4, 1823.

At about the same time the legislators were taking action at Columbus, a movement of another sort was in progress at Cincinnati. On December 24, 1822, a popular meeting was held to express a presidential preference. A preliminary meeting on December 7 had appointed a committee to consider the various candidates, and this committee reported to the meeting of the 24th. The report recommended DeWitt Clinton for the presidency. The resolution as adopted pointed out the importance and mutual interdependence of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the necessity of their protection and fostering care by the government, and the need of a chief executive who should be free from contracted views and local prejudices; declared that DeWitt Clinton possessed the necessary attainments including liberal and enlightened views of national policy to qualify him for the high office; and recommended him to the people of Ohio and the Union as a candidate. Legislative nominations were disapproved of, and committees of correspondence were formed to further Clinton's cause. More than three hundred attended the meeting and only three negative votes were cast on the resolutions, according to a friendly newspaper.<sup>9</sup>

This was the beginning of the Clinton movement in Ohio which for a time caused much uneasiness in the Clay following and not without cause. Clinton was strong in two sections of the state where Clay was weak. Around Cincinnati Clay's connection with the United States Bank had injured him while Clinton, the friend of internal improvements, was highly regarded. In the northern and eastern parts of the state Clinton was popular because he was both a free state man and a friend to roads and canals while Clay's slavery views were distrusted by the people there, who were largely from northern states. The Cincinnati National Republican in its advocacy of Clinton put special emphasis on his friendliness to internal improvements. The Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette in the other section of the state urged his candidacy first of all because he was a northerner and opposed to

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<sup>9</sup> Cincinnati National Republican, Jan. 1, 1823.

the extension of slavery. Thus he possessed the chief elements of strength of both Adams and Clay without their weaknesses. His cause was warmly advocated by at least two important newspapers while some others, apparently for Adams, were quite friendly. The Delaware Patron, an Adams paper, openly expressed its belief that Clinton could carry the state but declared his election out of question because he was not considered in his own state.<sup>10</sup>

Through the spring and summer of 1823 the Clinton movement made little progress, largely because New York was not favorable, but late in the year a concerted movement for him took place in Ohio which for a time made him a strong rival of Clay and Adams. This can best be taken up in another connection.

The Adams following in the state, while not so large as Clay's in numbers, was not easily drawn to other candidates. Composed largely of former New Englanders, this party clung tenaciously to the New England candidate and made ability, integrity, morality, and opposition to slavery its chief tenets while at the same time asserting its candidate's friendliness to protective tariff and internal improvements. Those to whom opposition to slavery seemed of first importance joined the Adams movement making the Secretary of State a strong candidate throughout the whole Northwest.

An attempt had been made in 1822 to discredit Adams in the West by the publication of the Russell letters in which it was charged that Adams had proposed at Ghent in 1814 to grant to Great Britain the right of navigating the Mississippi in return for the use of the Newfoundland fisheries by the Americans.<sup>11</sup> Adams successfully refuted the charge but it aroused him against Clay, whom he thought responsible. Writing of this in his diary, he said, "Clay's conduct throughout this affair towards me has been that of an envious rival—a fellow-servant whispering tales into the ear of a common master. He has been seven years circulating this poison against

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<sup>10</sup> Delaware Patron, in the Ohio Monitor, May 3, 1823.

<sup>11</sup> Niles' Register, XXII, 198, 209, 220, 296, 327; XXIII, 6, 9.



me in the West, and I have now no doubt that Russell's letter was brought forth upon suggestions originating with him."<sup>12</sup> Adams was more friendly to Calhoun, and Clay to Crawford at this time. Clay was partially drawn into the Russell affair by a letter <sup>13</sup> he wrote denying certain statements made by Adams but offering no proof because, he said, he did not desire to get into a controversy with him.<sup>14</sup> Adams demanded complete proof<sup>15</sup> but Clay refused to enter further into the affair. His action did him no good, and even his friends thought it unwise that he should have written the letter at all.<sup>16</sup> The charge raised by Russell was used against Adams in the Ohio campaign but played a very minor part as the latter's able defense had deprived it of its importance. His opponents found a more effective means to discredit him in Ohio. The whole affair only served to make a wider gap between Adams and Clay, which was unfortunate for both.

Considering the long period until the election would take place the year 1823 was surprisingly full of presidential politics. Charges and countercharges were hurled back and forth by ardent partisans. In Ohio the Clay men had to bear the brunt of the attack because of the leading position Clay was holding and because of the prestige the legislative nomination had given him as Ohio's candidate.

The National Republican of Cincinnati took the lead in attacking caucus nominations, whether congressional or state. It regarded Clay in an unfriendly light and attacked Crawford as the prince of intriguers. Calhoun was declared to be too young and lacking in the experience of statesmanship.<sup>17</sup> Jackson was praised for his great services to the country, but was declared utterly unfit for the presidency as his talents were those of a soldier. His advocates were urged to cease their

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<sup>12</sup> J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, 49.

<sup>13</sup> J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, 116; *Cincinnati National Republican*, Jan. 7, 1823.

<sup>14</sup> Clay to Brooke, Jan. 8, 1823, *Works of Clay*, IV, 70.

<sup>15</sup> J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, 117.

<sup>16</sup> Clay to Brooke, Jan. 31, 1823, *Works of Clay*, IV, 71.

<sup>17</sup> *Cincinnati National Republican*, March 14, 1823.

officious efforts.<sup>18</sup> Yet, curiously enough, in less than a year this same paper was strongly urging the election of Jackson.

But the National Republican was not the only paper guilty of changing its politics. The Steubenville Gazette was so bitter against the southern states and any candidate from that section that the Scioto Gazette was led to advise the Steubenville editor, James Wilson, to go forth and preach a crusade against the "southrons".<sup>19</sup> Yet before many months had passed the fiery editor had come out for Clay, admitting that slavery would play little part in the election.<sup>20</sup>

The Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette favored Calhoun but at his withdrawal went over to Clay.<sup>21</sup> There was no inconsistency in this, however, as both Clay and Calhoun were regarded as friendly to internal improvements and the tariff, and this paper put these issues above all others.

These are only examples of the shifting of party groups in the state before the contest became definitely limited.

A proposal of an eastern paper, made early in the campaign, to run Governor Morrow or former Governor Worthington for vice-president was looked upon unfavorably by the Clay leaders as an attempt to secure Ohio's support to Adams by an offer of the second place to the western state. The Scioto Gazette declared that the people of Ohio were determined to support Henry Clay for president and that nothing but "the act of God" could induce them to alter their resolution.<sup>22</sup> This rash statement returned to plague its author again and again during the closely fought campaign. The suggestion of an Ohio man for the vice-presidency dropped out of sight, finding little support anywhere.

Late in 1823 the Clinton movement took on renewed life. The National Republican in a significant editorial urged the people of the middle states and the west to put an end to the

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<sup>18</sup> Cincinnati National Republican, May 6, 1823; May 13, 1823.

<sup>19</sup> Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette, Aug. 2, 1823.

<sup>20</sup> Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette, April 24, 1823.

<sup>21</sup> Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, March 5, 1824.

<sup>22</sup> Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette, in the Columbus Gazette, June 5, 1823.

intrigues and cabals and factional strife and unite on a candidate, DeWitt Clinton, who was decidedly the most popular in Ohio. The West would yield the "partialities of personal attachment" to higher considerations.<sup>23</sup>

On December 2, a large meeting of Jefferson county citizens held at Steubenville nominated Clinton for president and Andrew Jackson for vice-president.<sup>24</sup> The National Republican on the same day announced that New York would support Clinton and that he would be a candidate,<sup>25</sup> an assertion at variance with the real situation. On December 16 a public meeting was held at Cincinnati to name a presidential candidate, Mayor Burnet presiding. The crowd proved so large that the building could not hold it. The Steubenville resolutions were adopted and Clinton named for the presidency by a vote of 450 for him to 330 for all other candidates.<sup>26</sup>

The Cincinnati meeting aroused much enthusiasm among the Clinton followers and plans were immediately set on foot to hold a meeting at Columbus early in January which would be more than a local expression of sentiment. The meeting, when held, did not prove to be a Clinton endorsement affair at all. About four-fifths of those present were from Columbus and vicinity, and were more inclined towards Clay than Clinton. After much hot debating, especially over slavery charges directed against Clay, the meeting voted to adjourn without making a nomination. The Clinton followers desired to remain and nominate their candidate but the confusion became so great that they were forced to give up the attempt.<sup>27</sup> The National Republican charged the Clay men with adjourning the meeting to prevent Clinton's nomination since Clay could not have received a majority.<sup>28</sup>

The Columbus meeting injured the Clinton movement and

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<sup>23</sup> National Republican, Sept. 19, 1823.

<sup>24</sup> Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette, Dec. 4, 1823.

<sup>25</sup> National Republican, Dec. 2, 1823.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., Dec. 19, 1823.

<sup>27</sup> Columbus Gazette, Jan. 15, 1824; Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, Jan. 20, 1824.

<sup>28</sup> National Republican, Jan. 27, 1824.

gave opposing papers an opportunity to cast ridicule upon it.<sup>29</sup> But the decline of the movement was not due to this failure but to the very apparent fact that Clinton had never announced himself a candidate and that New York had shown little enthusiasm for him. A few other Clinton meetings were held in Ohio<sup>30</sup> but his cause was declining. The *Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette* early in February admitted that Clinton's chances were doubtful.<sup>31</sup> The *National Republican* would not concede his cause hopeless until news came of the failure of the bill in the New York legislature to provide for popular election of the presidential electors.<sup>32</sup> This doomed the Clinton movement as the New York legislature, which chose the electors, was completely dominated by Van Buren and his friends, who were hostile to Clinton. The *National Republican* blamed the Clay men in New York for the defeat of the electoral bill<sup>33</sup> and grew increasingly hostile to Clay, eventually declaring for Jackson.

On April 10 the Clinton committee of correspondence at Cincinnati formally dissolved.<sup>34</sup> Of the ten members seven declared for Clay, three for Jackson. The *Cincinnati Gazette* declared that the majority of the Clinton men followed the majority of the committee and joined the Clay forces, but the remarkable growth of the Jackson strength around Cincinnati seems to indicate that Jackson benefited most by Clinton's failure there. The movement for Clinton was an ambitious project to unite New York and perhaps New England with the Northwest but it failed because local considerations were too strong in each case. Thus Adams was left as the only northern candidate to compete for Ohio's vote with two western candidates. This necessitates a brief account of the disap-

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<sup>29</sup> *Scioto Gazette*, Jan. 17, 1824; *Hamilton Intelligencer and Advertiser*, Jan. 27, Feb. 17, 1824; *Cincinnati Gazette*, Jan. 20, 1824.

<sup>30</sup> *National Republican*, Feb. 13, Feb. 24; *Cincinnati Gazette*, Feb. 17, 1824.

<sup>31</sup> *Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette*, Feb. 7.

<sup>32</sup> *National Republican*, April 9, 1824.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, April 9, April 13, April 16, 1824.

<sup>34</sup> *National Republican*, April 13; *Cincinnati Gazette*, April 16.



pearance of the Calhoun party, for Calhoun was still in the race in the early months of 1824.

Calhoun was popular in Ohio because of his strong stand for internal improvements but he was never a leading candidate. With Clay in the field he could hardly hope to win the state's electoral votes from the great western advocate of the domestic policy. Still his friends kept up the fight in his behalf and had several newspapers quite friendly to his cause. So long as he had a chance to carry Pennsylvania, Calhoun was given consideration in Ohio. Neither the Adams nor the Clay men were very hostile to him, as each probably had hopes of eventually securing the support of his followers in case his chances did not warrant a contest in the state. The *Scioto Gazette* did, however, question whether Calhoun's tariff sentiments were exactly in unison with those of Pennsylvania and the West though it gave approval to his past career.<sup>35</sup>

The *National Republican*, favoring Clinton, was hostile to Calhoun. It declared him not qualified in age, experience, or public service,<sup>36</sup> and later charged him with trying to supplant Adams whom it was supposed he would ultimately support.<sup>37</sup> It referred to him as "a man of second-rate talents, although of first-rate pretensions."<sup>38</sup> and when his withdrawal was announced declared he had never had any real popularity and was just discovering the fact himself.<sup>39</sup> Yet this same paper was soon obliged to give Calhoun its hearty support for the vice-presidency on the Jackson ticket.

Calhoun's leading Ohio supporter was William McLean, the Postmaster General. He was quite active in urging Calhoun's claims<sup>40</sup> and was much disappointed at the action of the Ohio legislators in naming Clay as their choice.<sup>41</sup> But his activities

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<sup>35</sup> Chillicothe Supporter and *Scioto Gazette*, Feb. 26, 1824.

<sup>36</sup> *National Republican*, March 14, 1823.

<sup>37</sup> *National Republican*, Jan. 9, 1824.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 13, 1824.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, March 5, 1824.

<sup>40</sup> Trimble, "Memoirs of an Old Politician," *Jour. of Amer. History*, III, 617.

<sup>41</sup> McLean to Trimble, Jan. 31, 1823, *Papers of Gov. Allen Trimble*, *Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly*, X, 302.

subjected him to some criticism, especially his use of the mails for Calhoun pamphlets and newspapers.<sup>42</sup> The declaration of the Harrisburg convention in Pennsylvania for Jackson led to Calhoun's withdrawal. His leading newspaper in Ohio, the *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, went over to Clay as the champion of the domestic policy and the Calhoun movement quietly dissolved. The race in the state was now between Adams, Clay and Jackson.

In national politics the most important event of the early campaign was the holding of the congressional caucus in February, 1824, which named William H. Crawford as the Republican candidate for the presidency.<sup>43</sup> The caucus was very unpopular in Ohio and the West. Western democracy was very bitter against the selection of a presidential candidate by members of Congress as this meant to westerners intrigue and corruption and perversion of the people's will. The fact that Crawford, most disliked of all candidates in the West, was the beneficiary of the caucus only added fuel to the flame. In Ohio, even the Clay papers, which had been rather friendly to Crawford, joined in the general denunciation of the sixty-six members of Congress who had dared to hold a caucus. Only one Ohio man, Benjamin Ruggles, United States Senator, attended the caucus, and he was chosen its chairman. For this he brought down upon himself an avalanche of criticism, which for a time threatened to blast his political career.

A few extracts from leading newspapers will show how intense feeling was against the caucus and its nominee. The *National Republican* called it "the second edition of the Hartford convention" and declared its members were principally apostate Federalists.<sup>44</sup> The *Delaware Patron*, an Adams organ, expressed its gratification that "amidst all the blandishments of intriguers and the arts of corruptionists, but one member of the Ohio delegation has been seduced from the path of duty.

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<sup>42</sup> *Columbus Gazette*, Feb. 26, Mar. 11, Mar. 25, 1824; *Cincinnati Advertiser*, Jan. 10, 1824.

<sup>43</sup> *Washington Republican*, in *Hamilton Intelligencer*, Mar. 2, 1824

<sup>44</sup> *National Republican*, Feb. 27, 1824.

to the imminent hazard of his popularity and usefulness."<sup>45</sup> The *Columbus Gazette*, a Clay paper, declared the conduct of Mr. Ruggles "at variance with that of the balance of our representation in Congress, and also with that of the great body of the people of this state."<sup>46</sup> Clay himself was quite aroused and wrote to Brooke that "the miserable attempt at a caucus" would destroy whatever prospects Crawford had.<sup>47</sup>

The only expression of sentiment favorable to the caucus was a public meeting at Zanesville held to indorse its action. But the opponents of the caucus controlled the meeting and the few favorable to it were forced to withdraw to another room where they passed resolutions approving the action of the caucus.<sup>48</sup> The failure of this attempted indorsement only caused further ridicule and showed how impossible it was for Crawford to expect any support in Ohio.

All discussion of the Crawford candidacy could be omitted from this account of the Ohio campaign were it not for its relations to the Clay candidacy and the threatening complications which resulted therefrom; for Clay's opponents capitalized the unpopularity of Crawford in the state and used it with effect against Clay. But this will be taken up in connection with the Clay campaign.

## CHAPTER IV.

### PARTIES AND CONVENTIONS.

The Ohio campaign was now definitely limited to Adams, Clay, and Jackson. The rise of the Jackson movement needs to be explained as it was the most striking political phenomenon of the spring of 1824. The candidacy of Andrew Jackson had previously aroused little attention in Ohio, and though it found some newspaper support, in general it was not taken seriously. Adams and Clay were the leading candidates with Clinton

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<sup>45</sup> Delaware Patron, Mar. 4, 1824.

<sup>46</sup> *Columbus Gazette*, Feb. 26, 1824.

<sup>47</sup> Clay, *Works*, IV, 86.

<sup>48</sup> *Ohio Republican*, Mar. 6, in *Scioto Gazette*, Mar. 11; *Steubenville Gazette*, Mar. 13.

threatening and Calhoun a kind of second-choice favorite of the Clay and Adams men. But the democratic character of the Jacksonian movement and the personal popularity of the "old hero" could not help but make a strong appeal to the west, and with the decline of Clinton and Calhoun this became very evident.

In Cincinnati the trend toward Jackson was surprisingly strong. The Cincinnati Advertiser had been urging Jackson's cause but it was joined in April by the National Republican, thus giving the Jackson men two influential newspapers in their support. The nomination of Jackson by the Harrisburg convention had caused much jubilation and, coming at the same time as the failure of the Clinton and Calhoun movements, raised the hopes of the Jackson men in Ohio to a high pitch. Jackson meetings were held in some counties in April to forward his candidacy.<sup>1</sup> A Cincinnati meeting on April 17 proved rather small compared with the large Clinton meeting of the previous December<sup>2</sup> but it was the beginning of the Jackson organization at Cincinnati.

In May the Jackson corresponding committee of Cincinnati and Hamilton county issued an address<sup>3</sup> which was the first general statement of the principles of Jacksonian democracy in Ohio. It attacked the system of appointing members of Congress to offices in the administration as a source of danger; declared that "ill-founded constitutional scruples" had intervened to prevent appropriations for national purposes, while truly unconstitutional measures were pursued with avidity when it suited those in power, that talent and respectability had no weight in securing offices in opposition to executive favor; and demanded a thorough reformation. It declared that the situation called for a man who "will always consider talent and integrity the only qualifications for promotion", "whose mind has never been contaminated with the corruption of foreign courts, nor seduced by the etiquette of the minions of arbitrary power — who promotes and encourages the manufactures of his own country, and

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<sup>1</sup> National Republican, April 27.

<sup>2</sup> Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, April 20.

<sup>3</sup> National Republican, May 18.



was never duped by the wily insinuations of foreign ministers; the man who never linked himself in with the corruptionists of the day, nor put himself forth for public office in any case but where his services were essential to the safety and welfare of the nation." It closed with a stirring appeal to the uncorrupted part of the community to support the savior of his country, called forth like the great Cincinnatus of old to save the nation.

This was the war cry of Jacksonian democracy, the appeal to the people. But it is to be noticed that the address did not neglect the questions of the domestic policy, for it is to be doubted whether the appeal would have gotten very far had Jackson been suspected of unfriendliness to the fundamental western interests. Nevertheless the Jackson campaign was based first of all on the popularity of Jackson, other issues being rather subordinated.

On May 29 the Jackson committee called a convention to be held at Columbus on July 14 to form a Jackson electoral ticket.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile friends of the other candidates had not been idle. Both Clay and Adams electoral tickets had appeared.

The Columbus Gazette of March 25 printed for the first time a list of Clay electors headed by William Henry Harrison and former Governor Thomas Kirker, and containing the names of a number of members of the last legislature. This ticket had been agreed upon the previous winter by friends of Clay at Columbus, principally members of the legislature. It was immediately attacked as a Crawford ticket in disguise,<sup>5</sup> as the work largely of a leading Federalist, and as containing former Federalists on it.<sup>7</sup>

The leading Federalist referred to was Charles Hammond, campaign manager for Clay in Ohio. Because of his prominence in the campaign Hammond deserves some notice here. He had come to Ohio in 1810, a young lawyer of Maryland birth, but became editor of the Ohio Federalist at St. Clairsville, arousing much feeling against himself by opposing the war of 1812. After

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<sup>4</sup> Cincinnati Advertiser, June 2.

<sup>5</sup> Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette, April 15.

<sup>6</sup> National Republican, March 30, April 2.

<sup>7</sup> Ohio Monitor, in Hamilton Intelligencer, April 20.

this he served in the legislature for several years, became supreme court reporter, and, because of his unusual ability, was retained as attorney for the state in the famous case of *Osborn vs. The Bank of the United States*, when Ohio attempted to tax the Bank. He was pitted against Clay, counsel for the Bank, but felt no personal animosities and in 1824 became his political adviser and campaign manager. Although the son of a slave-holder, Hammond was nevertheless a strong opponent of slavery and would have favored Adams in 1824 but for the latter's desertion of the Federalist party years before. Nominally becoming a Republican after his party's disappearance, Hammond really remained a Federalist at heart. He disliked Jackson very much and continued to oppose him until he retired from public life.<sup>8</sup>

With headquarters at Cincinnati, the heart of the Jackson territory, Hammond directed Clay's campaign with skill and moderation though subjected to bitter attacks personally. His letters to the newspapers, especially the *Liberty Hall* and *Cincinnati Gazette*, of which he later became publisher, show a clear perception of the true situation of the Clay forces and how it was to be met.

The Clay electoral ticket had hardly appeared before an Adams ticket was also published. On February 18 the members of the legislature friendly to Adams met, and after passing resolutions expressing their determination to support a candidate opposed to the slaveholding policy, recommended an Adams electoral ticket and appointed a committee of correspondence.<sup>9</sup> Calvin Pease, who had been chief justice of the supreme court, headed the ticket. He had headed the Federalist electoral ticket in 1812, a fact which the Clay men did not neglect to point out.<sup>10</sup> The list of proposed electors contained several members of the legislature, among them Nathaniel McLean, brother of that ardent Calhoun leader, Postmaster General McLean.<sup>11</sup>

And now appears one of the strange features of the cam-

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<sup>8</sup> Smith's Charles Hammond, 12-36; Mansfield, *Personal Memories*, 174-179.

<sup>9</sup> *Ohio Monitor*, in *Delaware Patron*, April 29.

<sup>10</sup> *Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette*, April 29.

<sup>11</sup> *Ohio Monitor*, in *Delaware Patron*, May 20.

paign — the attempt of the Adams men to secure the support of the Jackson following by making Jackson their vice-presidential candidate. The plan was not confined to Ohio nor did it originate there. Adams himself was probably the one who suggested the idea; at any rate it at once found favor with him. Southard, his cabinet colleague, warned him that this might strengthen Jackson for the presidency, but Adams believed the idea correct in principle and the vice-presidency especially suited to Jackson.<sup>12</sup> The plan was to unite Jackson and Calhoun with Adams by giving Jackson the vice-presidency and Calhoun some place, presumably in the cabinet, more suited to his youth and activity. This would strengthen the coming administration against the expected alliance of Crawford and Clay and add to it the much desired western support.<sup>13</sup>

The Adams men in Ohio took up the plan, and even before their electoral ticket was published, the Delaware Patron carried the names of Adams for president and Jackson for vice-president at the head of its columns.<sup>14</sup> With the appearance of the "Free Electoral Ticket", as the Adams list was called, Jackson's name appeared regularly as the vice-presidential candidate. A Cincinnati Adams follower, much alarmed at Jackson's strength in the Miami country, suggested a ticket pledged to Adams and Jackson and free to vote for either for president as circumstances should require.<sup>15</sup> But the Adams men had no intention of thus weakening their support of the New England candidate. They continued to support Jackson for the second place until late in the summer when his name was quietly dropped from the ticket.

This attempted union was doomed to failure because Jackson had shown too much strength as a presidential candidate to be easily put into an inferior place. His followers were too confident of success to be willing to unite themselves with the "aristocratic candidate." Neither the Adams nor the Clay men in

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<sup>12</sup> Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, 253.

<sup>13</sup> P. P. F. DeGrand to Gen. Dearborn, Jan., 1824, *Magazine of Amer. Hist.*, VIII, 629.

<sup>14</sup> Delaware Patron, April 8.

<sup>15</sup> Cutler, *Life and Times of Ephraim Cutler*, 189, H. D. Ward to Cutler.

Ohio seemed to have realized the strength of Jackson's following and each hoped for its eventual union with themselves. The Adams newspapers rather avoided attacking Jackson's candidacy until late in the campaign when union was seen to be hopeless.

The Clay papers for the most part were quite conciliatory toward Jackson and his supporters until it became evident that he would not be withdrawn in Ohio. The Cincinnati Gazette, facing two Jackson papers at Cincinnati, let loose at them rather early, and in March was inviting General Jackson to expose the supposed corruption in the national government and show what was to be reformed.<sup>16</sup> But it was in an exceptional situation. Throughout most of the state newspapers were divided principally between Clay and Adams and spent most of their time attacking each other to the neglect of Jackson.

The Jackson presses were not at all lenient with Clay and Adams, but, led by the National Republican, indulged in a campaign of such abuse and vilification that Hammond formally protested through the Gazette against the attitude of the National Republican and urged that the campaign be carried on without indulging in personalities as there were real grounds of difference between the candidates.<sup>17</sup> His protest went unheeded, and as a result, before the campaign was over, the Gazette and the National Crisis, an Adams paper, were both attacking the Jackson men with their own weapons. The fierce attacks of the Jackson presses on their opponents and the fact that Jackson was the leading candidate around Cincinnati had a tendency to draw the Adams and Clay men somewhat more closely together there than elsewhere. They did not cease their warfare, it is true, but they did center their attacks on the Jackson party. The way was thus made easier for their eventual union.

No Jackson electoral ticket was presented at the time the other tickets appeared, but meetings were held in various counties in May and June and certain individuals recommended as electors in the different congressional districts. The Jackson men contrasted the popular character of these nominations with the man-

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<sup>16</sup> Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, March 19.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., May 21. Letter Signed "L."



ner in which the Clay and Adams tickets were prepared.<sup>18</sup> The final arrangement of the electoral ticket and the formal presentation of Jackson's candidacy were to be done by the state convention called by the Cincinnati Jackson committee.

This convention was to be composed of delegates chosen by the people of the various counties. This was the nearest approach to a regularly constituted delegate nominating convention that Ohio had yet seen. It was neither a state nor a national nominating convention but a kind of state presidential ratifying convention. It was one of the new political practices of Jacksonian democracy and was on the model of the Pennsylvania Jackson convention at Harrisburg.

As it actually occurred the Ohio convention proved a deep disappointment to the followers of Jackson. It met on July 14 but only a few delegates were present, variously estimated at from eleven to thirty, with only eight or nine counties represented.<sup>19</sup> It framed an electoral ticket and appointed a committee to prepare an address to the people. For some reason the committee delayed publication of the address until September, but as it was a kind of Jackson platform it may be considered in connection with the convention.

The address,<sup>20</sup> after praising Jackson's integrity, patriotism, and talents, proceeded to attack the principle of legislative nominations as an interference with popular elections and pointed out as a horrible example of legislative domination the state of New York, expressing the fear that Ohio would likewise become "the sport of intriguing demagogues" and "subject to the wickedness and distraction of an organized system of office brokerage, and aristocratic domination." Both congressional and state caucuses were attacked.

The system of cabinet succession to the presidency was assailed because cabinet members through their power and use of the patronage could create powerful parties in their favor. The address declared that if either Adams or Crawford were success-

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<sup>18</sup>Hamilton Intelligencer, June 15; National Republican, July 23.

<sup>19</sup>Columbus Gazette, July 22; Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, July 23; National Republican, July 23.

<sup>20</sup>Hamilton Intelligencer, Sept. 27, Oct. 4.

ful the nation would be distracted with two contending parties, "losing sight of the interests of the people in a virulent and selfish contest for power." Hence, a man should be chosen, aloof from intrigues and cabals, who would call into public service "the most intelligent and virtuous part of the community."

Then it took up the question of Clay's candidacy. This was greatly deplored as unfortunately producing a division among those who entertained the same sentiments as to a national policy, and Clay was urged to withdraw on the ground that there was no reasonable expectation that he would receive sufficient support to reach the House of Representatives. Another reason was that he was much younger than his competitors and could easily wait, and being from the same section as Jackson, should give way to that hero and devoted patriot of two wars. Furthermore, the time honored practice of selecting the president from the venerable sages of the nation should not be departed from. Jackson the last of the Revolutionary patriots, without a congressional caucus or cabinet influence to back him, was emphatically the candidate of the people and should be chosen.

Part of the address was given over to a biography of the candidate and a eulogy of his talents and abilities. Among other things it was stated that "his views of public policy, as to internal improvements and protection to domestic manufactures, eminently qualified him for the chief seat in our national councils." This rather equivocal statement contains the only direct mention of the burning issues in connection with Jackson, although his friendliness to the domestic policy is implied in several places.

In conclusion Jackson's prospects were set forth, 120 electoral votes, including Ohio's 16, being claimed for him and, in case of Clay's withdrawal, Missouri and Kentucky also, giving him 137 votes, 6 more than a majority. If all remained in the race and the election went to the House, the result would be impossible to foretell; "but from the general impression which prevails, that that body would elect the candidate who had received the greatest number of electoral votes, and not incur the responsibility and obloquy of selecting one less popular with the people, it is believed General Jackson would there be chosen." Thus

early appears the democratic theory of Benton and the other Jackson men that it was the duty of the House merely to ratify the popular will by choosing the candidate with the highest vote. Calhoun was indorsed for the vice-presidency because of his advocacy of internal improvements and protection to manufactures.

This address of the Jackson committee shows very clearly the nature of the appeal that was made for Jackson's election. It is not his advocacy of any particular measure nor his stand on important issues but his personality, his services to the nation, his democracy, and his freedom from intrigue and corruption that are set forth in his behalf. Sectional feelings and great economic questions are subordinated to a popular appeal for the election of a popular man. Democracy was asserting its own importance.

The Jackson convention was not the only one held in Ohio. Both the Clay men and the Adams followers held meetings at Columbus in this same month which, while not strictly delegate conventions in the sense that the Jackson assemblage was, were quite similar to it in most respects.

On July 15 the friends of Henry Clay attending the sitting of the Federal Court at Columbus held a public meeting to present the claims of their favorite to the people.<sup>21</sup> Though only an informal meeting it was, nevertheless, more like a convention in size and number of counties represented than the Jackson party's convention. There were about 300 present and the meeting was in charge of the three members of the central committee of correspondence. The committee reported the written pledges of the Clay electors to support Clay to the end. This was to offset the charge that they were to be delivered to Crawford. Resolutions were adopted by the meeting in favor of Clay for president and Nathan Sanford of New York for vice-president, and a general committee of one from each county was appointed. As the electoral ticket had been prepared the preceding winter, the principal business of the meeting was to issue an address, which, unlike the Jackson statement, appeared at once.

It discussed the origins of Clay's candidacy, pointed out the evils which reflecting men saw, as Monroe's retirement ap-

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<sup>21</sup> Columbus Gazette, July 22; Scioto Gazette, July 22, July 29.



proached, in a struggle between members of the cabinet for the presidency and the dangers of continuing "the same influence in office, which virtually would be a departure from the maxim, that rotation in office was essential to the preservation of the republic." Thus, on the principle that no member of the cabinet should be chosen, attention was naturally directed to Henry Clay, intimately acquainted with western needs, known to the nation as a liberal, intelligent statesman and to the world as a fearless American leader, successful at Ghent and the first to raise his voice for South America. On these grounds, declared the address, the citizens of the West determined to nominate him as Monroe's successor, and they support that nomination on broad national grounds, not sectional as has been asserted.

Then followed a paragraph setting forth Clay's strong advocacy of internal improvements at national expense and the protection of domestic industry together with an account of his work to secure these objects.

Jackson's candidacy received consideration. The presence of another candidate in the West supported with the same objects in view was deeply regretted but the opinion was expressed that "the diversion will be much less extensive and mischievous than is by some supposed."

It is frankly admitted in the address that Clay's only hope of election was through the House of Representatives but the blame for this was placed upon the presence of another candidate from the West. It was denied that Clay's withdrawal would result in an election by the electors or would materially change the situation, except possibly to place a member of the cabinet in the presidential chair, "an event, which it was the first object of the friends of Mr. Clay to prevent; not in reference to the men, but to the principle."

Then followed a list of the states in which Clay had strong hopes and a forecast of how Ohio would vote. Nathan Sanford of New York, chancellor of that state and a former United States senator, was put forward as Clay's running mate on the ground that he was devoted to the same great national interests.

In their opposition to cabinet succession to the presidency



both the Clay and Jackson addresses express similar sentiments though the sentiments of the former are more restrained. As to the need for a united West they are agreed; but as to which candidate shall withdraw they disagree. But the Clay address makes a very different kind of appeal to the voters. Clay's election is urged because of what he has accomplished as a statesman and what he is advocating. The economic and sectional issues appear prominently in the address. It is more concerned with the issues, the Jackson address with Jackson.

Soon after this meeting was held Clay himself arrived in Columbus to attend the sitting of the Federal Court. His presence doubtless accounts in part for the large number of Clay men in Columbus at this time. He was much pleased with the general situation and wrote to J. S. Johnston that the evidence derivable from popular meetings all over the state placed beyond all doubt the final result.<sup>22</sup>

The third meeting of this month was the Adams gathering, held on the same evening as the Clay meeting by the friends of Adams attendant on the Federal Court.<sup>23</sup> It was called on short notice and only a small number was present. But an address was issued, nevertheless, calling upon the followers of Adams to work harder and setting forth his claims to the presidency. It began by charging the opposition, especially the Clay partisans, with striving to create distrust in the Adams ranks and causing them to lose confidence in their own strength. On the vital question of Adams' attitude toward western interests, the address said: "Prejudices were attempted to be excited against Mr. Adams by representing him as being unfriendly to the interests of the West. The whole tenor of his conduct refutes the charge. We might retaliate on our opponents, that under a pretense of advocating the rights of the West they are advocating the interests of the slaveholding section of the nation. But this is not our wish; we wish to create no sectional feelings. We believe that Mr. Adams, if elected president, will be in fact a president of all the states, that he will

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<sup>22</sup> Clay to J. S. Johnston, July 21, 1824, Works of Clay, IV, 97.

<sup>23</sup> Ohio Monitor, in Delaware Patron, July 22.

not become subservient to the views of any party of men or the local interests, of any part of the public."

Then followed a forecast of the possibilities of Adams in Ohio to show his followers that there was plenty of incentive to action. Especially was encouragement derived from the belief that Adams had the best chance in the electoral college and that Ohio's vote would prevent a House election. Returning to the question of western interests, the address declared Adams a consistent supporter of internal improvements and favorable to a protective tariff, and concluded with a statement of his high qualification for the presidency.

As a whole the address gives the impression that the Adams men were on the defensive and at a certain disadvantage. The considerable space given to the issues of tariff and internal improvements shows the difficulties the Adams men were having over these questions while their desire to see the slavery issue not entirely overlooked is evident. It illustrated the strength and the weakness of the Adams movement in Ohio.

With these meetings at Columbus and the addresses issued by them the campaign entered on its final stages. It now became a desperate scramble for votes and there was little in the public or private life of a candidate that was overlooked. To understand the importance of the questions raised and their influence upon the final result, a somewhat detailed consideration of the campaigns carried on by the partisans of each candidate is necessary.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE CAMPAIGN FOR CLAY.

The Clay campaign was vitally connected with the interests of the West. Clay's record, so far as these were concerned, could not be attacked and his followers made much of his strong stand on these questions. If the campaign was to be fought out on the issue of the friendliness of the candidates towards the tariff and internal improvements, then Clay was Ohio's logical candidate.

Had there been any doubts as to his attitude on these questions previously, there were certainly no grounds for any after

the session of Congress of 1823-4 ended. The General Survey Bill, in which the advocates of internal improvements felt such an interest, received his hearty support, while the tariff of 1824 was strongly advocated by him. His speeches<sup>1</sup> were reprinted with favorable comment in newspapers all over Ohio. Even the Cincinnati Advertiser, strongly for Jackson, praised Clay's defense of the tariff<sup>2</sup> and refused to attack him during the whole campaign though it urged his withdrawal in Jackson's favor. The Scioto Gazette probably expressed the general opinion of Ohio on the tariff of 1824 when it declared it not quite equal to the wishes of the friends of domestic industry but a favorable beginning.<sup>3</sup>

Clay thus came through the session of Congress in a position to make a strong bid for a united western support. His vigorous fight for both the protective system and internal improvements strengthened him generally throughout the West and probably had much to do with his success in Ohio. But the very fact that he was such a strong supporter of western interests gave his candidacy such a sectional character that he proved very unacceptable to the other parts of the country. His lack of support outside his own section was a disappointment to him.<sup>4</sup> But his attitude during the whole campaign was probably expressed in his letter to Brooke in February, 1823, when he said, "Connect yourself with the West, and are you not, whether the election is won or lost, on the vantage ground?"<sup>5</sup>

Clay had other things in his favor. He had been a firm and consistent member of his party. His advocacy of South American independence had endeared him to the West as the fearless champion of human rights. His followers declared he had been the particular guardian of western interests at the negotiation of the treaty of Ghent.<sup>6</sup> In short, Clay's previous career had in it much for western Americans to admire and little for them to

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<sup>1</sup> Columbus Gazette, April 8, May 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cincinnati Advertiser, March 3.

<sup>3</sup> Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette, July 1.

<sup>4</sup> Clay to Brooke, Aug. 28, 1823; Works of Clay, IV, 78-83.

<sup>5</sup> Works of Clay, IV, 74.

<sup>6</sup> Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette, Feb. 26, 1824.

criticise. But his attitude on the Missouri question was a weakness in Ohio. Very early in the campaign he was charged with opposing the restriction of slavery in Missouri and bringing about the second Missouri compromise in order to add another slave state to the Union.<sup>7</sup> His opposition to the views of the Ohio congressional delegation on that question was pointed out and urged as a reason why Ohio should not support him.<sup>8</sup> Because Adams was a northerner and would profit most from the slavery issue the Adams men relied largely on Ohio's dislike of slavery to injure Clay's chances. This was their best weapon and they made the most of it. It was kept before the people, even in the last stages of the campaign, in the effort to injure Clay, but was generally displaced in public interest by other questions. A leading Adams paper, urging Ohio not to support the advocate of slavery, exclaimed despairingly: "The ignis fatuus 'western interest', is like to absorb every sound moral and political consideration."<sup>9</sup>

It is probable that the slavery issue did keep many sincere friends of internal improvements, especially those of New England birth, from supporting Clay. But there were many others, like Charles Hammond and James Wilson, the Steubenville editor, who were willing, though opponents of slavery, to see it slip into the background and more pressing problems take its place. Clay's friends were not without a defense against charges of friendliness to slavery. It was stated that he had worked to secure emancipation in the Kentucky convention of 1798; that he was a supporter of the American Colonization Society; that he never appeared at the bar against slaves suing for their freedom but had acted on behalf of many; that his attitude on the Missouri question was due to his constitutional views and that he had privately urged a member of the Missouri convention to work for gradual emancipation.<sup>10</sup> At any rate it was quite evident that he was not an ardent pro-slavery advocate or even from the

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<sup>7</sup> Ohio Monitor, Feb. 22, 1823.

<sup>8</sup> Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette, Mar. 22, 1823.

<sup>9</sup> Ohio Monitor, in Delaware Patron, Sept. 16.

<sup>10</sup> Article by "Seventy-Six," Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, May 7, 1824.



South. He was a western man and this overshadowed his supposed southern sympathies.

But there was an incident in Clay's career which threatened to injure his chances in Ohio as much as his slavery attitude. This was his connection with the United States Bank. The bank had been very unpopular in the state for its actions during and following the panic of 1819. The attempt to tax the bank, one result of this dislike of that institution, had brought on a bitter contest in which the state had not succeeded. Clay was one of the principal attorneys for the great corporation and thus caused himself much criticism. The contest was ended by 1824, however, and though the bank was by no means popular in the state, the question was regarded generally as a dead issue, — so dead, in fact, that the chief counsellor for the state in the bank controversy, Charles Hammond, became Clay's campaign manager while other opponents of the bank were his supporters. But there was a smouldering resentment which occasionally showed itself during the campaign in certain newspapers unfriendly to Clay.<sup>11</sup>

The connection of Clay with the bank did not injure him greatly except in the southwestern section of the state where local interests were involved. The activities of the branch at Cincinnati in 1821 and 1822, when the business depression was at its worst, had aroused much bitterness. The branch had suddenly called in its loans and then discontinued business causing much distress. Debtors were shown no leniency and as a result the bank acquired a considerable amount of valuable real estate.<sup>12</sup> Clay, as legal advisor for the institution, was held partly to blame for this. While this was not put forward as strongly as some other charges, it appeared often enough to show that there was sufficient deep-seated resentment against Clay in Cincinnati to prevent his cause from making much headway. An article signed "Cassius", appearing in the *National Republican*, charged that Clay, though opposed to the first United States Bank, had favored chartering the second and had

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<sup>11</sup> *Ohio Monitor*, Mar. 1, 1823; *Hamilton Intelligencer*, Feb. 24, 1823; *Steubenville Gazette*, Mar. 22, 1823.

<sup>12</sup> Burnet, *Notes on the Northwest Territory*, 408.

allied himself with it in order to have its wealth and power back of him in his efforts to reach the presidency, and that he was using his power as counsellor for the bank to secure the support of those indebted to it.<sup>13</sup> Other articles intending to discredit him through his connection with the bank appeared in the closing weeks of the campaign.<sup>14</sup> But the most significant of all is the admission in the Clay organ of Cincinnati, the Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, that much prejudice has heretofore existed against Mr. Clay among the citizens of this place on the supposition that he advised the commencement of the suits against the debtors of the branch bank." The editorial admitted that it still prevailed to some extent but expressed the belief that it was wearing away as it was without foundation.<sup>15</sup> It evidently persisted, however, for the vote in Cincinnati showed Clay least popular of all the candidates. Charges and misstatements of facts can be combatted openly but prejudices such as this one persist in spite of all denials. The bank issue, fortunately for Clay, was largely confined to Cincinnati and vicinity.

Though his opponents centered their attack on Clay as a public man, his private life was not neglected. The Jackson men, though indulging in personalities against their opponents, did not attack Clay's private character because their own candidate was not invulnerable in this respect. But the Adams partisans, proud of their candidate's character, hardly used the proper restraint in attacking Clay. He was charged with being a gambler and a duellist and utterly disqualified for the presidency as to moral character.<sup>16</sup> Crawford and Jackson were not entirely neglected on this point either. "When men of immoral character and dissolute principles ascend to the helm of government," said one writer, "she will soon become the scoff and derision of the world."<sup>17</sup> Charges against Clay's private life, however, were of little importance compared to other ques-

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<sup>13</sup> National Republican, Aug. 13, 1824.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., Aug. 17, Oct. 15, Oct. 22, 1824.

<sup>15</sup> Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, May 11, 1824.

<sup>16</sup> Numerous statements in the Ohio Monitor and the Delaware Patron.

<sup>17</sup> Letter to the National Crises, in Delaware Patron, Sept. 2, 1824.

tions raised against him. But it was neither his public career nor his private life that furnished the most successful issue against him but a certain political charge that appeared during the campaign, was widely circulated, and immediately disappeared at its close. This was the supposed Clay-Crawford coalition.

The friendliness of Clay and Crawford was quite apparent early in the campaign, and caused Adams and Calhoun to draw more closely together. There was a feeling that the first two would be eventually found on the same side.<sup>18</sup> The hopelessness of Crawford's cause in the West led his supporters there to join the Clay party. They were quite welcome, but it led the way to the charge that this union was a part of a general plan whereby the Clay and Crawford forces were to unite and, in case of either's cause becoming hopeless, the other was to receive the combined support of the two. Since Crawford had little strength in the West and Clay in the East and South, it was supposed that this alliance would work well. But as Crawford's chances were much brighter throughout the nation as a whole, this supposed agreement would give Clay's western support to Crawford in the end. The opponents of Clay in Ohio seized upon this charge as the best weapon to use against his popularity. If Ohioans could be made to believe that support of Clay meant eventually support of Crawford, "the intriguer and corruptionist" and opponent of Western interests, then Clay's cause would be irretrievably ruined.

As an actual fact this coalition never had any existence except in the newspapers of the opponents of Clay. It had been suggested by the Crawford men at different times during the campaign as it would have been greatly to their advantage to secure western support, if not in the electoral college, at least in the House of Representatives where the election seemed certain to go. But Clay rejected all their overtures. He was unwilling to see his own chances lessened, and besides saw the impossibility of getting the West to support Crawford. He wrote to Brooke that Crawford's friends were trying to exclude him

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<sup>18</sup> DeGrand to Dearborn. Jan., 1824, *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, VIII, 629.

(Clay) from the House of Representatives in the hope that the western support would go to their candidate. He declared this plan utterly impossible because the northwestern states would certainly go for Adams in case of his own exclusion from the House election.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless the Crawford party held on to some hope of a coalition, for Hammond, late in the campaign, was urged from Washington to form a union of the Clay and Crawford forces. Clay apparently to receive the vice-presidency. He declined to act as agent in this affair, for which refusal he was commended by Clay, who declared his purpose to refrain from any arrangement or compromise.<sup>20</sup> That is as far as the idea of a coalition got. But some knowledge of these overtures and the statements of certain Crawford papers outside of Ohio and some Clay papers in the state furnished sufficient basis to the opponents of Clay to raise a coalition charge and keep it from losing force.

It appeared quite early in the campaign<sup>21</sup> and apparently was causing some trouble for the *Columbus Gazette* found it necessary in January, 1824, to make a formal denial that Clay intended to go over to Crawford in expectation of becoming Secretary of State.<sup>22</sup> The appearance of the Clay electoral ticket in March brought forth the charge in definite form. The *National Republican*, most persistent in raising this issue, declared that the electoral ticket looked like a Crawford ticket, that Clay might withdraw, and that Ohio must be on guard lest the state be sold to Crawford.<sup>23</sup>

This at once drew an answer from Charles Hammond, who stated that the electoral ticket was a Clay ticket through and through and that so far as their second choice was known a large majority of the proposed electors preferred Adams. He admitted a personal preference for Crawford.<sup>24</sup> The *Cincinnati Gazette* at the same time issued a denial of Clay's reported

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<sup>19</sup> Clay to Brooke, Feb. 23, 1824, *Works of Clay*, IV, 86.

<sup>20</sup> Smith, Charles Hammond, 36-37.

<sup>21</sup> For example, *Delaware Patron*, Aug. 6, 1823.

<sup>22</sup> *Columbus Gazette*, Jan. 22, 1824.

<sup>23</sup> *National Republican*, March 30.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, April 2.



withdrawal.<sup>25</sup> The Scioto Gazette pointed out the absurdity of the electors having a second choice since they were pledged to Clay and could cast only one ballot.<sup>26</sup> But the National Republican kept up the coalition charge, pointing to the union of Clay and Crawford men against the electoral bill in New York,<sup>27</sup> and the statements of certain Clay papers in Ohio friendly to Crawford.<sup>28</sup> The Muskingum Messenger and the Mad River Courant appeared unnecessarily friendly toward the "Treasury candidate." A letter from Chillicothe to the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, declaring that Crawford had many influential friends in Ohio but could not get the state's vote until the election reached the House, was produced as additional proof.<sup>29</sup> The Adams partisans circulated the coalition charge quite as industriously as the Jackson leaders and warned the people that voting for Clay meant voting for Crawford.<sup>30</sup>

Coupled with the coalition charge were frequent reports of Clay's withdrawal. These two things were by no means consistent with each other, for the coalition charge was based principally on the belief that Clay would remain in the race to hold the West for Crawford, if not in the electoral college, at least in the House. His withdrawal before election could hardly mean that a Crawford ticket would carry the state. But the Adams and Jackson followers desired to see Clay withdrawn in their interest if possible; if not, that he should be so discredited by the coalition charge that he would lose Ohio. Hence, both reports were put forth, regardless of their lack of consistency.

A Washington dispatch to the Columbus Gazette declared authoritatively that Clay would remain in the fight to the end as his withdrawal would only result in the division of his followers and would produce no effect on the final result, whereas, "if, contrary to all probability, Mr. Clay should not be returned to the

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<sup>25</sup> Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, April 2.

<sup>26</sup> Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette, April 15.

<sup>27</sup> National Republican, April 16.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., April 16, June 1.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., June 22.

<sup>30</sup> Circleville Olive Branch, in Delaware Patron, June 24; Delaware Patron, July 15.

House, his friends having done their duty, will be able, by concentration, to control the event."<sup>31</sup> The Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette declared that Clay's withdrawal would give Ohio to Adams.<sup>32</sup> As has been seen, at the Columbus Clay meeting of July, signed pledges of the Clay electors to vote for Clay alone were produced to put a stop to both coalition and withdrawal reports.<sup>33</sup> But it did not end here.

The National Republican charged that the patronage of the Treasury Department was being bestowed on the friends of Clay in Ohio and pointed to the appointments of two Clay editors to positions as public land agents.<sup>34</sup> It kept up the charges of a Clay-Crawford alliance to the end of the campaign with increasing bitterness. The Adams party likewise continued it.<sup>35</sup>

The Scioto Gazette denied the truth of it again and again, and finally declared that, if Clay's friends preferred Crawford, the friends of the other candidates had no right to complain as their bitterness towards Clay had labored to produce this very result. It charged Adams and Jackson with being in alliance in Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi and the Carolinas. "And is it not now in contemplation to make another transfer of all this interest, so soon as the great question at issue shall come before the House of Representatives? If so, is it becoming in the partisans of Adams and Jackson to prate about "coalitions" . . . ?"<sup>36</sup> In view of what actually happened in the House election, this statement appears in a very curious light indeed.

The closing days of the campaign were marked by rumors of Clay's withdrawal which gave his followers much concern. Handbills and pamphlets were distributed, principally by Jackson partisans, declaring that Clay had withdrawn and that his friends in Kentucky had gone over to Jackson.<sup>37</sup> The Clay men at Cincinnati prepared for such rumors by organizing a "Clay

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<sup>31</sup> Columbus Gazette, July 1.

<sup>32</sup> Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette, July 8.

<sup>33</sup> Columbus Gazette, July 22.

<sup>34</sup> National Republican, Aug. 13.

<sup>35</sup> Ohio Monitor, in Delaware Patron, Sept. 16.

<sup>36</sup> Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette, Sept. 30.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., Oct. 14, Oct. 21.

Committee of Vigilance" to counteract any false reports and keep the Clay followers on guard. A double-column warning was published in the *Gazette* urging the voters to pay no attention to these withdrawal rumors.<sup>38</sup>

The fact that Clay would receive little support in the East and the growing doubt that he would have sufficient electoral votes to reach the House were severe handicaps for his followers, as he well knew.<sup>39</sup> That they succeeded in Ohio must be attributed largely to the strength of the party of western interests which was able to overcome the worst objections raised against their candidate. The support of the Crawford men in Ohio probably did Clay's cause as much harm as good, for their activities furnished the basis for the strongest objection which the opponents of Clay could make use of. In this way alone could any doubt be raised that a Clay victory in Ohio meant a sacrifice of western interests. Clay was distinctively the candidate of the tariff and internal improvement men of the West, while Crawford was just as distinctively not. Had the coalition been effected it would probably have cost Clay the vote of Ohio and perhaps the whole West. As it was, the supposed existence of such an alliance proved a serious factor, and only the direct open manner in which Hammond, General Harrison and other Clay leaders met the charge saved the day.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE CAMPAIGN FOR JACKSON.

The nature of the Jackson campaign has already been given some consideration. As has been stated, the campaign was based largely on the personality and popularity of the "old hero". It was the man of the people against the aristocratic party on the one hand and the intriguers and corruptionists on the other. Such a campaign seemed irrational and without basis to the Clay and Adams leaders, who were inclined to regard the Jackson move-

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<sup>38</sup> Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, Oct. 1.

<sup>39</sup> Clay to J. S. Johnston, Aug. 31, 1824, Works of Clay, IV, 98.

ment as a temporary outburst which would soon pass away. Each hoped to gain by it. Jackson was regarded as a good soldier but out of question for the presidency.<sup>1</sup>

The attitude of Jackson toward western interests deserves notice. His supporters all asserted his friendliness to the tariff and internal improvements and declared that, being the stronger candidate, he should have a united West back of him. People generally seemed to have taken it for granted that, because he was a westerner, he was naturally a tariff man and friendly to internal improvements. At least there was not much inclination to raise the charge of unfriendliness to western interests against him. Jackson men could point to his vote in the Senate for the tariff of 1824 and his letter to Dr. Coleman as evidences of his favorable attitude towards the tariff. The Coleman letter aroused enthusiasm among the Jackson followers<sup>2</sup> and doubtless aided his cause with the friends of the tariff, moderate though its expressions were.

The Cincinnati Gazette accused Jackson of voting without principle on the tariff bill because he had voted to strike out duties on cotton bagging to please the South, so it was charged, and for the bill as a whole including the duty on iron to please Pennsylvania.<sup>3</sup> It had already expressed its suspicions of him because his strongholds were in the South, which was opposed to the tariff.<sup>4</sup> The Gazette later argued that the next president must be a friend of internal improvements and domestic manufactures, and that the domestic system had a thousand friends more decided and efficient than General Jackson.<sup>5</sup> But this was not directly charging Jackson with hostility to western interests and so did not carry far.

The partisans of Jackson were constantly urging Clay to withdraw so that their candidate could have a united western

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette, Feb. 21, 1824; Aug. 19, 1824.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton Intelligencer, June 29; National Republican, Aug. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, May 28.

<sup>4</sup> Cincinnati Gazette, April 27.

<sup>5</sup> Cincinnati Gazette, in Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette Aug. 12.



support since both stood for the same interests. But the National Republican seemed to believe that this could only be accomplished by bitterly attacking the Clay men as intriguers and corruptionists and referring to them as "the caucus junto" in order to discredit the Clay movement. The Cincinnati Advertiser took a most unusual attitude, quite the reverse of the other Jackson paper. It supported Jackson but expressed great admiration for Clay as a friend of western interests and desired him to withdraw, even suggesting that he be made Secretary of State if Jackson were elected.<sup>6</sup> Its attitude was that the West should unite on its strongest candidate as against the candidates unfriendly to the West. The editor, Moses Dawson, proceeded on the theory that Jackson and Clay had everything in common in opposition to Adams.<sup>7</sup> But plausible as it sounds, this was not actually the case. Clay was represented more especially the economic demands of the West, Jackson, western democracy; and these were by no means identical, as the next few years were to show.

Hammond answered the Advertiser in a letter which shows that he was under no delusions as to a Jackson-Clay alliance. He expressed his belief that Clay's withdrawal would give Ohio, as well as New York, New Jersey and Indiana, to Adams. Declaring the opposition of the great body of Clay followers to Jackson, he said, "It is their sincere and honest conviction that he does not possess the political intelligence and judicial information indispensable in a president of the States." He warned the Jackson men not to attribute the failure to elect a western president to Clay: "Those who support him are not liege subjects, whom he can transfer to General Jackson." He declared that if Clay reached the House, there might be a western president. "I believe that no man pretends that General Jackson can be chosen by the House."<sup>8</sup>

The Scioto Gazette in the last days of the campaign declared that there was not "the most remote probability" of Jackson's election by the House and expressed the belief that

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<sup>6</sup> Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 7, Feb. 28, Mar. 3, 1824.

<sup>7</sup> Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Sept. 11, Letter signed "L."

his interests would be transferred to Adams.<sup>9</sup> An Adams paper had also expressed the same views.<sup>10</sup> Both Clay and Adams parties seemed to have regarded the possibility of Jackson's election by the House as a political absurdity. Their leaders distrusted him to such an extent that any other candidate would have been preferred to him. John C. Wright, an Adams congressman from Ohio, wrote to Ephraim Cutler, expressing his alarm at having "a military chieftain, who has frequently been known to be too violent to be restrained by law, to rule over us."<sup>11</sup> This was the typical attitude of many Adams and Clay men.

But Hammond went far beyond this. While he showed a commendable moderation and restraint in his public writings, his private views of Jackson exhibit a most astonishing bitterness. "How is it", he wrote to Clay, "that no one speaks freely of this man? Instead of being a frank, open, fearless, honest man, is he not the victim of strong passions and prejudices, violent when irresponsible, cautious when differently situated, ambitious, vain and hasty, a fit instrument for others to work upon, subject to be governed by flatterers, and still inclined to hate every man of talents who has the firmness to look through him and speak of him as he deserves? I think he is strongly endowed with those traits of character, and that if classed as a mere animal, he would be a kind of monkey tiger. I do not know but that it would be well for such a monster to be placed in the Presidential chair for the next term. King Snake succeeding King Log, and the citizen frogs made to scamper. I am almost sure that if I had been this winter at Washington I should have contrived to quarrel with him. I dislike him for cause, I hate him peremptorily, and I could wish that his supporters for the presidency, one and all were snugly by themselves in some island of Barrataria, and he be their king, provided, that they constituted the entire population. They would make a glorious terrestrial pandemonium, and as fast as they

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<sup>9</sup> Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette, Oct. 21.

<sup>10</sup> Delaware Patron, Sept. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Cutler, Life of Cutler, 185.

cut each other's throats the world would be rid of very troublesome politicians, and in general, right worthless citizens."<sup>12</sup>

The bitter sarcasm of the Clay leader shows that he would hardly have supported Jackson under any circumstances, and there are indications that this feeling was rather general among the leading Clay men. Considering these things the eventual union of the Clay and Adams parties was not such an unreasonable and unexpected event as the Jackson presses later proclaimed it to be.

The attacks on the Jackson movement in Ohio did not show much force until late in the campaign when Jackson's chances appeared bright. They were confined principally to attempts to show Jackson's personal unfitness for the presidency and do not require much consideration here. His past life was explored, and it was charged that he was a duellist, had killed Charles Dickinson and fought Benton; had imprisoned Judge Hall without authority; had resigned as senator and as a judge because he was not qualified; had opposed universal suffrage in Tennessee and was an aristocrat; had engaged in controversies with the governors of Georgia and Louisiana and with the Secretary of War; had violated the laws of war and shown unusual violence in the Seminole war; had indulged in the sports of the turf and the cockpit; in short, possessed "an energy beyond the law" and a number of personal failings very undesirable in a chief executive.<sup>13</sup> A number of pamphlets were circulated against Jackson, the most important one being sent from Tennessee to Ohio under the signature of a long-time enemy, Jesse Benton, and enumerating in detail the violent acts of Jackson's earlier life.<sup>14</sup>

Little restraint toward their opponents was shown by the followers of any of the candidates, especially at Cincinnati, but an abusive campaign of personalities almost from the beginning. Yet when their opponents used the same tactics, Elijah Hayward, editor of the *National Republican*, who was also chair-

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<sup>12</sup> Smith's Charles Hammond, 35.

<sup>13</sup> *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, Sept. 2, 14, 21, 24, Oct. 1; *Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette*, Oct. 21.

<sup>14</sup> *National Republican*, Oct. 19.

man of the Ohio Jackson committee, complained of their unfairness and attempted to show that Jackson had been badly abused and maltreated.<sup>15</sup> His lack of consistency was quickly taken advantage of by the Clay partisans and he was silenced.<sup>16</sup>

Jackson's strength had greatly increased in Ohio during the progress of the campaign until it became generally apparent that he would run ahead of Adams and possibly defeat Clay. It now becomes necessary to consider the course of the Adams campaign and the decline of his chances.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE CAMPAIGN FOR ADAMS.

John Quincy Adams was probably the most severely attacked and certainly the least understood in the state of all three candidates. His cause was more vitally affected by the important issues at stake than either of his competitors. This makes a consideration of the Adams movement of unusual interest.

The partisans of Adams carried on the campaign with two important arguments for their candidate, namely, the necessity of electing a man from the free states and the high qualifications of the New England candidate. The slavery issue has already been discussed and needs little further consideration here. It drew to Adams the New Englanders and many from the Middle States who believed opposition to slavery the vital issue. One element in the Adams following was the Society of Friends, then the principal opponents of slavery, who were represented on the electoral ticket.<sup>1</sup> But, as has been seen, the Adams movement by no means included the whole number of the opponents of slavery but rather those who put opposition to slavery above all other considerations. To the extent to which the Adams men could make the slavery question the leading issue depended their chances of success in Ohio. They realized that this was their

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<sup>15</sup> *National Republican*, Oct. 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette*, Sept. 30, Oct. 7.

<sup>1</sup> *Ohio Monitor*, in *Delaware Patron*, May 20.



strength and made the most of it.<sup>2</sup> But circumstances were unfavorable and other issues proved more important.

The Adams partisans were very proud of the talents, learning, experienced statesmanship, and high moral character of their candidate. In the emphasis they placed on this last qualification can be seen the New England influence in the Adams camp. The high qualifications of Adams were recognized, even by his opponents, who would have found it difficult to attack him on these grounds, but such qualities, though everywhere admitted, were not of the sort to arouse popular enthusiasm. And there were certain points where prejudices could be developed against him.

The opponents of Adams attacked him very bitterly on personal grounds. He was called a Federalist and an aristocrat, a friend of England, the son of his father, a disbeliever in Christianity, and even a slave-holder.<sup>3</sup> Every prejudice was appealed to in order to injure his chances, and every conceivable act of his life that could be used was twisted into something to his discredit. For example, the fact that he was a Unitarian furnished grounds for some severe attacks on his religious views in a variety of forms<sup>4</sup> and led the *Miami Republican*, an Adams paper, to urge that these persons who questioned his religious beliefs should hold a convention, not to decide what these beliefs really were but to determine what they should be called so that there might not be so many inconsistencies.<sup>5</sup>

Federalism was another charge used quite extensively, for Federalists had never been popular in the West. Adams was attacked both for belonging to that party and for deserting it to become a Republican.<sup>6</sup> This was intended to injure him with both parties. The acts of the administration of John Adams, the Cunningham correspondence, the Pickering controversy, some early writings and speeches, were all used to show the Federal-

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<sup>2</sup> See *Ohio Monitor*, *Delaware Patron*, *Chillicothe Times*, leading Adams papers.

<sup>3</sup> See especially *National Republican*, *Cincinnati Advertiser*, and the *Scioto Gazette*.

<sup>4</sup> For example, *National Republican*, Sept. 10, Nov. 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Miami Republican*, in *Chillicothe Times*, Aug. 11.

<sup>6</sup> For example, *Chillicothe Supporter* and *Scioto Gazette*, April 29, June 24, Sept. 9, Oct. 21.

ism and the political inconsistencies of the New England candidate. The National Republican declared the contest was between the "second Washington", referring to Jackson, and the "second Adams".<sup>7</sup>

The Adams men answered the charge of Federalism by pointing out that Pickering, Otis, and other old Federalists were supporting Crawford<sup>8</sup> while in Ohio Charles Hammond, Judge Burnett, Henry Bacon, Elisha Whittlesey, General Beecher and other former Federalists were supporting Clay and that not a leading Federalist was for Adams.<sup>9</sup> So far as any conclusions may be drawn from the returns Adams probably received the bulk of the former Federalist vote in Ohio, though this was of slight importance. The reason was that he was a New Englander and received the votes of former New Englanders, which included most of the Federalists. His supposed Federalism probably had little to do with the result.

Closely connected with this charge was the attempt to arouse feeling against Adams by calling him an aristocrat and a monarchist. The acts of his father were recalled to show what might be expected of the son. It was charged that he was the aristocratic candidate<sup>10</sup> and that he possessed monarchical principles,<sup>11</sup> the "Royal Candidate" of the "hereditary house,"<sup>12</sup> "that bigoted aristocrat, whose principal merits consist in a talent for sly cunning, which distinguishes the titled vassals of European governments."<sup>13</sup> Such a system of attack could not help but appeal strongly to the prejudices of many western democrats, for in the West a charge of aristocracy ranked not far below high treason in seriousness. Adams did nothing to lessen these prejudices; on the contrary, his very aloofness from politics and his refusal to make a public play for support seemed to substantiate the charges against him.

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<sup>7</sup> National Republican, Sept. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Delaware Patron, Mar. 11, Oct. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., Oct. 7, Oct. 21.

<sup>10</sup> Mad River Courant, in Columbus Gazette, May 29, 1823.

<sup>11</sup> Boston Statesman, in Hamilton Intelligencer, July 26, 1824.

<sup>12</sup> National Republican, Aug. 24; Scioto Gazette, Sept. 9, 1824.

<sup>13</sup> National Republican, Oct. 29.

Rufus King's opinion of Adams may well be given here. He said of him: "The opinion of his integrity and of his superiority as a learned statesman, is not disputed by anyone; but with these qualifications, which are of great worth, a disinclination toward him, grounded on the imputed infirmities which belonged to his father, and added to the want of those properties which produce and maintain personal attachments, prevails to an extent that it will be found difficult to overcome."<sup>14</sup>

The Adams movement lacked the popular appeal of the Jackson party. Hence, to carry the West, it was all the more necessary for the Adams men to make a strong appeal to the vital western interests in order to win the friends of tariff and internal improvements. Such an appeal, in connection with the prevailing dislike of slavery, might have succeeded. But this is where the Adams movement failed utterly. The most remarkable feature of the whole Ohio campaign is found in this failure, for it proved to be the one insurmountable weakness of the Adams candidacy — his supposed unfriendliness to western interests.

The Russell affair, previously mentioned, had had this object in view but had failed. The question of the domestic policy was then brought forward to embarrass Adams. It had made Crawford an impossible candidate in the West and was to prove a stumbling block for the northern candidate. Because he was a New Englander, Adams was regarded with some suspicion in the West as New England had been considered unfriendly to western interests. It was necessary for him to prove that he was not narrowly sectional and that the West would not be made to suffer for the benefit of commercial New England. This he was unable or unwilling to prove. Some explanation of his attitude is necessary.

The views of John Quincy Adams towards the protective system and internal improvements were not those of the Virginia presidents. He was not troubled by constitutional scruples and was favorable to a national system of roads and canals. While not as strong a tariff man as Clay was, he was satisfied

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<sup>14</sup> King to C. Gore, Feb. 9, 1823, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, VI, 499.

with the tariff of 1824 and believed opposing interests could be conciliated by mutual concession.<sup>15</sup> There was nothing in his attitude on these questions which could be regarded as unfriendly to the West, but rather the reverse was true. Rufus King, who was well acquainted with the views of all the candidates, classified Adams with Clay and Calhoun as a friend of roads and canals and protection to manufactures. This seemed to be the general impression at Washington, yet quite early in the campaign the question began to be raised in the West whether Adams was not unfriendly to western interests. A clear direct statement from him would have greatly aided his cause but none came. Clay and Jackson by their votes and speeches in Congress could show where they stood. Adams in the office of Secretary of State had not this opportunity and refused to make one.

It was his firm belief that the presidency should not be the object of political intrigue but should come to the best man as the unbiased choice of the people would show.<sup>17</sup> So he utterly refused to play politics and thus handicapped his own cause. It was quite in line with this policy that he should refuse to make public appeals to the voters or permit his views on important questions to be publicly known, as that would be playing politics. Thus there came from him no open irrefutable statement of his views on tariff and internal improvements, despite the efforts of his friends to obtain one.

But there was another reason. The campaign was being fought along sectional lines, and to secure the support of one part of the country by a strong expression of opinion on an important issue meant to lose the support of another section. An unequivocal indorsement of protective tariff by Adams would have caused him some embarrassment in New England and perhaps aroused opposition where he was strongest. He had strong hopes of securing southern votes, as there was a considerable Adams following in several southern states. To declare strongly

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<sup>15</sup> Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 353.

<sup>16</sup> *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, VI, 495, 499.

<sup>17</sup> Quincy, *Life of Adams*, 130; Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, 132.



for tariff and internal improvements would destroy utterly his chances in these states, as the example of Clay had shown. On the other hand it might not win him the West, as he could hardly hope to make himself as acceptable there as Clay. Thus policy as well as principle dictated that he should avoid any strong expressions of opinion.

Looking back over the situation in the light of what happened later it seems likely that Adams made a mistake. His southern support did not materialize and his hopes in the West were destroyed, so he gained nothing by his silence. On the other hand, a stronger stand on the domestic issues would not likely have hurt him much in New England as local pride and dislike of southern candidates were very strong. At the same time he might possibly have carried some western states; but what is of equal importance is that he would probably have run second in the important Clay states and thus secured a stronger claim to the vote of these states in the House. The circumstances under which they did go for him were such as gave rise to the "bargain and corruption" charge and furnished the basis for the rise of a strong Jacksonian party in these western states.

The Ohio Adams leaders were quite aware of the danger confronting his candidacy in the state and did their best to offset it by evidence showing that his views were entirely friendly to western interests. Ephraim Cutler wrote to a friend in the District of Columbia for some expression of the views of Adams. The latter answered that he could state positively that Adams had very recently expressed himself clearly in favor of the constitutional power of the government to carry on works of internal improvement and was quite favorable to the idea; that he was generally in favor of protecting manufactures in all cases where it could be done without too much affecting other interests.<sup>18</sup> But this was information at second hand.

On May 8 Postmaster-General McLean asked Adams for leave to send a letter the latter had written him favorable to internal improvements to his brother in Ohio, who was on the

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<sup>18</sup> Cutler, *Life of Cutler*, 186.

Adams electoral ticket and on whose behalf McLean had secured this expression of Adam's opinion. The Secretary of State declared he had no objection to this but wished him not to permit the letter to get in the newspapers "as that would look too much like advertising my opinions". McLean said he would take care of that.<sup>19</sup> Thus the very purpose of the letter was defeated.

The Delaware Patron tried to explain the attitude of Adams from the letter of a correspondent at Washington saying that Adams could not openly avow his views because he was habitually opposed to electioneering but that he was really the father of internal improvements as he had offered the first resolution in the Senate in 1807 calling for a report from the Secretary of the Treasury on roads and canals. Gallatin's report was a result of this.<sup>20</sup> This statement had been made before and answered by the Scioto Gazette, which published an extract from the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer to show that Worthington of Ohio was the author of the resolution in the Senate which had really called for Gallatin's report; that the report, when submitted, had been ordered printed in large numbers by a committee of which Adams was chairman simply to postpone action; that Adams in 1807 had voted against a bill concerning removal of obstructions to navigation on the Ohio; that he had voted against the Cumberland road amendment in 1804.<sup>21</sup> This evidence was neither very recent nor very strong but it served its purpose in raising doubts as to the real views of Adams.

The Gazette followed this up by pointing out that three-fourths of the representatives from New England and New York voted against the General Survey Bill, most important to the cause of internal improvements, and that the most active friends of Adams were in this number.<sup>22</sup> It continued to emphasize the necessity of the West supporting no man whose sentiments on these questions could in any way be considered doubtful. "The friends of Mr. Adams appear to be very sensible, that if the

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<sup>19</sup> Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, 323.

<sup>20</sup> Delaware Patron, Feb. 5, 1824.

<sup>21</sup> Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette, Jan. 10, 1824.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 26.

Presidential election turns on this point — as most assuredly it will — his prospects of support, in any one of the states west of New York, are not very flattering.<sup>23</sup>

The passage of the tariff bill brought further trouble. The vote of the Massachusetts delegation against it was taken as evidence of Adams's opposition to it.<sup>24</sup> The Richmond (Va.) Constitutional Whig, a Virginia Adams paper, took this very attitude and assured the people of Virginia that Adams was opposed to the "ruinous policy" of the tariff and that the interests of Massachusetts and Virginia in regard to the tariff, and roads and canals, were one.<sup>25</sup> At once the Clay and Jackson presses in Ohio seized upon this as authoritative evidence that all they had been saying about Adams was true.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, the New York American, an anti-tariff newspaper of New York City, declared for Adams.<sup>27</sup> This seemed to be further proof. Thus the activities of Adams partisans in other states were a continual source of embarrassment to his followers in Ohio. This illustrates clearly the sectional aspect of the campaign, which made it so difficult for any candidate to take a definite stand.

The friends of Adams published many extracts from his speeches and writings to show his friendliness toward western interests but usually these were rather general in their terms and not of very recent date.<sup>28</sup> Letters were printed from persons who were acquainted with Adams, purporting to give his opinions,<sup>29</sup> but the indirect nature of this evidence only made it all the more apparent that he was making no clear public statements of his views.

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<sup>23</sup> Chillicothe Supporter and Scioto Gazette, Mar. 25.

<sup>24</sup> Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, Apr. 27; National Republican, June 18.

<sup>25</sup> Richmond Constitutional Whig, in Columbus Gazette, June 3.

<sup>26</sup> Cincinnati Advertiser, May 22; Scioto Gazette, June 24, July 1; Nat. Rep., June 18.

<sup>27</sup> Cincinnati Gazette, in Scioto Gazette, June 24.

<sup>28</sup> For example, Miami Republican, in Delaware Patron, June 3; National Crises, in Delaware Patron, July 23; Hamilton Intelligencer, July 6, Letter by a Subscriber.

<sup>29</sup> Torch Light in Delaware Patron, Aug. 12; National Crisis, in Chillicothe Times, June 23.

Still the evidence was strong that Adams had been favorable to internal improvements and even the tariff, and ordinarily would have been considered sufficient. But in the heat of a presidential campaign only the most direct, unequivocal, public expression of sentiments could be accepted as proof, and this was what was lacking. The burden of proof, unlike the case of Jackson, rested with the Adams party and the doubts were not cleared away. The Adams meeting at Columbus in July devoted a large part of its address to an attempted refutation of the charges of their candidate's unfriendliness to the domestic policy, but the source of information, in which they had "implicit confidence", remained unrevealed.<sup>30</sup>

The campaign went to its conclusion with doubts still being expressed as to the real sentiments of the New England candidate and the burden proved a heavy one for his followers to bear. The *Scioto Gazette*, in one of its last issues before the election, reiterated the charges that it had been among the first to make. "It has been proved beyond the possibility of a doubt", declared its editor, "that he (Adams) always has been, and now is, decidedly hostile to internal improvements and the protection of national industry."<sup>31</sup> The final appeal of that ardent Clay supporter deserves to be given here. "The western states, oppressed almost beyond sufferance by the changes which have recently taken place in the political world, and by a system of policy which renders unavailing the fertility of their soil, and the industry of their citizens, must inevitably sink to the lowest depth of human wretchedness, should the election terminate in the choice of a president unacquainted with their wants, or indifferent to their complaints."<sup>32</sup>

In that statement lies to a considerable degree the reason why John Quincy Adams did not carry Ohio. He had not met the vital issues in a way that would win for him the confidence of the West. It is one of the paradoxes of political history that the candidate least affected by sectional prejudices or constitutional scruples toward these vital interests should be badly de-

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<sup>30</sup> Delaware Patron, July 22.

<sup>31</sup> Chillicothe Supporter and *Scioto Gazette*, Oct. 21.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 21.



feated in the state where they were most popular largely because he was believed to be unfriendly or indifferent toward them. His failure to carry Ohio was very costly to him. The sixteen electoral votes of the state added to his total would have given him 100 electoral votes, one more than the total for Andrew Jackson. Thus Adams, and not Jackson would have come before the House as the leading candidate, and Clay, in throwing his influence to Adams, would have been ratifying the popular will. The "bargain and corruption" cry, if raised at all, would have lost much of its force and the future have been changed for all concerned. This is, of course, mere speculation but it shows the interesting possibilities that lay in Ohio's electoral vote in 1824.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE ELECTION BY THE PEOPLE.

Election day came with numerous pamphlets and final appeals to the voters being circulated. Despite the heat of the campaign and the bitterness of its last stages the vote cast was disappointing. At the election for governor, held early in October, the total vote was 76,634,<sup>1</sup> the largest vote ever cast in the state, although the campaign of Allen Trimble against Governor Morrow had received little attention in the newspapers, being almost entirely obscured by the presidential contest. But the total vote at the presidential election was only 50,024,<sup>2</sup> two-thirds that of the gubernatorial election.

The Clay men attributed this to the overconfidence of their friends in the interior counties who did not attend the polls in large numbers.<sup>3</sup> The Cincinnati Advertiser blamed the defeat of Jackson on the apathy of the people in the northern and north-eastern counties.<sup>4</sup> A better explanation is that it was generally expected all over the country that no candidate would receive a majority of the electoral vote and that the election would cer-

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<sup>1</sup> Ohio Election Statistics, 1914, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, Nov. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Cincinnati Advertiser, Nov. 17.

tainly go to the House of Representatives. Hence the choice of the electors was not of so much importance.

Though the Ohio vote was not so large as was expected it was far larger than that cast at any previous presidential contest, the largest vote prior to 1824 having been 10,721 in 1812.<sup>5</sup> Ohioans had not been in the habit of voting at presidential elections as they had at elections for governors, when large votes were usually polled; so that, after all, the vote in 1824 was a decided advance. The absence of a real contest in earlier elections explains the light votes prior to 1824. In 1828 the total was 130,993,<sup>6</sup> an astonishing increase.

Early returns from the populous southwestern counties seemed to indicate that Jackson was successful, but as the returns from the interior and northern counties came in Clay's vote grew until the final returns read: Clay, 19,255; Jackson, 18,489; Adams, 12,280.<sup>7</sup>

A brief consideration of the returns shows some interesting results. Jackson carried the southwestern counties from Darke on the Indiana border to Adams county on the Ohio River, excepting only Preble. This group included Darke, Montgomery, Warren, Butler, Hamilton, Clermont, Brown, and Adams. Of these, Hamilton and Butler were the largest counties in population in the state. In each of these counties, except Montgomery and Warren, Jackson had an actual majority over both his opponents.

Pike, which touches Adams county, and perhaps should be included in this group, was carried by Jackson as was one interior county, Perry. In the eastern part of the state, he was successful in the adjoining counties of Columbiana, Jefferson, and Harrison, and two near this group, Wayne and Coshocton. The fact that Clay was able to carry Stark and Tuscarawas kept Jackson from having a solid block of counties just south of the Western Reserve.

To the surprise of his followers Adams did not carry all the

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<sup>5</sup> Ohio Election Statistics, 1914 p. 2

<sup>6</sup> Ohio Election Statistics, 1914, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Ohio Election Statistics, 1914, p. 3; Columbus Gazette, Nov. 11, 1824.

Western Reserve, losing the four middle counties, Lorain, Cuyahoga, Medina, and Portage, to Clay. In the geographical center of the state the New England candidate carried the three adjoining counties of Union, Marion, and Delaware. In the southeast on the Ohio River, the three Adams counties were Washington, Meigs, and Athens. Greene, adjoining the Jackson group in the southwest, was the only other county in which Adams was successful.

Clay had all the others, including most of the interior and northwest, portions of the eastern and southern parts of the state, and the four Reserve counties and Preble, mentioned before.

With two or three exceptions the counties carried by each candidate were in groups. In the southwest Jackson's victory was probably due to the prejudices against Clay there, as has been explained, and the strong Jackson organization at Cincinnati, which sent out newspapers and pamphlets, and organized committees all over the Miami country. In the eastern part of the state the counties settled largely by Pennsylvanians went for Jackson, as Pennsylvania was overwhelmingly for him and this influence reached across the border. The number of Germans, or Pennsylvania Dutch, was large in several of the eastern counties,<sup>8</sup> and to these the Jackson committee had made a special, and rather alarming, appeal.<sup>9</sup>

The portions of the state carried by Adams were in nearly every case those settled originally by New Englanders and containing an influential New England element, as in the Western Reserve, the Delaware group, and the three southeastern counties, where the first permanent settlers in the state had located. But the Adams men were disappointed at the result in the Reserve where Clay had run very well, probably because of the great popularity of internal improvements there. The Erie canal, nearly completed, would give the Lake counties a waterway to New York City while the proposed Ohio canal system would connect them with the interior of the state. Cleveland would then become a city of real importance.

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<sup>8</sup> Faust, *German Element*, I, 422.

<sup>9</sup> Letter of Atwater, *Delaware Patron*, Nov. 25.

Clay's vote requires little explanation. It was natural for Ohio to support the candidate who best represented her interests, and his plurality would probably have been larger had his chances in the whole country seemed brighter. As it was, with a real doubt existing as to whether he would have sufficient votes to reach the House of Representatives, he had carried the largest state west of the Alleghanies despite the appeals of those opposing him for Ohio not to throw away her votes on a hopeless candidate. It shows the hold the domestic policy had upon the people of the state. Most of the Scioto Valley, the interior counties, with few exceptions, and the thinly settled northwest gave Clay large pluralities. These parts of the state felt especially the necessity for roads and canals to give them outlets to the markets and to make their lands profitable. Although Clay had less than two-fifths of the total vote, he had carried more than half the counties of the state. The distinctly rural counties, except where peopled by New Englanders, had gone largely for him.

It is a significant fact that about four-fifths of the counties were so decided in their preference that they gave the candidate of their choice a majority over both his competitors, not a mere plurality. In most localities there was a decided predominance in favor of some one candidate. The strength of parties had not become generally distributed throughout the state.

The result of the election caused satisfaction but not jubilation among the Clay partisans for their plurality had been very narrow. The Jackson presses immediately set up the cry of coalition. It was charged that a portion of the Adams "Swiss Corps", as the National Republican called them, had joined with the friends of Clay to defeat Jackson when they saw that the cause of Adams was hopeless.<sup>10</sup> Clay's large vote in the Western Reserve was pointed out as proof of this. Such an idea had not even been hinted at by the Jackson papers before the election, for the Clay and Adams parties had been showing anything but a friendly spirit toward each other.

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<sup>10</sup>Cincinnati National Republican, Nov. 19; Cincinnati Advertiser, Nov. 17.



This charge was at once denied by the Cincinnati Gazette and the absurdity of such a coalition in the lake counties and nowhere else was pointed out.<sup>11</sup> But the National Republican reiterated its belief in it, though no proof was given, and blamed the "Caucus Junto" for dividing the West and laying the foundations of another Burr intrigue in the House of Representatives, "without promoting the restless ambition of their chief."<sup>12</sup> The Advertiser hoped that the Clay electors would vote for Jackson and thus undo the damage,<sup>13</sup> but such an idea was never considered.

With the meeting of the electoral colleges interest turned to the approaching House election.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE HOUSE ELECTION.

It was not definitely known until after the electoral colleges had met that Clay would not be among the first three, so his friends generally avoided expressing any opinion as to the House Election. But Clay had virtually decided already to support Adams. He had written to Hammond late in October that Crawford's caucus nomination, the state of his health, and the principles he feared his administration would adopt were strong objections to his (Clay's) supporting him.<sup>1</sup> The Clay-Crawford coalition charge had disappeared with the election and a new Adams-Clay coalition seemed to be forming.

That the Jackson party was well aware of this is shown by the attitude of the Cincinnati National Republican. It began to express great fears of intrigue as did the Advertiser as well.<sup>2</sup> On December 28 the former made a bitter attack on the "Ohio Caucus Junto." "We understand," it said, "that some of the leaders of this aristocracy, since the fall of their idol, have directed all their mighty forces to rendezvous at Washington

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<sup>11</sup> Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, Nov. 19.

<sup>12</sup> National Republican, Nov. 23.

<sup>13</sup> Cincinnati Advertiser, Nov. 17, Nov. 24.

<sup>1</sup> Smith's Charles Hammond, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Cincinnati Advertiser, Dec. 4.

City, where they are destined to follow in the train of John Q. Adams, and serve as whippers-in to his party. It is really amusing to observe with what facility some of the chief men of the Clay party in Ohio, men who have pretended to be the champions of a liberal and enlightened policy for the protection of Domestic Manufactures, can veer about, as interest or ambition may dictate, and become the humble supporters of a man notoriously opposed to 'domestic measures.' Is the public sentiment of Ohio to be not only disregarded, but outraged? The vote of this state, in Congress, cannot be given to Mr. Adams without a wanton and flagrant violation of trust."<sup>3</sup>

This was the warning of the Jackson party but it went unheeded. The National Republican now began to assume that Jackson's election was certain and spoke of the bright prospects before the people in his approaching administration.<sup>4</sup> It declared the reported Adams-Clay coalition was to be expected from the course some of Clay's partisans had been taking in Ohio but that Clay would not succeed in dividing the West.<sup>5</sup> This confident tone was doubtless assumed for effect, for it had no basis in fact.

Meantime Clay had written his letter to Blair declaring his intention of voting for Adams and expressing his fear that pernicious results might come from the election of a military candidate. "What has great weight with me is the decided preference which a majority of the delegation from Ohio has for him (Adams) over General Jackson."<sup>6</sup>

Although most of the Ohio representatives had probably made up their minds already, as Clay's letter and the threatening attitude of the Jackson papers indicate, a meeting was held to determine finally their action and to make public their intentions.<sup>7</sup> Soon afterwards it was publicly announced by the Ohio and Kentucky delegations that they would support Adams.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> National Republican, Dec. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Jan. 14, 1825.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Jan. 18, Feb. 15, 1825.

<sup>6</sup> Clay to Blair, Jan. 8, 1825, Works of Clay, IV, 107.

<sup>8</sup> Adams, Memoirs, VI, 478.

<sup>7</sup> Adams, Memoirs, VI, 473; Address of Clay to The Public, 1825; Append., p. 31, Letters of McArthur and others.

Amid great excitement the House election was held and Ohio gave her vote to Adams. The delegation voted, ten for Adams, two for Crawford, two for Jackson.<sup>9</sup> Bartley, Beecher, McArthur, McLean, Sloane, Vance, Vinton, Whittlesey, Wright and Patterson voted for Adams; Wilson and Ross for Crawford; and Gazlay and Campbell, from the southwestern part of the state, for Jackson. The vote of the representatives was thus decisively for Adams.

The news of the election was quietly received in Ohio. The Adams party was well pleased with the result,<sup>10</sup> the Clay men apparently satisfied,<sup>11</sup> and the Jackson partisans indignant. The National Republican published the news under the heading, "The long agony is over — the Bourbons are restored."<sup>12</sup> In its succeeding issues it bitterly attacked the Ohio congressmen for misrepresenting their constituents and the interests of the West.<sup>13</sup> The Hamilton Intelligencer warned the people to remember those representatives who had been faithful to their trust and those who had trampled upon the wishes of the people.<sup>14</sup>

It now remains to consider whether the result was really satisfactory to the state or whether it was a violation of the expressed public will, as the Jackson partisans declared. They made much of the fact that Jackson, according to the popular vote, was the second choice of the state, and should have received its vote, with Clay excluded from the House. But this is a doubtful claim, for there is no way of finding out with entire certainty which candidate was the second choice of the 19,000 voters who had supported Clay as their first choice. If their leaders rightly represented their wishes, and there is nothing to indicate otherwise, then Adams was their choice and the Ohio delegation in Congress was correctly interpreting public sentiment, for the combined Adams-Clay vote in the state was a large majority of the whole. The best evidence that Ohio was satisfied is found in the congressional election of 1826, when twelve of the fourteen representatives elected were administra-

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<sup>9</sup> National Intelligencer, Feb. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Delaware Patron, Feb. 24.

<sup>11</sup> Columbus Gazette, Feb. 24; Scioto Gazette, Feb. 20.

<sup>12</sup> National Republican, Feb. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., Feb. 22, Feb. 25, March 8.

<sup>14</sup> Hamilton Intelligencer, Feb. 28.

tion supporters.<sup>15</sup> Of the ten who voted for Adams in the House election, eight were candidates at this election and all were re-elected. This does not indicate any repudiation by the people.

The charge that the members of the Ohio delegation voting for Adams were tools of Clay and were sacrificing western interests to his ambition is without basis. Their preference for Adams is not at all surprising when the general distrust of Jackson felt by the Clay leaders in Ohio is considered. As has been shown before, they had always regarded Jackson as an impossible choice. Hammond, in a letter already referred to,<sup>16</sup> written the preceding September, had stated the opposition of the great body of Clay men to Jackson because of his lack of fitness for the office and warned the Jackson men that the Clay supporters were not liege subjects to be transferred at will to Jackson or any one else, as Clay saw fit. The explanations of some of the Ohio representatives who voted for Adams in the House may be given here as serving to corroborate what has already been sufficiently dealt with, the incongruity of a Jackson-Clay alliance, and to make clear the basis of the Adams-Clay union.

Duncan McArthur, afterwards governor, declared that Ohio's interests were being jeopardized by the course Jackson and his friends were pursuing towards internal improvements and the tariff. "On the other hand, it was evident, that, for the support of those measures, our only reliance was upon the friends of Mr. Adams, the identity of interest between Northern and Western States, and the liberality of the Eastern members of Congress."<sup>17</sup> This statement contains the reason why the Clay to the Public, Appendix, 30-61.

Adams-Clay alliance was a natural logical union. Members of Congress were in a position to know the real views of the candidates towards the tariff and internal improvements, and, with the heat of the campaign past, the Ohio members were far more inclined to trust Adams than Jackson with his large southern support. McArthur further declared that an even more serious

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<sup>15</sup> Niles' Register, 155-6.

<sup>16</sup> Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 11, Letter signed "L."

<sup>17</sup> Letters of Ohio Representatives given in An Address of Henry



consideration was the qualifications of the candidates. "So far as I was acquainted with the sentiments of Mr. Clay's friends, I do not believe that they could have been prevailed upon to have supported the election of General Jackson upon any conditions whatever . . . ." This statement is quite in line with the views of Hammond expressed long before.

Mordecai Bartley, also a future governor of Ohio, stated that it was well known that Clay's friends from Ohio would not in any event have supported Jackson because Adams was their second choice and was believed to be the second choice of a majority of the people of the state. Bartley declared he would not have voted for Jackson in any event as he was far inferior to all other candidates in abilities and was no real friend to tariff and internal improvements.

Samuel F. Vinton, another member of the delegation, said that his constituents knew many months before the election that Adams was his second choice. Elisha Whittlesey, who for many years represented the Western Reserve in Congress, declared that there was never any doubt about whom Clay and his friends would support. Other members of the delegation expressed similar views.

Considering the general attitude of the Clay men during the campaign and after, there is little inconsistency to be found. They had never at any time given the Jackson party grounds for believing that they would support Jackson. They had attacked Adams because there was doubt about his friendliness to tariff and internal improvements. They had not attacked Jackson especially on these questions because they believed him utterly unfitted for the presidency regardless of what his views on these questions were. In the House election they had chosen the former because they believed him better qualified and because they believed western interests would be made secure by him rather than by Jackson with his large southern support.

It was an economic alliance of the North and West. There was no sacrifice of western interests, as the Jackson partisans charged, by the election of Adams. Rather the reverse was true, if the policy of the new president toward internal improvements be considered. The House election saw the union advocated at the beginning of the campaign by the Adams and

Clinton followers finally achieved, but in a way no one had then foreseen and under conditions which made its permanence very doubtful. The economic alliance of North and West, based on their harmony of interests, proved too strong for the South to break, but the political union, resting on this, succumbed before the rising tide of Jacksonian democracy.

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The common practice used by newspapers of copying important articles from other papers makes the above list more extensive than it

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\*For Clay.

\*\*For Jackson.

\*\*\*For Adams.

actually appears to be and has made possible a considerable use of extracts from many papers whose files were not available.

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## EXPLORATIONS OF THE WESTENHAVER MOUND.

BY WILLIAM C. MILLS.

The Westenhaver Mound is located in Wayne township, Pickaway county, Ohio, on the west bank of the Scioto river. The land on which the mound is situated is owned by Mr. and Mrs. George E. Roth, and lies about six miles southwest of Circleville and three miles north of the village of Yellow Bud.

The site of the earthwork is a level plateau, comprising the first bottom of the Scioto river, which at this point is elevated almost fifty feet above low-water mark of that stream. The river, which is distant only a few hundred feet from the site of the mound, encroaches so closely upon the terrace forming the first level above its bed, that barely enough room existed for the construction of the Ohio canal, the natural waterway being separated from the artificial one only by a narrow towpath.

The land comprising this first bottom is typical of this rich section of the Scioto valley, being principally a clayey loam, from two feet to ten feet deep, overlying deposits of gravel.

### HISTORICAL DATA CONCERNING THE MOUND.

The Westenhaver Mound takes its name from a former owner of the farm, who more than a quarter of a century ago made a partial examination of it. At that time, the idea prevailed generally that burials within mounds were to be found at the center on the base line. Consequently workmen sunk a shaft with the idea of exposing that portion of the base, and in this instance their expectations were justified, as perhaps the most interesting burial in the structure was uncovered.

This burial, the principal one of the mound, occupied a specially constructed grave, and was remarkable for the great amount of woven fabric accompanying it. Fortunately, parts of the skeleton remained in the grave, which we were able to examine with some satisfaction. The interment is more fully described under the head of burials contained in the mound.



The results of Mr. Westenhaver's examination were published in a local newspaper, but in the absence of the published account or of any person having exact knowledge in the matter, it is not known definitely what, besides the cloth, was removed from the grave. It is believed however, that ornaments or implements must have accompanied so important a burial, and this belief is strengthened by the finding of a copper bracelet in the earth near the top of the mound which evidently had been thrown out of the shaft at the time of Mr. Westenhaver's examination. This bracelet is typical of the culture, round in cross-section, and about two and three-fourths inches across. Although copper is to be expected in mounds of this culture, the bracelet is the only specimen of the metal found.

The fabric found with this burial perhaps comprised the largest and best preserved exhibit of cloth ever taken from an Ohio mound. The entire lot later was secured from Mr. Westenhaver by a collector residing in Dayton, and upon his death was sold, partly to Dayton collectors and partly at auction by a Boston firm. Through the generosity of Mr. McMurray, of Dayton, a fine specimen of the cloth is now in the Museum of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

#### THE MOUND, EXTERNALLY.

At the time of the present examination of the Westenhaver Mound, the site was a cultivated field, and although farmed for many years, the mound itself had never been plowed nor cleared of trees, owing to its abrupt contour. On the west and south sides, it was covered with trees and grass, while on the east and north, a tangle of trees, vines and undergrowth completely covered the surface. The trees covering the structure were seventeen in number, consisting of white oak, red oak, black walnut, and hickory, and ranged from a few inches to one of two feet in diameter. Their removal necessitated considerable labor, and the roots, penetrating every portion of the mound, were a source of hindrance throughout its examination.

## SURVEY OF THE MOUND.

On June 18, 1915, preliminary to the examination of the earthwork, Mr. C. A. Campbell began a survey for a topographical map, shown as Fig. 1. The maximum height of the mound, as shown by this survey, is 16 feet, while its base, which is elliptical in outline, is 110 feet along its north and south axis, 90 feet along the east and west axis, and its perimeter approximately 320 feet. The solid content of the structure was found to be about 1900 cubic yards.

After completing the field work necessary for compiling the topographic map, Mr. Campbell established secondary traverse points on and adjacent to the mound, and from these by the aid of the instrument located the burials as they were uncovered. The map, prepared from his notes, is shown as Fig. 2, and illustrates a cross-section of the mound.

## THE WORK OF EXCAVATION.

The actual examination of the mound was begun June 21, 1915 and required the greater part of three weeks, and the labor of ten men to complete it. Excavation was begun at the southeast side at the base line, a cut being extended fifty feet to the south and then an equal distance to the north.

It was found that the mound was constructed mainly from the surface soil immediately surrounding the site, as shown by the topographical map. Within the body of the mound were occasional pockets of gravel, while near the base piles of clay and gravel indicated a sub-base burial.

The examination of the mound was greatly retarded by frequent rains which filled the cuts, necessitating much time and labor to place them in condition to proceed with the work. Again, the mound from top to base was literally honeycombed with burrows of the groundhog. These burrows carried surface water into the interior of the mound, resulting in damage and deterioration to burials, and as the season was extremely rainy, many places within the structure were in such condition that critical examination was very difficult.



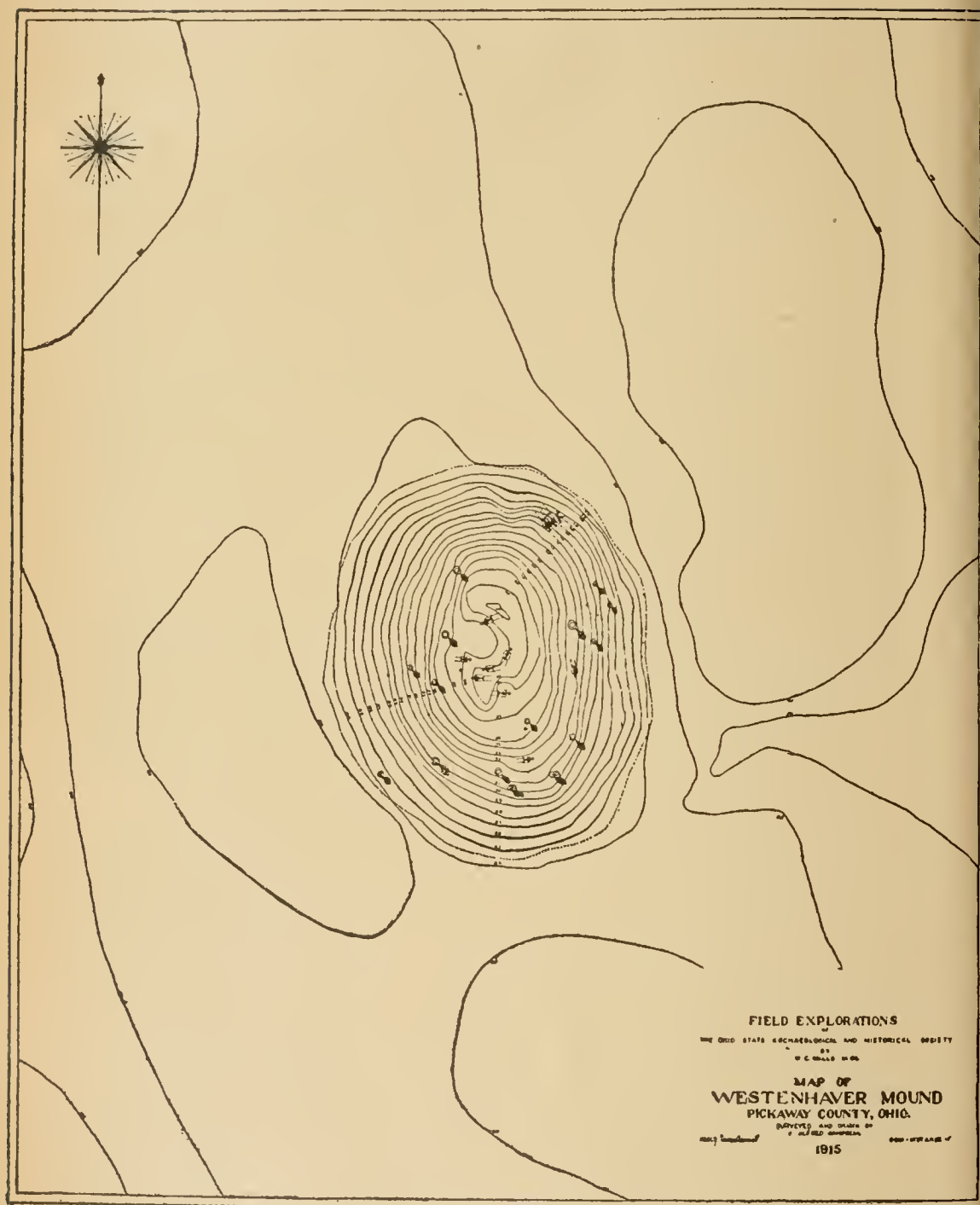
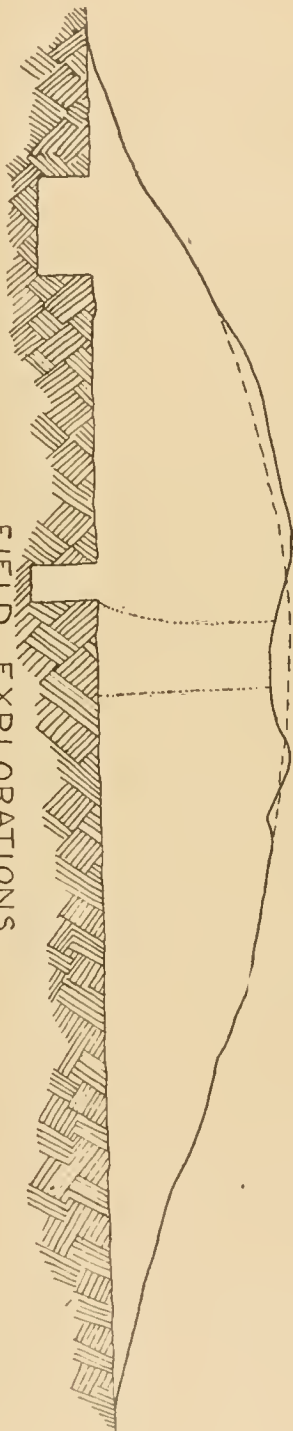


FIG. 1. Map of the Westenhaver Mound.



FIELD EXPLORATIONS  
OF  
THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
BY  
W. C. MILLS M. SC

CROSS SECTION  
OF  
WESTENHAVER MOUND  
PICKAWAY COUNTY, OHIO.  
BY  
C. ALFRED CAMPBELL  
SCALE  
0 5 10  
1915

Fig. 2. Cross-section of the Westernhaver Mound.

## FEATURES OF INTEREST.

A number of interesting features characterized the examination of the Westenhaver Mound, several of them never before having been noted in the Ohio mounds. Chief of these features were the pathological flattening and mineralizing, accompanied by partial mummification of the bones and flesh of two burials; the very bold and distinct marks of the digging stick in the tough clay walls of the principal sub-base grave; and the use of logs and brush to supplement earth, in building up the body of the mound.

This latter condition was observed principally at the south side of the mound, where the imprints of trees varying in diameter from five inches to two feet showed that the site at that point had not even been cleared in preparation for the erection of the mound. Other mounds examined have shown the use of logs and brush in leveling the site and in filling in low places in preparation thereof, later being covered with earth to produce a uniform base, but in this instance, the south side of the site was naturally highest, and the logs had been used in lieu of earth in the construction of the work.

A total of fifteen burials were located in the mound. Three of these were on the base line, four below the base, and eight were scattered promiscuously through the body of the mound. The original burial probably was one found near the center of the mound, in a dug grave four feet below the base line. Practically all the artifacts found accompanied this burial. The only burial placed directly on the base line having a well prepared grave, was that uncovered by Mr. Westenhaver near the center of the structure. The burials scattered throughout the mound showed many interesting examples of reburial, individual bones often being missing, and those present occupying positions foreign to the skeleton as a whole. Aside from these secondary burials, the usual position of the skeletons was at full length, upon the back.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE BURIALS.

The first burials found were near the north side of the mound, and are shown in Fig. 3. In an unusually large grave,



FIG. 3. Burial in the Westenhover Mound showing three individuals; one child and two adults.





seven feet six inches long, five feet wide, and extending four feet below the base line, had been buried three bodies, two adult males, and a child, from seven to ten years old.

The adults had been placed in the grave at full length, arms extended close to the body; while the child lay in a flexed position, on the right side. The heads of all three were toward the east. No implements or ornaments were with the bodies, but within the grave above them were found four well-wrought flint arrowpoints, which apparently, together with their shafts, had been placed there intentionally at the time of burial.

Burial No. 4, the remains of an adolescent, was found on the east side of the mound, about ten feet below the top. The skeleton had been disarranged by groundhogs, parts of it being found some distance away within their burrows. The skull however, was fairly preserved, and was removed intact.

Burial No. 5, corresponds to the one exhumed by Mr. Westenhaver previously referred to. This burial was the most interesting of the entire mound, owing to the great amount of woven fabric accompanying it, and to the fact that it occupied a well prepared sepulchre made of logs. Sufficient of the burial remained undisturbed to afford a fairly definite idea of its original condition. The north end of the grave had not been destroyed, and the bones of the feet and a quantity of the charred cloth accompanying the body were undisturbed. The cloth is shown in Figs. 4 and 5.

Also a number of ornaments made of bone and teeth were left in the grave. The most interesting of these was an ornament made of the end of the lower jaw of the black bear which includes the incisors and the canines of a young animal as shown by the hollow canines. Also a number of cut incisors of the beaver which had the appearance of forming a part of a necklace. The specimens are shown in Fig. 6.

It developed in examination that Mr. Westenhaver's shaft had pierced the grave at the south end, or at the head, and that the shaft had been enlarged at the bottom to permit of the removal of the skeleton and its accompanying objects. The deduction therefore is that the burial was similar to many others characteristic of the early Hopewell culture; that it had been

FIG. 4. Cloth from the great central grave examined by Mr. Westenhaver.

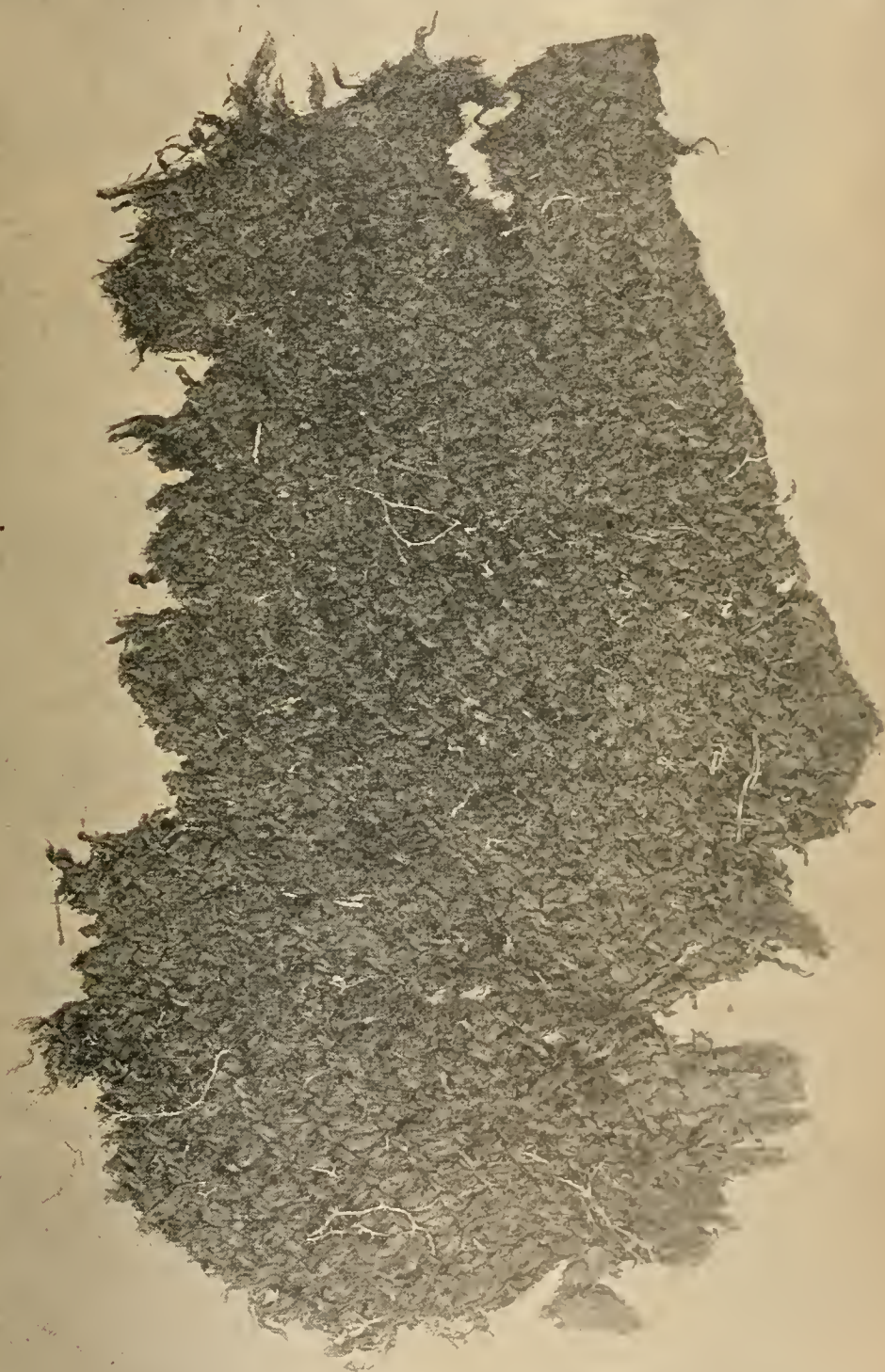






FIG. 5. Cloth from the great central grave examined by Mr. Westenhaver.

placed fully extended in the grave, with the head to the south; that the body had been wrapped in cloth, and that a covering of grass and twigs had then been placed upon the body and this inflammable material then burned.

This fire ceremony, frequently observed, accounts for the charring and consequent preserving of the fabric placed with bodies in the Hopewell culture.

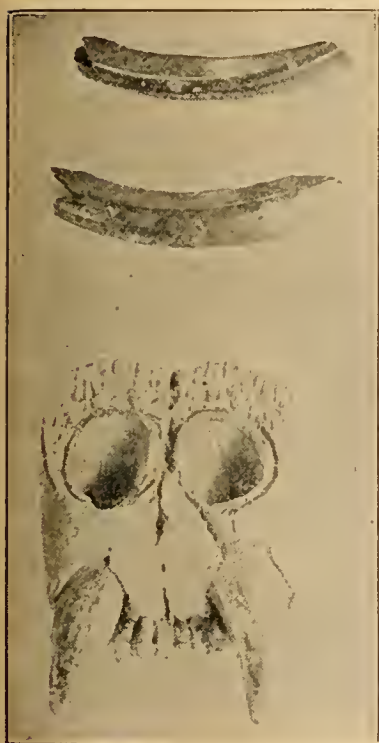


FIG. 6. End of the lower jaw of bear cut into an ornament; also cut beaver incisors from the great central grave examined by Mr. Westenhaver.

While positive and conclusive evidence of the performance of such a ceremony in this instance may be lacking, the scant remains within the grave make it very probable that the same conditions found at both the Harness Mound\* and the Seip Mound\* prevailed here also. Remains of the charred cloth, twigs and branches showed that a fire had been kindled, and covered with earth while still burning. No evidence of the charring of the logs comprising the sepulchre was to be seen. Taken all together, the evidence points to the first ceremony of kindling the sacred fire over the dead, as the initial step in constructing the mound, or in its consecration, and then of covering this fire while burning, with earth.

Burial No. 6, owing to the flattened condition of the bones and the partially mumified flesh attached to them, is of particular interest. This burial was placed just east of the center of the mound, and about nine feet below its top. The head

\*The Harness Mound is located eight miles south of Chillicothe, along the Scioto river. See "Certain Mound and Village Sites in Ohio," vol. 1, pt. 4.

\*The Seip Mound is located three miles east of Bainbridge on Paint creek. See, "Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio," vol. 2, pt. 1.



lay to the south about six inches higher than the remainder of the skeleton. With the exception of the skull and feet, all bones of the body were peculiarly and strikingly flattened, with indurated muscular tissue attached to them, giving a general impression of having been subjected to great pressure. The bones of the lower leg were stained with a small amount of red ochre, the only burial showing this condition.

Indications of the ceremony of the sacred fire were unmistakable in this instance, and the idea presents itself that the flattening of the bones may be the result of this proceeding, in part at least. It might be possible that at a certain stage of the ceremony, when heat had placed the skeletal parts in a favorable condition, that the heaping over them of the heavy earth covering would inaugurate such a change or flattening, the process being furthered by the weight of the incumbent earth and subsequent trampling above the burial. Again, the idea of a primary scaffold burial, presents itself as possibly explaining the preservation of the muscular tissue. Provided the season of the year and the atmospheric conditions were favorable, the muscular substance would become dry and hard, and thus be preserved; or the submitting of the body to the action of smoke while on the scaffold, as an intentional means of preserving the flesh, may not be unworthy of consideration. In either event, of course, secondary disposition of the body in the mound followed.

However, feeling the desirability of expert opinion in the matter, portions of the skeleton, together with parts of that from burial No. 7, found nearby and exhibiting a similar condition, were submitted for expert anatomical examination and report to Dr. T. Wingate Todd, of the Western Reserve University Medical School, Cleveland. The rarity of such conditions in skeletal remains in the Ohio mounds and the evident interest attaching thereto, seem to warrant full consideration of the subject. Dr. Todd's exhaustive report follows:

"The bones sent for examination prove to belong to two different skeletons, both of which have suffered considerable post-mortem deformation and are almost entirely mineralized. Of skeleton A there are a portion of the dorsal vertebral column,



FIG. 7. At work in the Mound.

the right clavicle and humerus, the upper seven right ribs, the right fibula, the left femur, patella, tibia and fibula. Of skeleton B there are only the right tibia and fibula. The tibia and fibula of skeleton A are still encrusted with a considerable amount of earth and crystalline material, which is present on the other limb bones in much less amount and indeed is absent from the bones of skeleton B. Portions of the scalene muscles remain attached to the first rib and remnants of the intercostals can be seen between the others. Vegetable fibres are still to be found embedded in the bones or incrustation together with ochre and wood ashes. All of these will be discussed in the appropriate place.

"In the consideration of such bones many questions present themselves. Were the bones crushed through external influence alone, or did some pathological condition of the skeletons themselves form the main or even an accessory factor in the deformation? May they be part of the skeletons of pregnant women which have undergone pathological softening during life? Are they merely the bones of senile or stout individuals which would resist less than usual the pressure of the soil above them? In what way has it come about that actual muscle has been preserved? Have there been attempts at post-mortem preservation? Of what nature are the vegetable fibres and how did they come to be there? Are the ochreous and other stains on the bones evidence of mutilation before burial? Do the ashes signify cremation?

"Let us consider first the bones themselves and their deformation. Fig. 8 is a photograph of the bones of skeleton A. All except the vertebral column and the fragment showing clavicle and first rib are placed naturally with their distal extremities below. The portion of vertebral column however, is inverted, the narrower end being the uppermost, and the clavicle is so placed that its lateral extremity points upward and toward the right.

"The fragment of vertebral column consists of eight vertebrae from the dorsal series together with adjacent parts of several ribs. On careful examination of the reverse aspect portions of the spines can be seen embedded among charred





FIG. 8. Fragments of skeleton A., ventral surfaces. All the bones were more or less encrusted with earth and with charred muscular tissue. The fragments comprising vertebral column and clavicle are not in the natural position. All the others are. The deformation of the bones is clearly seen.



remnants of muscular tissue. The vertebrae are so crushed that on an average the ventral and dorsal surfaces are separated by only 6 mm. The dorsal aspect of the fragment is slightly concave and exhibits impressions indicating that the column has been flattened out upon some resistant material of irregular surface part of the superficial layer of which now adheres to the bones. There is no spondylitis. The bones can be identified with fair accuracy for the lowest has rib lying in contact with it, and in spite of the compression it can easily be recognized that the uppermost vertebral body is the smallest. It is unlikely then that this is higher than the fourth dorsal. Estimating on this basis, there are the 4th, to the 11th, dorsal vertebrae inclusive together with the heads of the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th ribs on the left side and the 9th, 10th and 11th ribs on the right. If the higher vertebra be estimated as the fifth, we should have to allow that the lowest right rib is the twelfth and careful examination of the costal remnants forces me to reject this suggestion. All the bodies are cemented together into one piece and it is not always easy to identify the area corresponding to the intervertebral disc. The various dimensions are read at a glance from Fig. 9, from which also it is seen that the heads of the left ribs are embedded on the ventral surface of the vertebra while those of the right side are hidden behind the flattened out column. Thus the area of at least the lower vertebrae shown in the photograph corresponds rather to the left ventral aspect of the bones. In other words the compressing force has caught the spinal column obliquely and since the vertebrae would naturally fall on one or other side as the body settled down this oblique compression is easily understood. It is also evident that the settling of the body and the turning to the right of the vertebral column occurred while the costo-vertebral ligaments were still more or less intact.

"The fragment of right thorax like the last mentioned shows evidence upon its reverse face of an ash laden surface. In spite of the compression, enough of the curvature of the ribs has remained to make it certain that they are upper and not lower members of the series. The highest, moreover, is broader than the others and by comparison with its neighbor and with

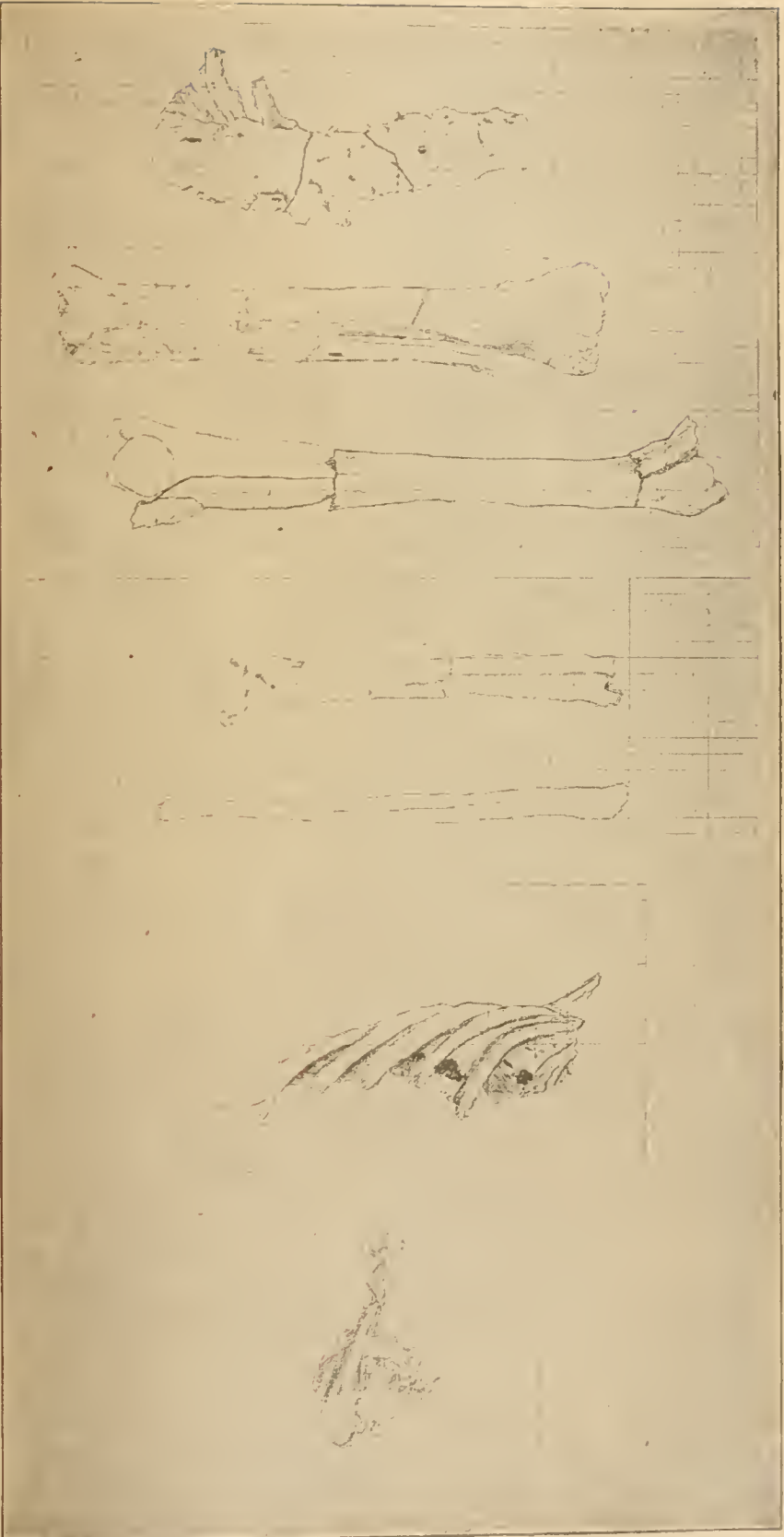


FIG. 9. Tracings on millimeter paper of the fragments of skeleton A. These drawings were made on Martin's Dioptrograph. All the bones are oriented to approximately the normal position.

the first rib which is definitely known, it is at once identified as the second. This fragment then which is like the rest apparently mineralized throughout\* consists of the 2d. to the 7th ribs inclusive of the right side. The sketch of Fig. 9 shows perhaps more clearly than the photograph, the parts of the ribs preserved and their characters.

"The intercostal muscles are wonderfully distinct. Their fibres can be seen clearly under the microscope and display the 'resinous' appearance characteristic of muscles so preserved. The portion of the axillary border of the scapula united in this fragment needs no comment.

At once the question presents itself: What is the nature of the cementing substance and under what influence have portions of muscular tissue been preserved? But it is simpler to consider this matter after the actual physical character of the bones has been dealt with.

"The fragment including the clavicle and first rib of the right side shows also certain prominences which from their shape and position seem to be the ventral limbs of the transverse processes of the 5th and 6th cervical vertebrae. It is impossible to confirm this however, for on the reverse surface a root has grown and embedded itself in the material just where one would expect to find vestiges of the spines. Like the two last mentioned fragments this one presents a rough and somewhat conclave ash-laden dorsal surface. The clavicle is turned so that its ventral surface lies uppermost, the inner forward convexity arching over the first rib, the outer backward convexity lying lateral to the rib (see Fig. 9) and is so crushed as to approximate somewhat the ventral and dorsal aspects. The extremities are more crushed than the shaft and the sternal end is broken. The first rib remains almost intact but some artificial convexity has been produced by the bending downward of the extremities. The site of the sulcus subclaviae is hidden by the clavicle and most of the area related to the subclavian vein is missing.

"Of the right humerus the upper extremity is missing and the lower is incomplete. The bone is compressed so that the

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\*Apparently only for on floating fragments on distilled water, oil globules separated out.

dorsal and ventral aspects are almost in contact, but the flattening is greatest at the extremities. The trochlear fossa is almost obliterated but the fossa olecrani and bicipital groove are still distinctly recognizable. Ashes and charred material encrust the dorsal aspect of this bone also on which can be seen many vertical fissures.

"The left femur and patella are in fair preservation though much broken up. When the fragments are placed in position, the appearance shown in Fig. 9, is presented. Thus only the head, neck and condylar surfaces are missing. The two ends of the bone have suffered greatly from crushing which has affected the femur practically in the sagittal direction. The compact tissue of ventral and dorsal aspects have been forced almost into contact though the shaft has suffered less compression than the two extremities. The normal forward convexity of the shaft is obliterated. The lateral and medial aspects of the upper two-thirds of the shaft from immediately beneath the lesser trochanter have been cracked. The patella is but slightly crushed. On the other hand it has made a considerable depression on the already much crushed lower extremity of the femur in which it is firmly embedded. There is less charred material on the dorsal aspect of the femur than on any other of the bones.

"The left tibia and fibula are still united by some brick-hard material round which is a good deal of earth. The former is almost complete, the latter bone lacks its upper and lower extremities. Both are heavily coated with a hard soil in which many quartz crystals can be seen. These bones, like the rest have suffered compression but the lower extremities are only slightly affected and the middle third of the fibula seems to have been protected from compression by the presence of the tibia of which the upper extremity and upper third have suffered severely. The bones must have rolled outward upon the settling of the body because the line of action of the compressing force passes through the tibia not in the sagittal direction but from before, backward and laterally. Both bones exhibit slight post-mortem bowing forward, the maximum convexity occurring about the junction of the middle and lower thirds of the tibia and at a somewhat



more distal point on the fibula. Much splintering and a certain small amount of charred material are seen on the dorsal aspect.

"The right fibula is cracked in its middle two-fourths. It is flattened only in its upper third which can be recognized as such in spite of the absence of both extremities, by the direction of the nutrient foramen and in a coronal direction, so that its medial and lateral surfaces are forced into contact (see Fig. 9.) No distortion has occurred in the length of the bone. It exhibits very little charred material.

"Since every bone shows compression in a very definite direction it can be stated with confidence that the body was lying in the grave upon its back. This is confirmed by the fact that the dorsal aspect alone shows evidence of the adherence of ashes. Once this position is admitted the varying amount of compression of the several bones is explicable. In all cases the shaft naturally shows less distortion than the extremities, but allowing for this, the greatest crushing occurred in the bones of the torso and arms (which would be placed by the sides.) The leg bones suffered less and indeed the lower ends of tibia and fibula are scarcely affected. Since the bones of the vertebral column have less compact tissue than those of the limbs it might be supposed that an equal weight distributed over the whole body would cause greater deformation of the vertebrae. That this was not the case in the body under consideration is shown by the fact that the humerus and clavicle suffered as greatly or nearly as greatly as the vertebral column. Earth must then have been heaped up more over the trunk than over the lower extremities. It is now clear that the deformation was largely or entirely due to external factors.

No pathological condition of any part of the skeleton need be invoked as a predisposing cause. Had there been a local pathological cause, hemiplegia for instance, the deformation would have been distributed otherwise. It is true that such distortion might be predisposed to by an osteomalacic state, by senility or by excessive bodily stoutness. But the bones show no alteration in the relative thickness of their compact tissue to the size of the shaft. (Though this is scarcely measurable it is easily enough estimated by experience.) They do not

show that reduction of cancellous tissue found in the light fragile bones of the senile or the obese. In fact cancellous and compact tissue are well marked and the bones exhibit the texture of those of an individual in active middle age. No spondylitis, no lipping of articular margins are present to indicate old age or the wear of life, such as can be frequently found in Indian skeletons past the prime.

"If then, we abandon as causes for the distortion any pathological condition of the body itself, we must note what indications are present of external factors and to this we shall return later."

It has been observed that the skeleton as far as can be ascertained is that of an individual in the prime of life. Its sex is not so easily identified. From the appearance of muscular ridges on the long bones, from the relative size of measured or estimated articular ends when compared with the shafts, from the character of the ribs, experience would suggest this to be the skeleton of a woman. But knowing the great variations to be found in such bones as are here preserved, and especially since the sex of any skeleton may easily be belied by the appearance of its long bones, one hesitates to dogmatize. For the purpose of confirmation or otherwise of this "biological" reading of the sex, measurements have been made wherever possible of the bones of skeleton A and B and are to be compared with the corresponding measurements made upon a typical male and female Indian taken recently from a mound in Kelley's Island. It is to be noted that average measurements of a number of individuals have not been taken as standards. This perhaps requires a word of explanation. In individuals of both sexes there are not only considerable difference in mere dimensions of bones and variation in the actual type and this in the same race (Cf. Ales Hrdlicka: A study of the normal tibia. *Am. Anthropol.* 1898, vol. XX, p. 307). Therefore the average, whether it be of dimensions or indices and ratios, taken over a large number of bones reduces the study to a mathematical statement which may be far from representing the actual physical appearance of the bones investigated. For this reason typical adult specimens of both sexes were chosen (Figs. 12 and

13) and measurements made, which might be taken in themselves and their ratios as approximate sex standards. In comparing with these the measurements on skeleton A, it is necessary always to have before one the figures of the bones themselves so that when the signs + or — occur, one may estimate approximately how much should be added or subtracted to give the real measurement, for through fragmentation and compression, the actual measurements are vitiated. At first sight this may and probably will seem a very unsatisfactory method, but it is the only one possible and if the tables are carefully compared side by side with the figures on the millimeter paper, it will be conceded I think, that one can come pretty close to the mathematical truth. In taking measurements direct, from the squared paper, it must be remembered that owing to torsion and deformation of the bones, the plane of the paper does not always correspond with the plane in which the calipers were held when the actual measurements were made. In taking all measurements the directions given in Martin's *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, Jan., 1914, were carefully followed as a standard of uniformity. The number and the title are therefore sufficient indication of the method of obtaining each measurement since they refer directly to those in Martin's *Lehrbuch*. In the case of the right fibula of skeleton B however, none of Martin's measurements were suitable. The two measurements a and b at the end of the table were made with the Gleitzirkel and these are the only ones taken which are not described by Martin.

Measurements.	♂		♀			
	No. 3.		No. 4.			
<i>Tibia.</i>	R	L	R	L	A	B
1 General length.....	387	381+	361	349+	350	
1b. Length of Tibia..	376	376+	355	343	356—	
2a. Joint-face measurement ...	376	377	350	345	341	
3 Greatest proximal epiphysis breadth	76	71+	67.5	67.5	71—	
6 Greatest distal epiphysis breadth	47.5	46+	44	38+	47—	40
7 Sagittal diameter of lower epiphysis..	33+	36.3	31	32	27+	31

Measurements.	$\delta$		$\varphi$		A	B
	No. 3.		No. 4.			
<i>Patella.</i>	R	L	R	L		
1 Greatest height....	....	37	....	37	40.5	
2 Greatest breadth...	....	42.2	....	36	38.5	
<i>Femur.</i>						
2 Greatest trochanter length .....	445	446	423	422	400?	
6 Sagittal diameter at middle shaft.....	27.5	28.0	28.5	28.5	22+	
7 Transverse diameter at middle shaft..	26.2	23.5	24.0	24.0	27—	
8 Circumference of middle shaft.....	82.0	80.5	81.5	80	84?	
21 Epicondylar breadth	79	82	71	71	70+	
29 Angle between neck and shaft.....	132°	130°	119°	120°	126°?	
<i>Humerus.</i>						
4a. Greatest epicondylar breadth ...	61	60	53.5	53.0	50+	
5 Greatest thickness at middle .....	24	23.5	21.5	21.5	27—	
7a. Circumference at middle .....	69	66	?	67	58	
11 Breadth of trochlea .....	24	21	16	16	19—	
12 Breadth of Capitulum .....	19	?	19.5	19	16+	
14 Breadth of fossa oleorani .....	24	24.5	24.0	24.5	24.5	
<i>Clavicle.</i>						
1 Greatest length...	157.5	165.5	141	146	140.7	
4 Vertical thickness of middle .....	10	9	9.5	8.7	11.5	
5 Sagittal thickness of middle .....	14	12.5	11.2	9.5	8.5+	
6 Circumference of middle .....	39	36.5	34	29	33?—	
R. Fibula.....						
a. Greatest sagittal diameter of lower epiphysis .....	?	25.5	21.5	21.2	....	21.0
b. Greatest coronal diameter of lower epiphysis .....	?	18.0	18.0	16.2	....	14.0



"Another small fragment of skeleton A is present which possibly contains the head of one radius but this is by no means certain and hence the piece may be dismissed without further consideration. Making then the reservation which must always be made if the whole skeleton cannot be examined, it can be said that skeleton A is that of an adult woman in the prime of life and that no local or general pathological condition is to be noted on the bones themselves. There is no evidence to point to the cause of death.

"The right tibia and fibula, sole remnants of skeleton B indicate the body of a woman of middle age. They are badly crushed and fissured (see Figs. 10 and 11). The fibula is flat-



FIG. 10. Subcutaneous or medial aspect of the tibia of skeleton B. Beneath the articular surface can be seen the projecting lateral malleolus of the fibula. Note the considerable amount of fissuring of this aspect of the tibia.

tened out and firmly compressed against and now united with a similarly compressed tibia the dorsal and lateral surfaces of which have been flattened into one. The dorsal aspect is



FIG. 11. Tracing on millimeter paper of the reverse side of the tibia and fibula of skeleton B. Note the great crushing and fissuring of the fibula now firmly embedded in the tibia.

actually concave through pressure upon underlying material and the fibula lies in contact with the lateral area. The medial (subcutaneous) surface has been flattened out very greatly and considerably fissured. The lower extremities of the two bones have suffered much less from compression than the shafts but show that the force was applied relative to the bones in a backward and outward direction. Actually the bones have rotated outward as the body collapsed and hence have been crushed in this manner.

"The next point to be considered is the post-mortem treatment of the bodies. I have already spoken of the evidence of charred wood encrusting the dorsal aspect of the bones. It is evident from the fact that the wood ashes occur only on this surface that the body was not buried in soil containing the remains of fires. It must either have been laid upon the hearth and covered over or cremated. There is no doubt that the latter is what happened.

"All the fragments, but more especially those comprising bones of the torso and arm, show distinctly vestiges of muscular tissue and indeed the intercostals and scalenes can be identified readily. The muscular tissue is charred in many places and still shows the fragmentation of the fibres produced by the great heat. Much muscular tissue and what must indicate the one time intervertebral discs are left, the former on the dorsal aspect of the vertebral column and thus the several vertebrae are firmly cemented together. The same is true of the ribs. Minute globules of oil can still be obtained from this tissue. Indeed it reminded me strongly of the condition seen in some of the graves of the pre-dynastic and early dynastic Egyptians in Nubia. In these shallow graves in the sand exposed to the intense heat and drying influence of the sun, much of the bodies has often been preserved without any effort upon man's part. A somewhat analogous action has occurred through fire in the present instance. Muscular tissue from the thoracic wall from the erector spinal of the back and from the elbow remains in considerable amount and in it the fibre bundles may still readily be seen. The other bones show only charred remains of muscle adherent to the dorsal aspect. Here and there among the muscle can be



FIG. 12. Photograph of skeleton K. 3, for comparison with Figs. 8-11. This is a typical adult male skeleton from Kelley's Island and contrasts well with Fig. 9. The distance between the limbs of the stangenziel indicates one meter.



found small masses of carbonized material presenting the glistening black surface and finely striated texture of charred wood and again fine whitish grey wood ashes, invariably however on the under aspect of the body as it must have lain upon the pyre. The bones themselves show little evidence of charring, only the sternal end of the clavicle displays a fractured and burned surface. Everywhere the bones are mottled both externally and in the cancellous tissue with black stains. This is not actual charring. In some instances it may be altered blood pigment but in the majority of places it is undoubtedly due to chemical action of the soil; so-called humin stains.

"The tibia and fibula of skeleton B display these humin stains also and in addition on the lower quarter of the fibula is a distinct area where the bone has been scorched and blackened though not burned. The lower part of this bone also shows small rust colored patches suggestive but in the absence of injury scarcely diagnostic of blood.

"Upon all sides of the lower extremities of the tibia and fibula belonging to skeleton A are to be found minute masses of red ochre, which can be scraped off at once with a knife leaving a clean bone surface. This color is not to be found upon any other bones of skeleton A nor is it present upon the articular surface of the tibia or fibula. It is not to be seen on skeleton B. The idea of actual painting of the bones may be dismissed at once. Much clearer evidence for this than has been produced so far in literature must be obtained before one can concede such a habit of mutilation ever to have occurred among American aborigines. In the present instance the charred muscle upon the bones indicates that they were not stripped of flesh. Again ochre stains occur everywhere round the lower extremity of the tibia even on the areas to which the ligaments of the ankle joints are attached, but not upon the particular surface itself. It is not, however, so clear, whether the skin of the individual was painted with ochre before cremation or whether the color came from the wrappings. Many vegetable fibres occur in and among the bones but all of those which can be examined are more or less recent roots. Embedded between the bones of skeleton B, however, I found a number of masses of vegetable fibre which



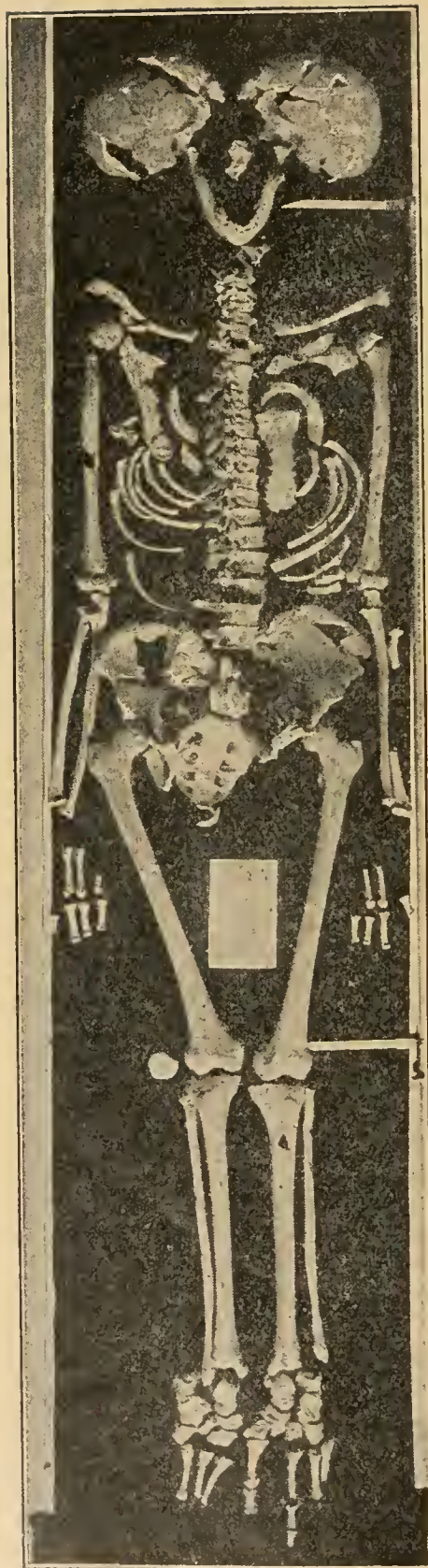


FIG. 13. Photograph of skeleton K. 14, for comparison with Figs. 8-11. This is a typical adult female skeleton from Kelley's Island and contrasts well in sex characters with Fig. 8. The distance between the limbs of the stang-enzirkel indicates one meter.

under the microscope proved to be roots the ends of some of which were brightly colored with the same ochre. Apparently they were accidentally stained by gathering small masses of ochre which had been sprinkled over the body before or after cremation took place.

We have seen then that the skeletons are those of adults, probably women, in the prime of life who died from some undiscovered cause and were incompletely cremated; that they were laid on their back on the pyre, that ochre was either sprinkled upon the bodies or used as a pigment for the matings in which they were wrapped and that after cremation the bones were not disturbed. There is no evidence of attempts of preservation.

"We have still to consider the causes of the extreme deformation. It is certain from the ascertained relative positions of the bones that they were not disturbed after the burning. Soil was thrown upon them and settled down among them and that this was done very soon is shown by the lack of ash or charred wood among the soil encrusting the ventral aspects of the bones. The soil however is not baked in any way. The bones were not entirely mineralized by the cremation and lay partially embedded in a mass of charred wood and wood ashes, the alkaline reaction of which with the dampness of the soil would react upon the bones somewhat as it does in artificial maceration. It would make them softer than usual and more respondent to external pressure. The amount of this natural lye would obviously be greater under the body than under the legs and thus the bones of trunk and arm would be the more affected. In addition it would be natural to heap more soil over the center of the body and thus the pressure exercised by weight of earth would be greatest here. But the weight of soil may not have been and probably was not the greatest factor in bringing about the deformation of the bones. I do not yet know the precise position of the skeletons in the mound, but that is not, to my mind, very important.

"We know that mounds were built gradually, a bit at a time as necessary. It is likely then that the chief factor in

distorting the bones was not the amount of earth heaped upon them but the steady pressure exerted by this earth through constant pattering to and fro of Indian feet, upon a relatively small amount of earth, above the burial. The constant pounding and continuous pressure upon a skeleton rendered unnaturally soft and pliable as these undoubtedly were, is capable of enormous effect.

"It may be objected that little or no evidence has been produced to prove this assertion and that the result has been attained largely by a method of exclusion. This is to a certain extent true. Sufficient evidence has been obtained to show that the distortion was not brought about in any of the other ways known to be possible. Indeed all the evidence points to the external factor. It is, as I have said, recognized that mounds were built gradually and at irregular intervals, and it is conceded that the steady pressure and effect of well packed soil is very great. No better example need to be cited than that found at Shellal in Nubia by Professor Elliot Smith and Dr. Wood Jones. Over this archaic cemetery in which the bodies were buried in alluvial mud the main street of Shellal came to be situated. Scarcely a skull in this cemetery retained its proper shape. (Arch. Survey Nubia, Report for 1907-08. Vol. II, 1910, pp. 221-2.) The most likely cause of the hard packing of a relatively small amount of earth in an Indian mound is the constant passing and repassing of the people over it. In this way the pressure would start from the time of the burial and therefore would act when the bones owing to decomposition products and the alkalinity of the wood ashes were most impressionable."

Burial No. 7, was similar to No. 6 in that the skeleton was compressed and the muscular tissue preserved and attached to the bones. The burial was placed directly to the southeast of the preceding, and about one foot higher up. This skeleton is included in Dr. Todd's report, and his conclusions apply equally to the two.

Burial No. 8 was found within five feet of the top of the mound. It is shown as Fig. 14. This burial, together with all those remaining to be described with the exception of No. 9, probably represent reburials. In this instance, the lower jaw,



as well as the vertebrae, from the third cervical to the second lumbar, were missing, and evidently had been removed from their places before deposition in the mound, as the skeleton as uncovered showed no disarrangement. Had the vertebral column been intact, and only the lower jaw missing, there would be ground for believing that the individual had lost the jaw to an enemy, to be converted into a personal ornament or trophy. But under the circumstances it must be inferred that the body had received primary burial, either in a grave or on a scaffold, and that it was later interred in its last resting place. Such use of human bones is by no means uncommon, particularly as regards the skull and jaws. A gorget made from a human skull

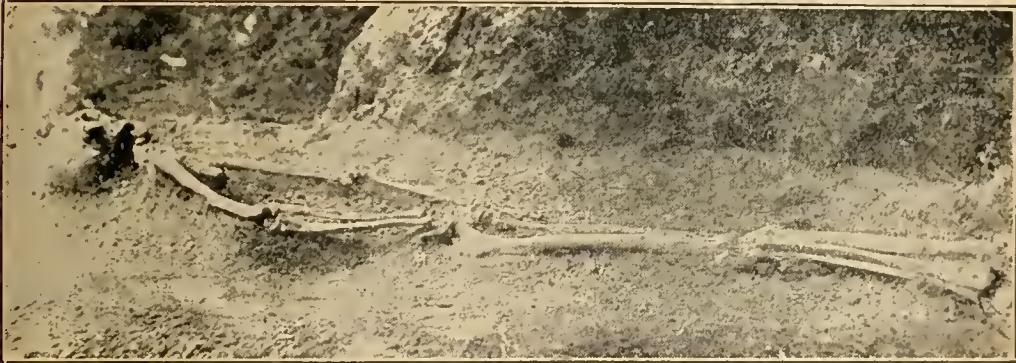


FIG. 14. Shows burial in which the lower jaw and large portion of the vertebrae from the third cervicle to the second lumbar are missing.

was found in the western part of the mound, completely isolated from other objects or burial, where doubtless it had been lost during the construction of the work. This gorget, three and one-fourth inches in diameter, is shown in Fig. 15. Another specimen exactly similar, taken from a mound in Ross county, is in the Museum collection while both the upper and lower human jaws, made into ornaments or trophies, were taken from the Harness mound in Ross county.

Burial No. 9 was found four and one-half feet deep in a grave eight feet long, four and one-half feet in width and depth respectively. The skeleton is that of an adult male, about five feet and eleven inches in height. The massiveness of the bones indicate that the individual must have been a man of great



strength. The body was disposed at full length on a bed of prepared bark in the center of the floor of the grave, with the head to the south, and the hands beneath the hips. Near the right hip was found a cache of flint blades, fifteen in number, and with one exception (a stemmed or shouldered specimen) of the lanceolate, unnotched type. The specimens are about of



FIG. 15. Gorget made from human skull.

one size, averaging four and one-half inches in length, and are made from a mottled black flint, found in the coal measures of southern Ohio. Fig. 16 shows both types.

Near the lower right arm was found a spatula-like implement, made of a split metapodial bone of the elk, eleven and one-half inches long (Fig. 17); a peculiar whistle-like specimen of buff colored stone (Fig. 18); a chipping tool of bone, and a

Fig. 16. Spear-points from large grave beneath the base near the center of the mound, known as burial No. 9.

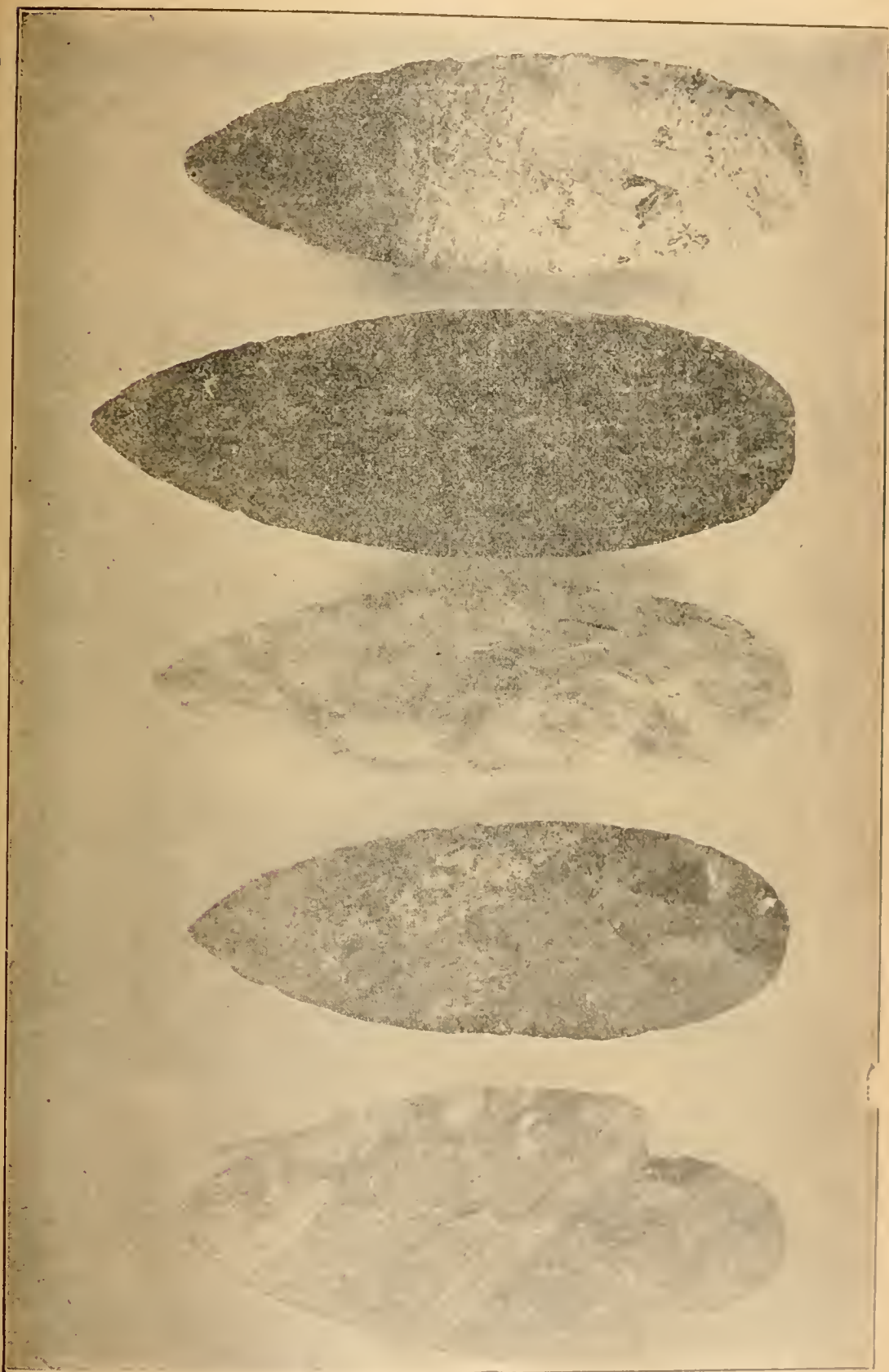




FIG. 17. Large spatula-like implement made of the metapodial bone of the elk, from burial No. 9.



discoidal stone (Fig. 20). A unique canoe-shaped gorget of yellowish limestone lay alongside the bones of the lower left arm. This specimen primarily is of the usual type, flat on the base, rounding on top and expanding at the center of each side, but in addition it has an extension from the top center, extend-



FIG. 18. Whistle-like specimen from burial No. 9.



FIG. 19. Opposite side of whistle-like specimen from burial No. 9.

ing from one to the other of the two usual perforations. This extension is less than one-half inch thick and one inch high, and is parallel with the longest axis of the gorget. A groove along its curved top evidently accommodated a cord passing from one perforation to the other. (Fig. 21.) This gorget is



the only one of its kind, so far as known, taken from an Ohio mound.

Perhaps the best illustration yet noted of the method of digging employed by the Ohio aborigines was shown in this grave. In the tough clay of its sides and ends, as fresh in appearance as if but recently done, were the clean-cut marks of the digging stick, where it had been driven into the earth with



FIG. 20. Discoidal made of limestone from burial No. 9.

a stone hammer or maul, and then used as a lever for dislodging the chunks of clay. These marks, very bold and distinctive, were from one-half inch to one inch in diameter, extending vertically from the surface and showing the form of about one-half the thickness of the tool. They are shown in Fig. 22.

An interesting feature of this subterranean grave was that the body was furnished with unusual protection, in that the



FIG. 21. Canoe-shaped gorget made of limestone from burial No. 9.





FIG. 22. Shows the marks of the digging tool on the sides of the grave. Burial No. 9.

remains were placed in a sepulcher built of logs. The logs covering the top of the grave would serve to restrain the superincumbent earth doubtless for many years, or at least until the earth composing the mound above them had assumed a settled and compact form. Eventually however, the decay of the logs would permit the soil gradually to crumble into the grave, filling it with the loose earth, and leaving above it an arched cavity. The gradual slipping down of the loose earth, in this instance, was noticeable to a height of six or eight feet above the top of the grave. This condition is often noticeable in mounds containing subterranean burials, and is an infallible clue to their location. In this particular grave, the soil filling it was so loose that it was readily scooped out with a hand trowel, leaving the grave as fresh and clean-cut as if newly dug.

Burial No. 10 was placed five feet above the base line. It had been so disarranged by groundhog burrows that little could be learned of its original condition, many of the bones being missing and scattered.

Burial No. 11 was an adult male, placed two and one-half feet above the base of the mound. One arm and both feet were missing, indicating a re-burial. No implements or ornaments were placed in the grave, the same being true of all the secondary burials.

Burial No. 12, was that of an adult female, but only the skull and the arm and leg bones were present.

Burial No. 13, an adult male, was placed at the extreme southeast corner of the mound. Practically all the small bones were missing, and the larger bones present were badly decomposed.

Burial No. 14, placed in the southern section of the mound, four and one-half feet above the base line, was very incomplete. The head, one arm, and parts of both feet were missing. The grave had not been disturbed and doubtless represented a re-burial.

Burial No. 15, the last one found in the mound, was located at the southwest side, four feet above the base and but 18 inches below the surface. The skull and a few long bones only were found.



## CONCLUSIONS.

The examination of the Westenhaver mound shows that it belongs to the early Hopewell culture, and in many ways resembles the Adena mound, located near Chillicothe. These mounds represent an interesting and distinct stage in the development of the Hopewell culture, to which they undoubtedly belong, as evidenced by the possession and use of copper, the skillful carving of stone, and other characteristics of the highest of the several cultures of Ohio aborigines. However, the use of copper, artistic stone carving and other marks of the typical Hopewell peoples are not so frequent as in the mounds representing the highest development of that culture, while on the other hand evidences and influences attributable to the lower cultures are more abundant. While the use of the sacred fire ceremony appears to have held a prominent place with these intermediary peoples, as well as with their more advanced prototypes, they appear not to have reached the plane where cremation of the dead was practiced.

With evidences of cultural advancement through any considerable period of time so obviously lacking, as regards the aboriginal inhabitants of the Ohio valley, it is perhaps gratifying to note that here, at least, in tracing the history of the Hopewell culture, we have at last something very definite. The evolution from a lower to a higher plane is exemplified in the Adena and Westenhaver stages, with such mounds as the Seip and Harness intermediate, and the Hopewell and Tremper mounds representing the highest development.

Future explorations doubtless will more clearly demonstrate this cultural development and furnish examples of still other stages in the process.

## THE MOUND BUILDER AND THE INDIAN.

ACCORDING TO THE BOOK OF MORMON.

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BY C. W. CLARK,

*Official of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.*

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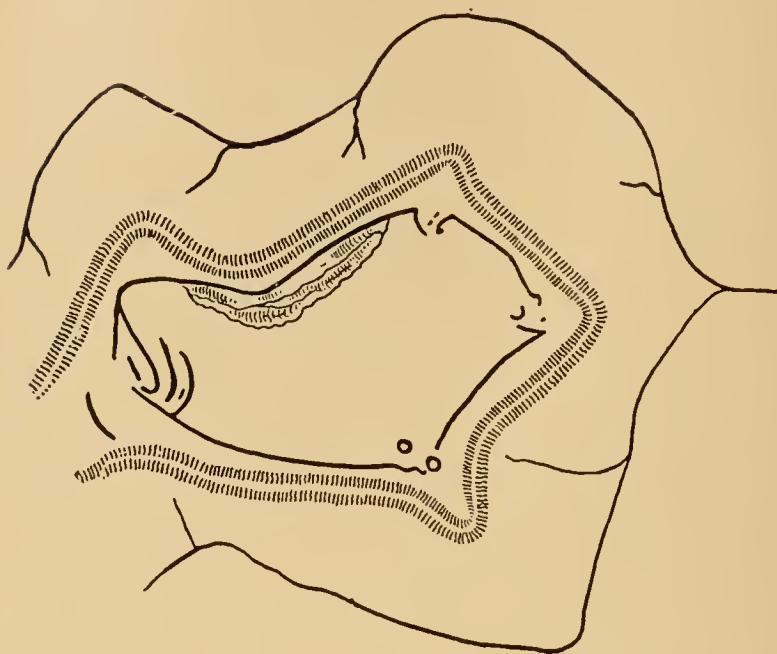
In relating the story of Prehistoric America as outlined in the Book of Mormon it is the purpose of the writer to avoid religious issues and controversies, as far as possible, and to present simply the statements and portray the record in a way that will bring out only such parts as will be of interest to student of archaeology. But it will be necessary to introduce a few of the religious facts that bear upon the statements connecting the life and manners of the people of which the Book of Mormon purports to be a record.

The Book of Mormon tells of three groups of population that inhabited the continents of North and South America in times past. These groups were, first, the Jaredites who came to this continent in boats or barges shortly after the building of the tower of Babel. This division traversed southern Europe, crossed the Atlantic Ocean, and landed at or near the peninsula of Yucatan. On account of wars among them, this civilization became extinct about 600 B. C., but during the time of their sojourn they built many cities and traveled in a northerly direction, and this northern travel may account for one class of mounds, a few of which we find in Ohio, and large numbers in the state of Wisconsin. These mounds are known as effigy mounds, including the great serpent mound in Southern Ohio. We will speak of these later. The second colony of which the book relates left Jerusalem about the year 600 B. C. and originated with Lehi and his four sons. These people crossed the deserts of Arabia and eventually, after a long voyage, arrived on this continent on the Peruvian portion of the coast of South America. On account of the rebellious disposition of the two older brothers, sons of Lehi, Laman and Lemuel, against divine

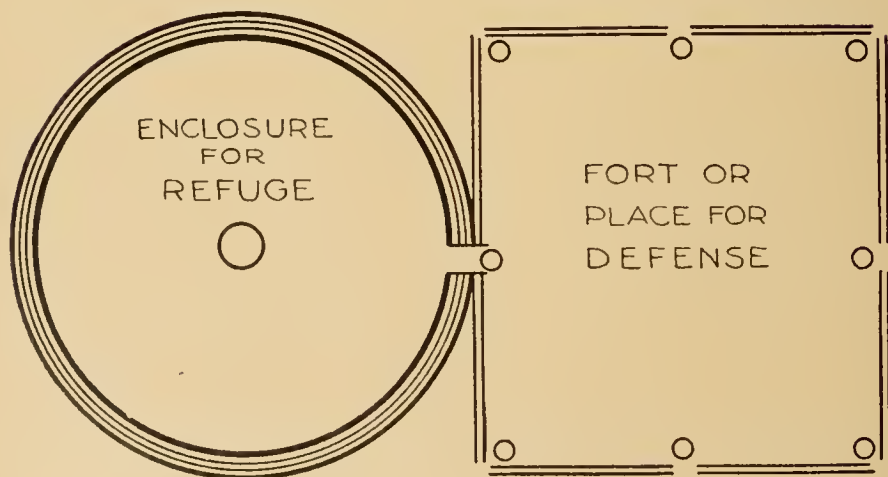
instructions, the younger brother Nephi, third son of Lehi, was chosen by instructions of the father Lehi as leader. The father claimed divine manifestation evidenced the approval of this choice. Nephi having become leader, the two older brothers and their families rebelled and withdrew from association with the younger brothers Nephi and Sam, fourth son of Lehi. Thus originated the two groups of people known in the Book of Mormon respectively as Nephites and Lamanites. The former became the Mound Builder of the higher class, or those who built such fortifications as the enclosures at Circleville, Marietta and Fort Hill in Butler county, Ohio, and perhaps also Fort Ancient, Warren county. As to the apparent difference in construction between Fort Ancient and the forts above referred to, the writer's personal opinion would be that Fort Ancient was constructed by the Jaredites, the colony which had preceded the Nephites. The Lamanites became the familiar American Indian, and were probably the builders of the type of mounds known as Burial Mounds. Thus the book gives the Mound Builders and the American Indian a common origin. But the latter were cursed with a skin of darkness on account of their unbelief and wickedness in a similar manner as the descendants of Ham were cursed. Baldwin in his "Ancient America" refers to a statement, made by Montessinos, concerning tradition among the ancient Peruvians that four brothers originated their civilization, a younger brother assumed command which caused a rebellion, and finally descendants of the younger brother became the founders of a long line of their sovereigns. Nadillac in his "Prehistoric America" refers to a tradition of seven families as the originators of this civilization. In the Book of Mormon while the story of the four brothers is most important and seems to have much to do with their history, it cannot be overlooked that there were two sons born to Lehi, Jacob and Joseph, on their way to the American continent, and that they brought with them Zoram, a servant of Laban, who was one of the tribe of Manassah and undoubtedly had been a distant relative of Lehi in Palestine. Thus we have the seven families represented by the six sons above named of Lehi and Zoram. These people were, according to the Book of Mormon,

descendants of Joseph, who was sold into Egypt, and who had come to America by instructions from their Heavenly Father. Being descendants of Joseph through Manassah these people claimed to be learned in the language and arts of the Egyptians, and also the learning of the Jewish nation. They believed that they had come to Joseph's land (America) a land promised in Genesis, 49 chapter, 22d to 26th verses inclusive, and Deut., 33 chapter, 13th to 17th verses inclusive. Therefore having acquired the arts and learning as above they began to make improvements along the line of implements, buildings, etc. This we shall describe from time to time as we advance in our narration. The land to which they had immigrated was to be a choice land, as promised them. The two brothers (Laman and Lemuel), who rebelled and became the Lamanites, had been warned by the voice of prophecy many times so that they were aware of the curse that was resting upon them for being disobedient. They brought with them records engraved on plates of brass containing the Mosaic Law so that they were taught the story of the creation and the flood, which traditions we find quite prominent among the Indian today, and the records of which are often freely discussed by noted archaeologists. The Nephites and Lamanites were well acquainted with the traditions of Egypt on account of their being descendants of Manassah having undoubtedly learned them through the connection of Joseph with Pharaoh's court. It is not surprising that we find them building on this continent great pyramids of exact geometrical construction such as are found in Uxmal and also other large structures resembling Egyptian architecture although undoubtedly the pyramids were built by the Jeradites rather than the Nephites as we will explain later. We are told by Priest in his "American Antiquities" that the art of embalming was known and practiced by the American pre-historic people. This is also confirmed by Tschudi in his "Peruvian Antiquities." In no other country was this art practiced to such a great state of perfection as in Ancient Egypt, and it must be remembered that Joseph's wife was a daughter of one of the Egyptian priests, and that the practice of embalming in Egypt was performed by those holding the priesthood. John





BUTLER COUNTY FORT  
TLASCALAN GATEWAYS



ENCLOSURES AT CIRCLEVILLE  
FROM ADMIRAL BRINES WORK  
COPIED FROM ATWATER

Delafield on page 33 of his book, "American Antiquities", comments on the traditions of the flood and tower of Babel, calling particular attention to the fact that the traditions of the American continent were the same as the traditions of these events which followed the Semetic race, and he also speaks of the nature of the hieroglyphics which were the same as those of the Egyptians. The Book of Mormon story of the voyage says that they sailed for many days and after arriving on this continent in which is now the land of Peru, they began to plant seed and cultivate the soil which brought forth in abundance. They also found upon the land various animals, including the horse, left here by their predecessors, the Jeradites. The question of the horse existing on this continent has been a disputed point. Delafield on page 94 insists that there were no horses on this continent and ascribes their absence as a reason, or one of the reasons, for his belief that the inhabitants came across by the way of Alaska. However, we are informed by Priest on page 151, Nadaillac on pages 25 and 42, the National Geographic Magazine, also by Columbian Encyclopedia, that the horse did exist on this continent prior to the time of its discovery by Columbus, but had become extinct, the evidence of which we shall discuss later. The book also says that they found gold, silver and copper ores from which they made plates like those they had brought from Jerusalem, and that on these plates they made a record of their great events. It is asserted that the Lord brought Lehi and his descendants here to raise up to Himself a righteous branch of the descendants of Joseph, and in support of this believers of the Book of Mormon refer to the 37th chapter of Ezekiel and the 29th chapter of Isaiah to show that this is in harmony with promises previously made by the Lord.

We have promised to abstain from religious discussion arising from our point of view, but it is necessary to express certain statements that an understanding may be had of the story of the Book.

In the second book of Nephi we are told that he began to educate his people along very practical lines. Perhaps a quotation here may better illustrate what was taught them. We find

in the fourth chapter as follows: "And I did teach my people to build buildings, and to work in all manner of wood and of iron and of copper and of brass and of steel and of gold and of silver and of precious ores which were in great abundance. And I Nephi did build a temple and did construct it after the manner of the temple of Solomon save it were not built of so many precious things, but the manner of construction was like unto Solomon's temple, and the workmanship thereof was exceeding fine."

It must be remembered that these people left Jerusalem according to the Book of Mormon about 600 B. C., so that they had opportunity of knowing all about the construction of Solomon's temple. In this same chapter is told the story of how the Lord put the curse of dark color upon the Lamanites so that they would not be attractive to the Nephites, and later it was told the Lamanites that the Lord would not permit any kings to rise up to rule the people that should inhabit this continent. Whether it is admitted or not that this statement is inspired it must be agreed that it seems to be remarkably fulfilled, particularly as this statement was addressed to the gentile nations. The remarkable historic cases of the failure of Don Pedro in Brazil and of Maximilian in Mexico seem to have been in fulfillment of it. Enumerating the different tribes and their branches that settled in America we find that Jacob, the brother of Nephi, enumerates them as Nephites, Jacobites, Josephites, Zoramites, Lamanites, Lemuelites and Ishmaelites, the descendants of Ishmael, who did not personally come to America but whose sons and daughters intermarried with the other tribes. These branches all became in time either Lamanites or Nephites.

It will be noted that there are just seven names here given which correspond to the seven families, tradition of which is mentioned by Nadillac in his "Prehistoric America". It is common tradition with most people that the Book of Mormon supports the practice of polygamy but the contrary is the truth of the matter, for in the Second chapter of Jacob, the Lord, speaking to Nephites, told them that they thought to excuse themselves for polygamy because David and Solomon had

many wives, and adds that this was an abomination before him, as he had brought them forth that they might be a righteous people. Then he issued this commandment: "For there shall not any man among you have, save it be one wife, and of concubines he shall have none". The Nephites had departed from the law of monogamy and had inaugurated the practice of polygamy, but the Lord tells them he will not permit it, and in the same chapter the Lord praises the Lamanites by saying in spite of their wickedness they had not departed from the law of monogamy. We find today that very few tribes of Indians practice polygamy.

We are told in various places that the Nephites were instructed in the arts of war and that the Lamanites were continually coming against them in battle. It was necessary then for them to learn to make darts and javelins for their defense, also other articles and tools, even tools of copper.

An interesting topic is the consideration of their fortifications. In view of what we know today, as has been explained to us by noted writers along these lines, we believe that their fortifications present a remarkable likeness to those found among the remains of the Mound Builders, so called. Mr. E. O. Randall in his history of the State of Ohio, Volume I of the *Rise and Progress of an American State*, by Randall and Ryan, says that in Butler county, Ohio, the fortification known as Fortified Hill is built after the manner of the famous Tlascalcan forts of Mexico with the same special forms of gateways, and on page 23 of Vol. I of this work the inference is drawn that the Mound Builders or at least the builders of this class of fortifications suggest a racial relationship to the ancient Aztecs and Toltecs. Additional testimony is also given on page 28 of this same work where the author quotes from Professor Moorehead as follows: "The skulls were well shaped and of two types of mentality, a lower and higher order."

The writer believes that this is the correct view point and it is in confirmation of the Book of Mormon story. The state of Ohio, part of Pennsylvania, and Western New York are conceded to be the location of the last stand made by this remarkable people. Today an army in retreat would not erect



great and permanent fortifications; so east of Ohio there are fewer evidences of their fortified work. Admiral Lindsay Brine in describing the American Indians, their ancient earth works and temples, and speaking particularly of a work at Circleville, Ohio, quotes from Caleb Atwater in regard to this fortification as follows: "There are two forts, one an exact circle and the other an exact square, the former is surrounded by two embankments with a deep ditch between them, the latter is encompassed by one wall without any ditch. There are eight gateways or openings leading into the square fort and only one in the circular fort. The extreme care of the authors of these works to protect and defend every part of the circle is nowhere visible about this square fort. The former has a deep ditch encircling it, the latter has none. The round fort was picketed in, if we are to judge from the appearance on and about the walls. Half way up the outside of the inner wall is a place distinctly to be seen where a row of pickets once stood and where it was placed when this work of defence was originally erected." Some of the articles found in the circular fort show that this was a domestic abode while the square construction was the fort proper. A similar structure does not appear at Fort Ancient. This leads the writer to believe that Fort Ancient was probably the work of an earlier civilization as we do not find the same evidence of the building of ditches for defence, or other special preparations that we find at Circleville to defend the domestic portion of their people, although this is mere conjecture on the part of the writer, as Fort Ancient may have been hurriedly built to defend against attack. Now let us see if the above fortifications are in harmony with the Book of Mormon theory. In chapter 21 of the book of Alma, we find the following: "Maroni on the other hand had been preparing the minds of the people to be faithful unto the Lord their God, Yea he had been strengthening the armies of the Nephites and erecting small forts or places of resort; throwing up banks of earth round about to enclose his armies, and also building walls of stone to encircle them about, round about their cities and the borders of their lands." Also, "and behold the city had been rebuilt—and they had cast up dirt round about

to shield them from the arrows and stones of the Lamanites." And again, "Behold how great was their (the Lamanites) disappointment for behold the Nephites had dug up a ridge of earth around about them which was so high that the Lamanites could not cast their stones and arrows upon them save it was by the place of entrance. Now at this time the chief captains of the Lamanites were astonished exceedingly because of the wisdom of the Nephites in preparing their places of security." Also "For they (the Lamanites) knew not that Moroni had fortified or had built forts of securities in all the lands around about." . . . "Now behold the Lamanites could not get into their forts of security by any other way save by the entrance because of the highness of the bank which had been thrown up and the depth of the ditch which had been dug round about; save it were by the entrance . . . The captains of the Lamanites brought up their armies before the place of entrance and began to contend with the Nephites to get into their place of security." And in the 22nd chapter of Alma, "They should commence in digging heaps of earth round about all their cities, throughout all the land which was possessed by the Nephites and upon the top of these ridges of earth he caused that there should be timbers, yea, works of timber built up to the height of a man round about the cities, and he caused that upon those works of timbers there should be a frame of pickets built upon the timbers round about; and they were strong and high and he caused towers to be erected that overlooked those works of pickets."

We might also quote from the 24th, 25th and 29th chapters of the same book which deals largely with the wars and which we believe will bear remarkable resemblance to the means of defense prepared by the Mound Builders in the State of Ohio, the remains of which, without this solution, appear to remain an unanswerable riddle, and a means of much philosophy without reaching a definite result. The circles represent the camps of the women and children while the square forts were no doubt erected to defend in the best possible way the places of entrance. Note the sketch herewith of the Circelville fort, taken from Admiral Brine's works. We believe at least the solution is

reasonable and worthy of consideration, and will bear as much inspection as the famed Atlantis theory of Donnelly or the theory of migration from Wales, Denmark, or Delafield's idea of the Behring Strait passage way. We are told that they built towers in many places for two purposes, that of defense and for religious worship. Early in their history the Nephites sent out an exploring party to discover the Lamanites' defenses, and this party discovered that another people had landed on the northwest coast and migrated to the northeast coast of South America. This latter people having been led there by one of the sons of Zedekiah about the time he was led into captivity. This being the tender plant referred to in Ezekiel, 17th chapter. The people of Zarahemla became associated with the Nephites. It must be remembered from time to time dissenting Nephites associated themselves with the Lamanites so that some of the traditions of the Mound Builders would be found among the American Indians of today. It might be well to here discuss the reason why the Mound Builders erected Serpent Mounds or other effigy Mounds in various places, as for instance, the Serpent Mound in Adams county, Ohio, and others in different localities representing the Bear, Tortoise, Elephant, etc. It will be remembered, no doubt, that coming from Palestine and being of the line of Joseph, through his son Manassah, the Mound Builders were versed, no doubt, in the religious traditions of the Egyptian Courts, as about the first thing that the children of Israel wanted to do after escaping from Egypt was to set up an image of an animal that they could worship. George Rawlinson in his book, "Religions of Egypt and Babylon" and also Heroditus in his history bring out the fact with reference to idol worship that the Egyptian either worships the animal itself or else images of the various animals and that while some would worship crocodiles, others would worship the sacred bulls or other animals. Thus when the people on this continent crowded northward from the tropical regions and neglected the worship of the true God, they no doubt erected Mounds that best suited their fancy of the divinity they worshiped. This same feature



we find today in some tribes of Indians in their devotion to the totems.

We are told that the Nephites built towers for religious purposes and also for watch towers. The towers for religious use were generally built upon elevated ground to which they could ascend and thus speak to advantage to a large concourse of people. Nadillac tells us of a tower in Peru where the natives that had not yet come under the gentle (?) touch of Spanish civilization, in passing, fall down or bow reverently before this tower as if it were some sacred place and yet this tower shows such age as to be classed with the oldest remains.

In the writer's mind there is little doubt that the Pyramids of Egypt and of South America are due to the same original cause, and no doubt will remain a great mystery until we are able to fathom the real meaning of the Egyptian Pyramids. But let it be remembered that, according to the Book of Mormon, the civilization representing the Jaredites date back to the tower of Babel. Is it not possible that the Pyramids of Egypt and of Central America might have originated in one and the same idea that rested in the minds of those who attempted to erect the tower of Babel in order to frustrate the commands of God. Be this as may, the weight of evidence shows two civilizations existed in America before the race of Indians.

There seems to be, on careful research, two classes or more of Mounds, and the writer believes that there are clearly three classes of Mounds. The fortifications for defense which give every evidence of a great intelligence, were built, undoubtedly, by the Nephites on similar models to those which they had erected from stone and other building material in South and Central America. Thus the mounds or fortifications in Butler County constructed with the Tlascalcan gates or entrance was probably built by the same race that inhabited Central America and Mexico. This mound is referred to by Mr. Randall in "The History of Ohio," by Randall and Ryan.

The burial mounds were probably built by the dissenting Nephites and Lamanites, particularly those mounds in which the remains of man are found commingled with the remains of





animals. While the effigy mounds previously referred to could be ascribed to the previous civilization of the Jaredites. Professor W. C. Mills has stated that in some of the mounds are found instruments of bone and stone used for warfare, together with those of copper, which indicate two grades of civilization and that the more crude civilization overcame the intelligent and their burial in the same mound does not necessarily indicate their association in daily life. This would be in perfect harmony with the Book of Mormon story in which mention is made of the fortifications that were erected for defense, etc. It is a notable fact that mounds of defense are scarcely known in the Northwest while in the state of Wisconsin are found many mounds in the form of effigies of animals, such as the elephant and bear and others, mounds of defense are not found to any great extent in this territory. This statement is borne out by Professor A. B. Stout, of the University of Wisconsin in the Ohio State Archæological and Historical reports. This shows conclusively that the States of Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York were the last great battlefield of the cultured race that was forced from its home in South and Central America through the great Mississippi Valley until at last reaching the territory above referred to, they were met by an overwhelming force as cited in the Book of Mormon in some of its closing chapters, and this civilization was blotted out.

The Lamanites were now supreme and long before the white man of the present age reached the shores of this continent, the remains of this cultured race were a mere tradition and only through these traditions are we led to the evidence of the past. We are told in the book of Mosiah that the people were taught to till the ground and in the publication known as the National Geographic Magazine, we learn explorers have discovered remarkable traces of the ability of the ancient inhabitants of Peru in agriculture. Insomuch that they built terraces around the mountains and remarkable as it may seem, the remains in Peru of this form of agriculture are corroborated by the evidences of this method employed in Palestine.

We are told also in the Book of Mormon that these people

were taught to weave and spin and any one who has had the opportunity of viewing the charred remains as shown in the display at the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society museum must agree that there was at least marked evidence of ability along that line.

The remains of their cities show a remarkable knowledge of architecture. The use of cement, so frequently mentioned in the Book of Mormon, is substantiated by nearly every writer on this subject from the time of Stephens and Catherwood to the present day. Some of the ancient roads constructed are still a wonder and an object of admiration. In any event there is an amazing amount of evidence, which renowned archaeologists have produced in connection with the early inhabitants of Peru and Mexico connecting them with Egypt and Southern Asia. Delafield mentions in his publication that there was a tradition of the tower of Babel and the Semetic account of the flood and refers to the fact that the hieroglyphics resemble those of the section of the country ascribed to them by the Book of Mormon, namely, Southern Asia, Palestine and Egypt. We are told also by such writers as Prescott, Tschudi, Priest and others that the use of iron and copper was known to them, and while some writers deny the use of iron, yet on a whole, there are several evidences that tend to show that the use of those metals was known, as the Book of Mormon states. In many places in the Book of Mormon towers are spoken of, and Admiral Linley Brine speaks of a cairn or tower built near Fort Ancient which stood quite high, which was built, no doubt, not only as a place of defense, but as a place where the chief priest or rulers would gather and discourse to the people.

We are told that in the region of the Cliff Dwellers there were built estufas or places of meeting where they held council. From all that can be learned there seems to be a sort of reverence for the estufas that indicated their use for some of those purposes by the Cliff Dwellers or Pueblo Indians.

We now approach the proposition: Who were these cliff dwellers that seemed to make their homes in places that man could not approach easily and which were so carefully guarded? We are told by the Book of Mormon that there originated at one time a powerful league of men who desired to rule and

live by plunder. These people were bound together by secret oaths not to reveal each other or their secrets, so that they might get gain without labor, but rather by exploitation of their fellow-men. They were compelled finally to withdraw from their neighbors and dwell upon the borders of the land of the Nephites. They builded their fortifications in the rocks and made war with their former brethren—not after the manner of soldiers—or even after the manner of the Lamanites, but sought to prey upon them and rob and slay. These people were known in the Book of Mormon as the Gadianton robbers. In speaking of them the book says, “and they did commit murder and plunder and then they would retreat back into the mountains and into the wilderness and secret places, hiding themselves that they might not be discovered. . . . Now behold these robbers did make great havoc, yea even great destruction of Nephites and also among the people of the Lamanites.” And in another place we find the following: “and it came to pass that the ninety and third year did also pass away in peace, save it were for the Gadianton robbers, who dwelt upon the mountains and who did infest their lands, for so strong were their holds and their secret places that the people could not overpower them.” This history gives a reason for the remarkable cliff dwellings which have stood for centuries as silent proof of a people that must have builded for a purpose, and that purpose for secrecy and defense. Of course, these robbers must needs have been called upon to defend themselves and we find that the book unveils a mystery so profound that we view with awe the structures that were left as silent evidence of the remarkable civilization, the result of careful study, and an organized effort that cannot be found today among the scattered remnants of this once powerful and cultured race. How often have we wished that:—

Out of the past their rocks would deign to tell,  
The history of this bright and cultured man,  
The story which the bleak cliffs hold so well,  
A culture which at best we only scan  
By the remains which the dark past has left  
And as we view their cliffs and dell and field  
We know that history is of much bereft  
Unless of their past a record does reveal.



The Book of Mormon does give a record and explains their reason for so erecting marvelous cliff dwellings.

We now approach a period in history that has a remarkable amount of tradition to support it,—that is, the tradition of a great continental cataclysm which nearly obliterated the people and destroyed much that had been done in the way of building, etc. Baldwin in his "Ancient America," on page 176, makes reference to this event. Ignatius Donnelly in "Atlantis," on page 102, speaks of a tradition in the Popul Vul or Sacred Book of Central America and I will quote some of the most descriptive portions: "They were engulfed and a resinous thickness descended from Heaven, the face of the earth was obscured. . . . There was heard a great noise above their heads as if produced by fire." And on page 126 of the same work we find in quoting De Bourbourg that originally a part of the American continent not now existing extended into the ocean and that this portion of the continent was destroyed by frightful convulsions. Stephens, in his "Travels in Yucatan," speaking of the ruins of Mayapas, and of a cave in particular, says that marine shells were in such a state as to indicate that the whole country, or at least a portion of it, had been once, possibly at no very remote period, everflowed by the sea. Bear in mind that it was in the neighborhood of Central America that the events referred to, which I shall quote later, relate. Abbie Brasseur de Bourborger, as recorded by Nadillac, on pages 16 and 17, tells us that these traditions of this cataclysm exist in Mexico, Bolivia, and Peru. Also, he tells us that the region of Sierra Nevada, where he affirms that the discovery of implements and weapons were found at depths of several hundred feet, were witnesses that the remarkable convulsions of nature extended over this territory. And Bancroft in volume four, page 647, of "Native Races of the Pacific State" says in quoting Captain Walker: "A storm of fire had passed over the town, the stones are calcined by the flames. The very rock from which the chief building arises there gives traces of fusion, everything testifies to the intensity of the heat." And, finally, Susan E. Wallace, in her book "On the Land of the Pueblos," portrays with remarkable force the history of an

event, which has left marks that will not be obliterated, which must be described as something more than an earthquake and of which the hot springs are the last of the active evidences.

Now let us see if we can determine the purpose that led up to this event. We believe that the history thereof will be best described by quoting sentences from the Book of Mormon itself, for we have arrived now at a time when the book tells us that the Christ was crucified at Jerusalem. Simultaneous with the rending of the veil of the temple at Jerusalem came this catastrophe of which we shall quote: "And it came to pass in the thirty and fourth year in the first month in the fourth day of the month there arose a great storm, such an one as never had been known in all the land, and there was also a great and terrible tempest and there was terrible thunder; inso-much as it did shake the whole earth as if it were about to divide asunder and there was exceeding sharp lightnings, such as never had been known in all the land, and the city of Zarahemla did take fire and the city of Moroni did sink into the depths of the sea, and the inhabitants thereof were drowned, and the earth was carried up upon the city of Moronihah, that in the place of the city thereof there became a great mountain and there was a great and terrible destruction in the lands southward, but behold there was a more great and terrible destruction in the land northward, for behold, the whole face of the land was changed. . . . And many smooth places became rough and many great and notable cities were sunk and many were burned. . . . And there were some who were carried away in the whirlwinds. . . . And the face of the whole earth became deformed because of the tempests; and the thunderings; and the lightnings, and the quaking of the earth, and behold the rocks were rent in twain. They were broken up on the face of the whole earth, inso-much that they were found in broken fragments and in seams and in cracks upon all face of the land. . . . For behold they did last for about the space of about three hours and it was said by some that the time was greater. . . . There was pitch darkness upon all the face of the land. . . . And there was not any light seen, neither fire nor glimmer, neither the Sun, nor the Moon, nor the Stars, for so great

were the mists of darkness which were upon the face of the land. And it came to pass that it did last for the space of three days that there was no light seen and there was great mourning and howling and weeping among the people continually. And in some places they were heard to say, 'Oh, that we had repented before this great and terrible day.'” (Chapter 4, book of Nephi, in Book of Mormon.)

I do not wish to make any comments but want to ask how much out of harmony with modern discovery is this little-understood and much misrepresented Book of Mormon. Another quotation, worthy of citation, is found in “New Light on the Great Pyramids,” by Alfred Ross Parsons, as follows: “From the New York Herald, October 5th, 1894, ‘Word comes from Bogota that the remains of a prehistoric city have been discovered near the crater of the volcano of Purace in the Andes mountains. Professor Gutierrez, who made excavations on the spot, found there the bones of a race of giants who attained the height of eight to ten feet. The buried city embraces hundreds of acres and contains the ruins of great buildings with immense granite columns, remains of an aqueduct in an almost perfect state of preservation have also been found.’” How, like the fate of the city Moronihah referred to! We leave the reader to judge for himself.

We now take up the subject of the tradition which would indicate that the Saviour himself, came to the American continent. The Book of Mormon features this idea and indicates that He here taught the same doctrine He did on the Eastern continent, and for the same purpose. He also told the inhabitants that they were the people of whom it was said, “Other sheep have I which are not of this fold, they, too, must hear my voice.” We do not wish to slight this subject but lack of space compels us to treat the matter briefly for the purpose of showing it is in harmony with the general traditions. We need but mention Lord Kingborough’s work wherein he quotes from Humboldt in regard to the Mexican Quetzalcotal, who by tradition was born of a virgin without man by the power of divine will and that the Son was both God and man; that he had existed, previous to his incarnation, from eternity; that he had



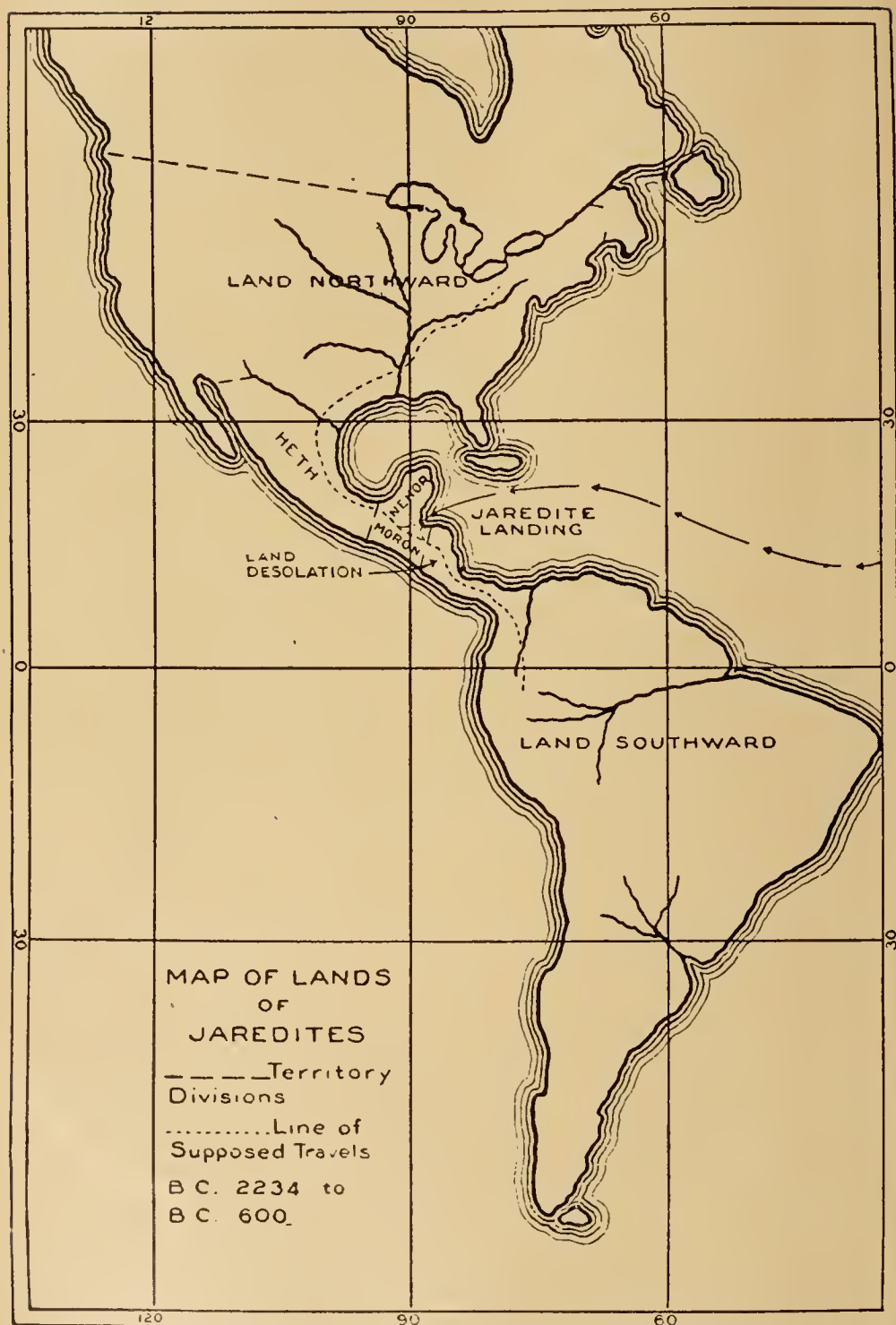
descended to reform the world and was crucified for the sins of mankind. We find also from the same work that the sign Nahuy Olluy or four earthquakes was dedicated to Quetzalcotal as a sign of his first coming to the ancient Mexicans and which sign they expected would accompany his second advent. Desire Charney in his "Ancient Cities of the New World" says that this great Prophet, Priest and King departed for the East, promising to return to reign over them again. Nadillac, on page 527, refers to a tradition that a white man wearing a long beard had taught them many good things and had disappeared to return to earth in about 2,000 years and finally Susan E. Wallace tells us in her book "The Land of the Pueblos" of the time when the savage hailed a white man as a child of the sun and brought their blind to have their eyes opened and their sick that by the laying on of his hands they might be healed. Mothers brought their children for blessings, and all their traditions point to the second advent of this wonderful individual who would not fail to come and redeem his promise.

Today we blush for shame when we think how the trusting savage was betrayed at the hands of those who sought only gold and territory and who pushed back the natives of the soil from their former possessions, and we can only say, "O civilization, what terrible crimes have been committed in your name." And today the red man is the last remnant of a people who was once, as we believe, a righteous and intelligent race, but because of his disobedience was punished much in the same manner as the descendants of the tribes of Jacob.

We believe from the quoted evidence that it is at least a thought worthy of consideration that the Christ did visit this continent and leave with his people here the traditions which we have cited, a religion in conformity to that taught in the New Testament Scripture.

Now as it is true that in the histories of other nations evidence of revolutionary movement, particularly, of a religious character, shows that influence to be but ephemeral; so our history points to the fact that after a few decades had passed these people turned to their former sinful ways and began to fight against each other. The Book of Mormon shows their





course was northward (See maps). This is also sustained by Nadillac, Baldwin and Priest, while those of the higher type were gradually driven from their former habitations. They came through the Mississippi Valley continually pressed on every hand by the Lamanites and dissenting Nephites until they reached the valley of the Ohio and its tributaries and there made their last stand against the intruders until, as their mute remains testify, they were overcome. According to the Book of Mormon chronology, about the year 400 the last of the faithful Nephites were overcome and slain. This data is also in harmony with modern research, and here — in this Ohio country — it was that fortifications were built in manner similar to those which I described previously, duplicating in earthworks many of the forms of defense known to them before being overrun by their enemies. As a crowded, fleeing nation has no time to build cities, the circular enclosures were no doubt places to defend their helpless ones, while their warriors fought within the square fort at the entrance or fort of protection; retreating to the circle only as a last resort, and dwelling, as they must have done, in tents. Their specimens of fortifications show art combined with strength, and are truly marvelous pieces of architecture.

The Book of Mormon avers, and the writer believes, that sufficient evidence can be produced to show that these people were acquainted with the use of iron and steel. But on the contrary many have asserted that because no such evidence was found its use was unknown, much in the same manner as one might assert that because he had never seen a steamship that there was no such production. William Pidgeon in his traditions of the "De Coo Dah" refers to the finding of pieces of copper with iron rust about it as if the decayed object might have been the remains of a sword, and Donnelly in his "Atlantis" states that the ancient Peruvians worked excellent iron mines on the west shore of Lake Titicaca. It was remarkable, says Molina, that iron which was thought unknown to the ancient Americans had specific names in some of their tongues. He states also that the Mound Builders fashioned implements from meteoric iron. Caleb Atwater in his "Archaeologia Americana", as recorded in Admiral Brine's work, refers to a sword found in the mound at

Circleville, the handle made of an elk's horn, but the article found showed an oxide which must have resulted from iron or steel. It is not surprising that nothing but oxide remains when we consider that a possible period of 1,000 years had passed away before the white man came to this country, and then a long period intervened before investigators of the mounds could have revealed their contents. The same author states that in the same mound was found an oxide which undoubtedly resulted from a plate of iron.

The remains of Mexico reveal many idols in the forms of animals, such as were worshiped in southern Asia and Egypt. These Mexicans remains find their last expression in the effigy mounds of which the great Serpent Mound in Adams county is a type.

Perhaps it might be well to consider some of the evidences in favor of there having been at least two civilizations on this continent prior to the American Indian, the story of which is recorded in the Book of Mormon.

William Pidgeon in his tradition of the "De Coo Dah" (on page 176) says that the conclusion must be drawn that at least two distinct races occupied portions of the northwest territory and that both races became ultimately extinct anterior to the occupation of the country by the present Indian race. Many modern investigators believe the Indian and Mound Builders had the same origin, but the same authorities are forced to admit a racial distinction between them. Pidgeon makes inferences, drawn from Indian traditions that there was a great war between the Indian and Mound Builders and that finally the Indian race predominated. Stephens and Catherwood, in Volume II, Harper & Brother's edition of "Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan," page 186, writes as follows: "Comparing the remains of Santa Cruz del Quiche with those of Copan and Quirigua points out that there were no evidence of these places [cities] being built by the same people but on the contrary all indications considering these remains point to the fact that Copan and Quirigua were cities of another race of much older date." And in volume one of "Travels in Yucatan," page 304, speaking of Uxmal, the author says the building possesses a

curious feature—it is erected over and completely enclosed a smaller one of older date. Notice on the map the point of the Jaredite landing and their line of travels and there will be seen, by comparison with the Nephite map, the relation of the two civilizations in the territory they covered and how well the story in the Book of Mormon is verified by these discoveries.

Statements in the *Columbian Encyclopedia* and other works definitely testify that the horse existed on the American continent in pre-historic times. This knowledge was first narrated in the Book of Mormon (1830). We are told further in this book that the Jaredites and Nephites were learned in fine workmanship of stone and wood, and every explorer who has visited the mines of Central America and Peru expresses surprise at the wonderful remains there observed. Admiral Brine, referring to a lintel found at Uxmal, says, "No attention has, however, been directed to the artisan qualities of the workman who shaped and fitted the lintels, which, however, proves that the workers in wood were as skillful as the masons. The lintels were made of wood harder than mahogany and it is doubtful if a good carpenter's plane could give them a smoother surface." This quotation agrees with the fourth chapter, second book of Nephi, Book of Mormon, as follows: "And I did teach my people to build buildings and to work in all manner of wood, copper, iron, brass and of steel and of gold and silver, and of precious ores, which were in great abundance."

Concerning the animals that were upon this continent we find in the Book of Ether a statement as follows: "And the Lord began again to take the curse off the land . . . inso-much that they became exceeding rich, having all manner of fruit and of grain and of silks and of fine linens and of gold, and of silver and of precious things and also all manner of cattle, of oxen and cows and of sheep and of swine and of goats and also many other kinds of animals which were useful for the good of a man and they also had horses and asses and there were elephants and cureloms, and cumoms all of which were useful unto man and more especially the elephants and cureloms and cumoms." This statement refers to the first or Jaredite civilization, which became extinct before the year 600 B. C., and bears out the



writer's idea that the people of the earlier civilization were the originators of the Effigy Mounds. Dr. Peet in his "Prehistoric America" refers to the images and remains of the elephant and mastodon as found in various places and as the Book of Mormon, which was written from plates supposed to have been inscribed several centuries ago, it is possible that the Mastodon may have been one of the animals to which reference is above made. Nadaillac in his work says on page 25 as follows: "Mixed up promiscuously with the human remains were found those of several animals, chiefly feline and cervine, still extant in some regions together with others belonging to species which have now migrated or become extinct". On page 27 the same author refers to the fact that several species of animals have disappeared from the western hemisphere since the arrival of man, and this bears out the statements contained in the Book of Mormon. The above is also confirmed by articles in the National Geographic Magazine.

As we stand upon the ancient battlefields in Ohio where, according to tradition, have perished two powerful civilizations, it is a source of much pleasure to the writer to note that at last there has appeared a record of these people, the study of which record we see agrees with authenticated accounts by scientific investigators and that this record shows that the same divine providence which overshadowed the Hebrews in their migrations also protected the sons of Joseph and their posterity when faithful, and we can see how He has created of one blood all nations and has determined the bounds of their habitation.

This subject introduces itself into Ohio history not only because are found in this state abundant records of the otherwise unfathomable past. Here the Indian pushed back the greater civilization and in turn was deprived of his great inheritance. But we believe that this is a matter of interest inasmuch as the people who accept the Book of Mormon as corroborative evidence of the Bible, early in their career built a temple that still stands in Northern Ohio known as the Kirtland Temple.

For the benefit of the readers of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, who may not be familiar with the

relation of the Book of Mormon to the prehistoric earth works of Ohio and the relation of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints to the history of Ohio, a few words of explanation, in conclusion, are in order. In 1827 Joseph Smith, Jr., then a young man, resident of Palmyra, New York, began his translation of the sacred writings on the gold plates, known as the Record of Mormon, which translation, in addition to the Bible, constitutes not only the faith and teachings of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints but also is a religious history of the aborigines of America, as is brought out in the narrative statement of the article herewith written. In 1831 Smith moved with his followers to Kirtland, Lake county, Ohio. Here the members of the new sect rapidly increased in number and the building known as the Kirtland Temple was erected, a building still standing and the object of historic interest to innumerable visitors. Here the church thrived and was thoroughly organized, with Joseph Smith, Jr., as its chief head. The name of the sect adopted was "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints."

From Kirtland, they went to Jackson County, Missouri. While there, religious persecution became intolerable, which forced them to make their departure. Their next place of settling was Illinois. There they founded and built the city of Nauvoo. Again religious persecution became very intense. Joseph Smith was arrested on a pretense of treason. Of this charge he was acquitted. He was immediately rearrested on some false accusations. With his brother and two others, he was committed to jail without a hearing, although protest was offered by their council. While in jail, they were attacked by a drunken mob of about two hundred, which fired, killing Smith and his brother Hyman, on June 27, 1844.

The iniquity of polygamy, as condemned in the Book of Mormon, was taught to be a great evil by Joseph Smith. Brigham Young, one of the disciples of the church, became the chief apostate and usurper, taking the leadership of the church without authority and taking such as would follow him, migrated to the wilds of Utah, at Salt Lake City, in the year of 1852, eight years after the death of Smith.

Brigham Young instituted the nefarious doctrine of polygamy into the apostate Latter Day Saint Church, headquarters at Salt Lake City.

The original Latter Day Saints faith, as established by Joseph Smith, Jr., was adhered to by bands and followers remaining or originating in various places in the middle west. These representatives of the original church are strong and outspoken opponents of the doctrine and practice of polygamy. A portion of the original organization retained an existence in Kirtland and claimed the property as against the Utah branch. In 1880 the "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints" as the eastern remnant of the true faith designated themselves, brought suit to affirm their title to the Kirtland Temple. The Utah Mormon church was made defendant. The decision of the Ohio court, Judge L. S. Sherman presiding, was not only that the Kirtland Temple belonged to the "reorganized" organization, but that the reorganization represented the true and lawful continuation of, and successor to, the said original Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, instituted in 1830, and was entitled in law to all its rights and property, but the court also held that polygamy and kindred false doctrines were only promulgated and exclusively adopted by the church in Utah.

This Ohio trial and court decision therefore legally established the fact that while the church of Utah had departed from the faith, doctrine and usages of the original church and the clear teachings of the Book of Mormon, the reorganized church now existing in Ohio, and in other localities of the country, has never departed from the true principles and practices of the original church and not only does the Ohio church abhor but denounces the doctrine of celestial marriages, plurality of wives and Adam-worship.

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*E. O. Randall*

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### FORT LAURENS PURCHASED.

It will be recalled that the autumn, winter and spring of 1777-8 was the period of the low ebb of the cause of the Colonial Revolutionists. In the late spring of 1778, while Washington was just emerging from Valley Forge, George Rogers Clark entered upon the daring expedition to save the Northwest to the Colonies. The British-Canadian authorities were planning not only to circumvent Clark but to "carry the war into Africa" by sending from Detroit a great Indian expedition through the Ohio country to Fort Pitt. Fort Randolph, at the mouth of the Kanawha was also designated by the British as a point for capture. The field of the Revolution bid fair to be shifted west of the Alleghenies into the heart of the Ohio territory. It must be wrested from the British and their Indian allies. Washington, while still at Valley Forge, planned a western expeditionary offensive movement. From the Virginia mountains an army of three thousand men was to be raised; it was to be in two divisions of fifteen hundred each; one division was to assemble in the back counties of Virginia and march through Greenbrier down the Big Kanawha to Fort Randolph; the other division was to assemble at Fort Pitt, descend the Ohio in boats to Fort Randolph, whence the united force was to invade Ohio and subduing the hostile Indian tribes proceed to and capture Detroit. The Continental Congress, then a fugitive at York, Pa., in May (1778), endorsed this pretentious plan, voting to raise the men and to appropriate \$900,000, in silver dollars or its equivalent, for the necessary expense. Washington named General Lachlan McIntosh as commander of this western military project. It was one thing for Congress to vote men and currency; it was another to carry out the proposition. Moreover, shifting conditions among the Indians interfered with the plans proposed. However General McIntosh with five hundred men proceeded from Fort Pitt to Beaver Creek where he built on the banks of the Ohio a stockade fort, named after the General, Fort McIntosh. Meanwhile the Virginia army was not raised; the great western war scheme was abandoned, but early in November McIntosh set forth with a force of twelve hundred, the ultimate destination being Detroit; but he found it necessary to abandon the proposal to immediately proceed to Detroit; with a portion of his force he reached a site on the west bank of the Tuscarawas, below the mouth of Sandy creek, about a mile south of the present village of Bolivar. It was the identical site where Colonel Henry Bouquet, in 1766, had, on his western



expedition, erected a temporary fort. The stockade erected by McIntosh was a regular rectangular fortification, enclosing less than an acre of land. This, the first and only fort built by the Colonists in the confines of Ohio during the American Revolution was named in honor of the President of the Continental Congress, Fort Laurens. The erection of the fort was completed in December, by Colonel John Gibson, who was left in charge with a garrison of one hundred and fifty men.

The building of Fort Laurens in the trans-Allegheny country awakened the British commander, Hamilton, to the courage and audacity of the Colonists. The fearless renegade, Simon Girty, was directed by Hamilton to raise an Indian force and proceed against Fort Laurens. On January 6, Girty set out from the Sandusky country, with a force of hostile Indians, all equipped and provisioned by the British. The fort was soon surrounded and the provisions soon ran low. Desperate efforts were made by small detachments from Fort Pitt to carry aid to the besieged soldiers in the fort. Captain Henry Bird, of the 8th King's Regiment, with ten British soldiers, with additional bands of Indians, were hurried to the aid of Girty in his siege of Gibson's brave contingent. It was a dreadfully cold winter, and the story of this siege is one of bloody deeds and brave suffering. It has been related at length in "Randall and Ryan's History of Ohio," and "Stone's Life of Joseph Brant."

The siege was a remarkable one and continued until the garrison was reduced to the verge of starvation; a quarter of a pound of sour flour and an equal weight of spoiled meat constituting a daily ration for each; the cold was intense and exit from the stockade could not be made for fuel or food; the plucky soldiers suffered to the verge of life; it was a veritable Valley Forge on the banks of the Tuscarawas. But the assailants themselves were being worn out from exposure and privations.

It was the end of March (1779) that General McIntosh with a force of five hundred men including Pennsylvania militia and Continental troops set out from Fort Pitt for the relief of Gibson. Arriving at the fort, he found the siege abandoned and the savages gone. The assailing tribesmen had been outstarved and outwitted by the soldiers of the invincible garrison. But the latter were in a most deplorable condition. For nearly a week their only subsistence had been raw hides and such roots as they could find in the vicinity after the Indians had departed.

In April (1779) McIntosh retired from the command of the western country. He was succeeded by Colonel Daniel Brodhead. The condition of the stockade of Fort Laurens at once engaged the attention of Brodhead. Colonel Gibson was relieved as commandant of the fort by Major Vernon, who had scarcely succeeded in reaching and occupying

his fort when parties of hostile Indians made their appearance and renewed the blockade of the impregnable little fort that stood like a Gibraltar in the very midst of the enemy's country.

The hardships and privations of the garrison were unabated, and well-nigh unparalleled. They could not make foraging expeditions and the portage of supplies into the stockade was attended with difficulties and dangers that made it nearly impossible. But Washington, who amid all his other cares and responsibilities never let the Tuscarawas outpost escape his attention, wrote General Brodhead: "the Tuscarawas post is to be preserved, if under a full consideration of circumstances, it is judged a post of importance and can be maintained without running too great a risk, and if the troops in general under your command are disposed in the manner best calculated to cover and protect the country on a defensive plan." He feared its abandonment would give hope and courage to the British at Detroit and their Indian allies.

But Major Vernon could not remain without relief, and he wrote Brodhead, the last of April: "Should you not send us provisions in a very short time, necessity will oblige us to begin on some cowhides the Indians left." Such soldiers as could with safety be exported to Fort Pitt were there sent until in May, Vernon's force was reduced to twenty-five. The last of this month their handful of men had reached the limit of endurance; they were living on herbs, salt and cowhides, when a relief expedition rescued them from approaching death.

This relief came through a company of regulars, commanded by Captain Robert Beall. To avoid an ambushade by the besieging savages, Beall conducted his party by boat from Fort McIntosh down the Ohio to the deserted Mingo town, at the mouth of Cross Creek; thence across country to Fort Laurens. The relief party found the post inmates in the last stages of starvation, many of them being unable, through exhaustion and weakness, to stand on their feet. As soon as possible the revived men were removed to Fort Pitt, and in June the post was relieved by seventy-five fresh troops well supplied with provisions, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell. The siege gradually subsided until, after being once more seriously threatened by the Indian assailants, Fort Laurens, early in August (1779) was evacuated; orders to that effect having been sent by Colonel Brodhead.

Such in brief is the tragic and romantic story of Fort Laurens and its siege.

For many years it has been the desire of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society to secure the site of the Fort and erect thereon a monument suitable to the historic record of the stockade. The editor of the *Quarterly* and other officers of the Society have at times in the past visited the locality and conferred with the owners as to its purchase. The members of the Ohio Society, Sons of the Amer-

ican Revolution, and also Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, have taken active part in arousing interest in the preservation of the site. Finally various interests united and in the session of the 81st General Assembly a bill was introduced, providing for its purchase by the State and preservation by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. The bill met with favor and was passed. In accordance with its provisions Speaker Conover of the House appointed on the committee of purchase Messrs. Oscar M. Hines, of Dennison, and D. F. Lash, of Bolivar; Messrs. Maurice Moody, of Uhrichsville, and E. E. Vorhies, of Cambridge, were appointed by Lieutenant Governor Arnold, and Mr. Wilson A. Korn, of New Philadelphia, was appointed by Governor Willis.

This committee elected Mr. Hines president, Mr. Moody, Secretary; and Mr. W. B. Stevens, of Uhrichsville, attorney. The committee proceeded to negotiate for the site, as provided in the bill, but great difficulties were encountered in securing the title, owing to the number of heirs interested in the estate possessing the property. Not until the latter part of April (1917) was the title perfected and deed secured from Mr. David Gibler, which met the approval of the Attorney General. The deed however is now in the custody of the Auditor of State, and property in the custody of the Society. The deed secures to the state "the lands upon which Fort Laurens is located and such additional land adjacent thereto as is necessary to properly restore said fort and works." The area secured comprises twenty-eight and twenty hundredth acres. In due time, no doubt, arrangements will be made to enclose the site and mark it with fitting historical monument. Following is a copy of the bill as passed by the legislature.

#### AN ACT.

To provide for the preservation of Fort Laurens by the state of Ohio.

*Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:*

Section 1. That for the purpose of preserving the revolutionary earthworks known as Fort Laurens, situated in Laurens township, Tuscarawas county, Ohio, a committee of five shall be appointed, two by the president of the senate, two by the speaker of the house of representatives, and one by the governor. Said committee when appointed is authorized in behalf of the state, to purchase for the state the lands upon which Fort Laurens is located, and such additional land adjacent thereto as may be necessary to properly restore said fort and works, to include not to exceed thirty acres of land.

Such purchase and title to such land shall be approved by the governor and the attorney general of the state, before the same is accepted, and when accepted shall be conveyed to the state of Ohio, and the deed thereof shall be duly recorded and deposited with the auditor of state.



Section 2. That the care and control of the site of Fort Laurens, located in Tuscarawas county, Ohio, and being the first fort established west of the Ohio river, shall be vested in the board of trustees of the Ohio archaeological and historical society, who shall hold the lands and property thereon subject to such use as the general assembly may by law direct.

Section 3. That for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act, and defraying the expenses of the committee, there is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the state treasury, to the credit of the general revenue fund and not otherwise appropriated, a sum not to exceed five thousand five hundred dollars.

Passed April 27, 1915.

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### CAMPUS MARTIUS SECURED.

It was on April 7, 1788, that the immortal forty-eight New England pilgrims led by Rufus Putnam, disembarked from the "Adventure Galley," afterwards named and better known as the "Mayflower," at the mouth of the Muskingum, opposite Fort Harmer, and laid out and inaugurated the first settlement in the newly created North West Territory. It was to be called Marietta, and was the first official capital of the trans-Allegheny empire. The first clearing was at the "point," on the east side of the Muskingum, and there the first houses were erected. As Mr. Summers states in his "History of Marietta," there was need of some protection against possible attacks of the neighboring hostile Indians. A fortification known as "Campus Martius," field of Mars, was erected for the defensive purpose. "The location of Campus Martius is best described by stating that it was built upon the ground with 'Washington street as the southern boundary, and Second street the eastern boundary, and fronting the Muskingum river.' The defense was three-fourths of a mile from the 'point' and connected with it by the narrow path which had been cleared. Here was built the stockade which was for five years to be the dwelling place and refuge of a large part of the colony. The sides were formed by a continuous line of dwelling houses two stories in height. They were made of timber four inches thick sawed by hand, and fitted at the corners in the same manner as those of a log house. At the corners were block-houses, a trifle higher than the houses, and projected out six feet beyond the sides of the stockades." This Campus Martius was not only the "fortification" of the new settlement, but the official building of the new western government. Besides being the residence of many families including the offices of the territorial governor and commissioners. Governor Arthur St. Clair and his secretary, Winthrop Sargent, here resided. The site of these build-



ings, is, therefore, in some sense, the most interesting spot in the Northwest territory. Nothing, of course, remains of the original buildings. The only relic of those ancient days is an antique two story frame-house, the beams and timbers of which are those taken from portions of the original fortifications. It has long been desired by not only the citizens of Marietta but by historical devotees throughout the state that this "site" embracing the location of the original Campus Martius be purchased by the state, and be forever preserved with proper memorial markings. In this purpose the Society for Ohio of the Daughters of the American Revolution became actively engaged and through the efforts of the members of this patriotic organization and the especial efforts of the D. A. R. committee on legislation, Mrs. L. C. Laylin chairman, in the past session of the 82nd General Assembly a bill was introduced and energetically championed by Hon. G. F. Reed, representative from Washington county, providing for the purchase of this property by the state and its retention under the custodianship of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. This bill passed the House and Senate without opposition. It was duly approved by the Governor. The citizens of Ohio, the members of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society and particularly the Daughters of the American Revolution, are to be congratulated upon the consummation of this long desired attainment.

Following is the Bill in question:

To provide for the purchase and preservation of the site of Campus Martius.

*Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:*

Section 1. For the purpose of purchasing and preserving the historic site of Campus Martius in the city of Marietta, Ohio, the members of the committee under House Joint Resolution No. 24, Senators George S. Crawford and W. B. Tremper and Representatives L. F. Cain and Charles M. Gordon, are hereby authorized in behalf of the state to purchase for the state a plot of land one hundred and sixty feet square, at the corner of Second and Washington streets, known as the site of Campus Martius in the city of Marietta, Ohio. Such purchase and deeds therefor shall be approved by the governor and the attorney general. When so approved and presented, the auditor of state shall issue his warrants on the treasurer of state in payment of the purchase price herein authorized. Such deeds shall be duly recorded and deposited with the auditor of state.

Section 2. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act there is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the credit of the general revenue fund, the sum of sixteen thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary to purchase the interests of the owners.

Section 3. The board of trustees of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical society shall have the care and control of said plot of land

known as Campus Martius and shall hold the same and the property thereon subject to such use as the General Assembly may direct.

E. J. HOPPLE,  
*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

EARL D. BLOOM,  
*President of the Senate.*

Passed March 21, 1917.

Approved March 29, 1917.

JAMES M. COX, *Governor.*

Filed in office of Secretary of State, April 2, 1917.

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STEPHEN D. PEET.

IN MEMORIAM.

It was in one of the early months of the year 1875 that Isaac Smucker, of Newark, and Stephen D. Peet, then resident of Ashtabula, met at the home of Roeliff Brinkerhoff in Mansfield, for the purpose of organizing the Ohio Archaeological Association. This triumvirate of kindred scholarly spirits recognized the great field and opportunity in Ohio for an organization, the object of which should be the study and preservation of the remains of the pre-historic race, commonly called the Mound Builders; a race shrouded in mystery, that populously occupied Ohio before the invasion of the European people; yes, before the historic Indian, possibly before the red man had existed in the Ohio or Mississippi Valley. It was the opportune moment for the institution of such a society, and its immediate intention was the gathering of a suitable collection of the relics of this vanished empire, and its display as an "Ohio exhibit" in the National Centennial Exhibit to be held at Philadelphia in the year 1876. To the purpose of the illustrious trio, Brinkerhoff, Peet and Smucker, there rallied with sympathy and enthusiasm Rutherford B. Hayes, Governor of the state; John H. Klippert, the distinguished state geologist; C. C. Baldwin and Charles Whitteley, respectively president and secretary of the Western Reserve Historical Society, and Professor M. C. Read, a distinguished writer on Ohio archaeology. General Brinkerhoff was made president of the "Ohio Archaeological Association," and Professor John T. Short of the Agricultural and Mechanical College, now the Ohio State University, a most noted scholar and author of "Prehistoric Man in America," was made secretary. The legislature made an appropriation of \$2,500.00 to the association for the promotion of its exhibit at Philadelphia, which exhibit remarkably fulfilled its mission, ranking only second in extent and scholarly value to the archaeological display of the Smithsonian Institute. The Ohio Archaeological Association under the guidance of its protagonists, continued its work, under adverse circumstances, until

1883, when upon the untimely death of Professor Short, the secretary and master spirit, the organization became inactive and so remained for two years, when in 1885, at instigation of Mr. A. A. Graham, an energetic and enthusiastic student of archaeology and history, supported by Governor George Hoadly, the organization was revived and its scope enlarged under the name of The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. The field of history, of Ohio, its study, collection of data and publication of the same being added to meet the demand of innumerable students and scholars throughout the state. The relation of and subsequent career of the Society, to its present and pretentious condition is not the intent of this recital. That will all be found in previous recent publications of the *Quarterly*. In all this revival and much of the progress of the Society, Stephen D. Peet, though no longer a resident of Ohio, took active and interested part. It is of him and his almost prodigious achievements in the field of archaeology in Ohio and other states of the Northwest that we speak.

Dr. Peet passed to the great beyond at Northampton, Massachusetts, May 24, 1914. He was buried in Beloit, Wisconsin. His demise should have been suitably noted in the columns of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, but for two or three years previous to his death he had retired from active life and illness compelled him to seek health amid the scenes of his ancestral New England home.

Stephen Denison Peet was educated for the ministry. His father, Stephen Peet, was a distinguished clergyman who enjoyed a long and useful career. This energetic father was the originator and builder of over thirty churches and the prime promoter of Beloit College, Wisconsin, and the Chicago Theological Seminary.

Stephen, the son, was born in Euclid, Ohio, December 2, 1831, in which place his father, at the time, was the pioneer pastor of the Presbyterian church. The boy Stephen was given every educational advantage. He graduated from Beloit College, Wisconsin, 1851, and later (1890) received the degree of Ph. D. from the same college. In his college course Stephen gave almost exclusive attention to the classics and became an enthusiastic adept in Greek, Latin and ancient history. For two years (1851-3) he was a student at the Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn., completing his theological course at the Andover (Mass.) Theological Seminary, 1854. It was during the years of his theological studies that he became interested in the archaeology of the oriental countries, especially Egypt, Greece, Rome and Babylonia. "In my mind," he wrote, "these ancient dynasties were ever on the horizon and loomed up amid the clouds of antiquity." Later this archaeological bent of mind expended its energies on the American antiquities, especially of the Northwest Territory. Following his Andover graduation he spent two or three years as a church missionary, establishing churches



in rural or village localities in Ohio and the west. In 1854 he married Katherine Moseley, who shortly thereafter died, and Stephen then married Olive Wentworth Cutler of Elkhorn, Wisconsin. One year after his second marriage he was ordained in the Congregational ministry, and for near forty years thereafter held pastorates at various localities, some fifteen in number, mainly in Wisconsin, Illinois and Ohio. Several of these pastorates were respectively in the neighborhood of sites noted for the earthen works of the prehistoric Mound Builders, and Dr. Peet had opportunity of studying at first hand the relics of this mysterious race. In 1878 he founded the *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, which was continued under his fostering care as a magazine until within two or three years of his decease. During most of the period of its publication it was issued at Chicago, and it became a standard source of authority and information to a large clientele in the field of oriental and American archaeology. After serving as editor and manager of the *Antiquarian* for thirty-two years Doctor Peet, in 1911, relinquished his management and editorship to Prof. J. O. Kinnsman. Dr. Peet was a prolific writer and an indefatigable student. He wrote in a clear style, and endeavored in a popular manner to develop the relationship of the later American archaeology to that of the older countries. His writings in this field besides his magazine articles, not produced in book form, were issued in eight volumes: "The Mound Builders," "Emblematic Mounds," "Cliff Dwellers," "Ruined Cities," "Myths and Symbols," "Primitive Art," "Indian Tribes," and "Comparative Mythology."

Many of the theories and opinions set forth in these readable books are now, in the light of later investigations, set aside or modified. But Dr. Peet did a great work in spreading the popular knowledge of these subjects, in bringing them to the notice of thousands of eager students and in creating an interest in the realms of "forgotten lore." Dr. Peet, of course, became corresponding or honorary member of many of the leading scientific and historical societies of America, Great Britain and even the Orient.

The editor, who pens this sketch, all too brief and inadequate, for the merits of the subject, never met Dr. Peet personally, but for a score of years had a delightful corresponding acquaintance with the distinguished savant. He took a deep and abiding interest in the welfare and progress of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, of which he proudly and deservedly claimed the honor of being one of the three original founders. His two associates in that memorable work, and all of the co-laborers mentioned in connection with his efforts, preceded him many years ago to the other world, and now he too has entered that mysterious realm after a long life of fruitful and eventful usefulness.



## THE FIRST COURT IN OHIO.

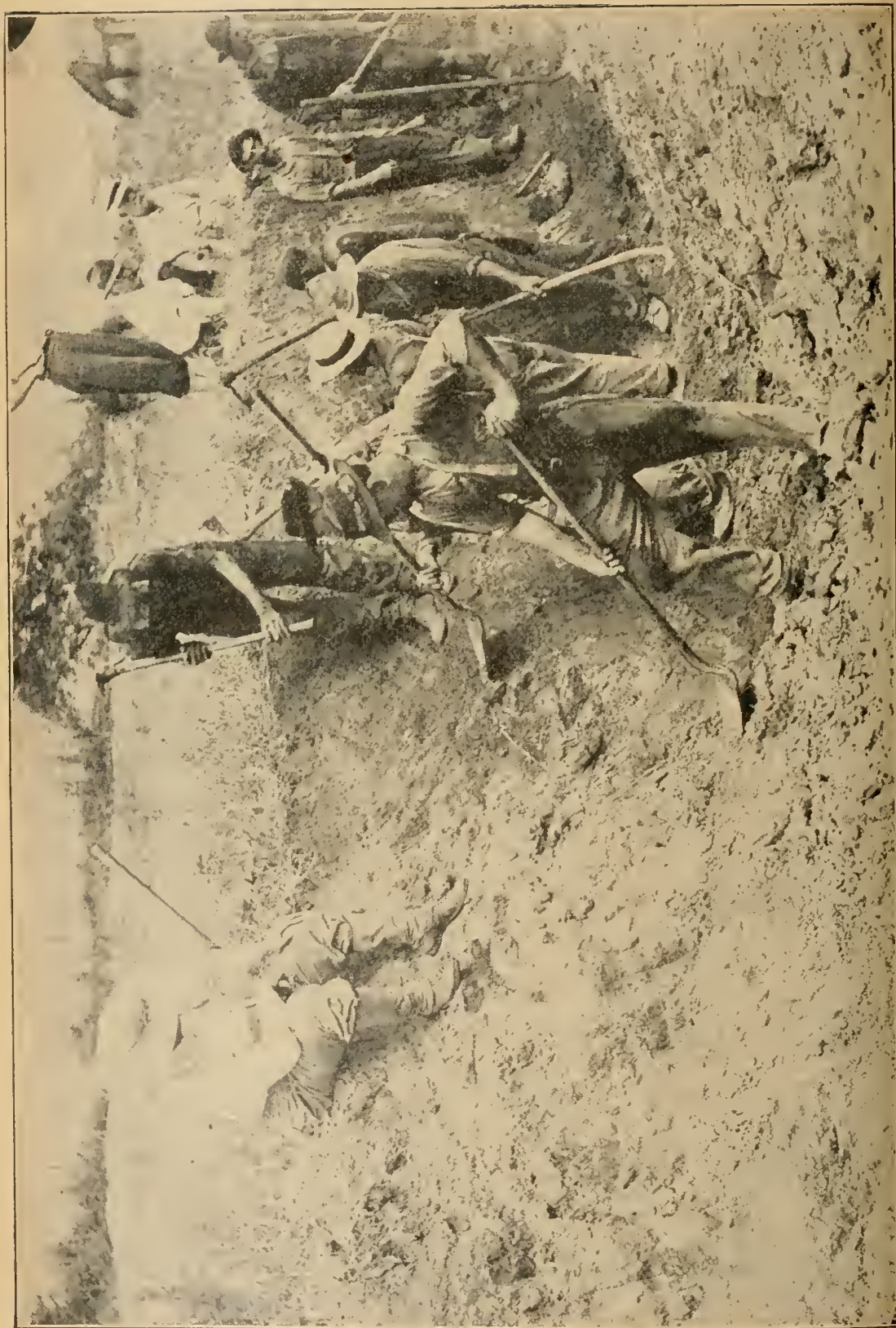
(From the *American Pioneer*.)

"The first court held northwest of the river Ohio, under the forms of civil jurisprudence, was opened at Campus Martius, (Marietta,) September 2d, 1788.

"It will be remembered, that on the preceding 7th of April, General Rufus Putnam, with forty-seven men, had landed and commenced the first permanent settlement in what is now the state of Ohio. General Harmar, with his regulars, occupied Fort Harmar. Governor St. Clair, and also General Samuel Holden Parsons and General James Mitchell Varnum, judges of the supreme court, arrived in July. The governor and judges had been employed from their arrival in examining and adopting such of the statutes of the states, as, in their opinion, would be appropriate to the situation of this new colony. The governor had made appointments of civil officers for the administration of justice, and to carry into effect the laws adopted. Some idea may be obtained of the character of the early settlers of Ohio, by describing the order with which this important event, the establishment of civil authority and the laws, was conducted. From a manuscript written by an eye-witness, now in my possession, I have obtained the substance of the following: The procession was formed at the Point, (where most of the settlers resided,) in the following order: 1st, the high sheriff, with his drawn sword; 2d, the citizens; 3d, the officers of the garrison at Fort Harmar; 4th, the members of the bar; 5th, the supreme judges; 6th, the governor and clergyman; 7th, the newly appointed judges of the court of common pleas, Generals Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper.

"They marched up a path that had been cut and cleared through the forest to Campus Martius Hall (stockade,) where the whole counter-marched, and the judges (Putnam and Tupper) took their seats. The clergyman, Rev. Dr. Cutler, then invoked the divine blessing. The sheriff, Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, (one of nature's nobles) proclaimed with his solemn 'O Yes,' that 'a court is opened for the administration of even-handed justice, to the poor and the rich, to the guilty and the innocent, without respect of persons; none to be punished without a trial by their peers, and then in pursuance of the laws and evidence in the case.' Although this scene was exhibited thus early in the settlement of the state, few ever equalled it in the dignity and exalted character of its principal participators. Many of them belong to the history of our country, in the darkest as well as the most splendid periods of the revolutionary war. To witness this spectacle, a large body of Indians was collected, from the most powerful tribes then occupying the almost entire West. They had assembled for the purpose of making a treaty. Whether any of them entered the hall of justice, or what were their impressions, we are not told."





AT WORK IN FEURT MOUND NO. 3.



## THE FEURT MOUNDS AND VILLAGE SITE.

BY WILLIAM C. MILLS.

The Feurt Mounds and Village Site are situated about five miles north of the city of Portsmouth, on the east side of the Scioto river, in Clay township, Scioto county, Ohio. The land upon which this group of mounds and the village site is located is a part of the estate of Mr. William C. Feurt, which consists of more than 400 acres of rich bottom lands and sloping hill-sides, and is considered one of the most productive and well-kept farms along the Scioto. Mr. Feurt, who gives personal attention to his farm, lives in a commodious and stately mansion, constructed in an early day by his father and added to, as required, by the son until today it stands among the most beautiful farm residences in the Scioto valley.

The immediate location of the mounds and village site is a level plateau of less than five acres in extent, elevated a little more than forty feet above the bottom land into which it projects, promontory like, with steep and very abrupt banks. Looking south from the site of this village upon the broad and beautiful valley of the Scioto, and westward across the river valley to the foothills, where is located the Tremper Mound, one is impressed with the fact that early man in the Ohio valley took advantage of natural surroundings in selecting a site for his home.

The original top soil of this plateau was a clay loam of several feet in thickness, underlaid with gravel. The present top soil is from six inches to four feet above the original surface, as a result of the custom of the inhabitants of the village in carrying soil from the sides of the abrupt bank and covering up the accumulated debris in and around their tepee sites. When these places were uncovered, the story of the primitive peoples, who doubtless for a long period of time made this site their home, was revealed.



## THE GENERAL TOPOGRAPHY OF THE COUNTY.

Scioto county is very rugged in all its parts, and is bounded on the south by the Ohio river, which separates Ohio from the Kentucky hills. The Scioto river flows through the county from north to south forming its junction with the Ohio at Portsmouth, the capital of the county. The valley of the Scioto is perhaps the most fertile and the broadest of any of the river valleys emptying into the Ohio. The hills on the east side of the river are higher than those on the west, and many of them are still covered with the deep tangled forest, unchanged since the days when early prehistory man roamed over them in search of game and food, or of the Ohio pipestone, which he prized so highly for making into pipes and ornaments.

## GEOLOGY.

Scioto county presents many very interesting features as regards geological formations, that were taken advantage of by primitive man. The Ohio pipestone, which outcrops on the very summit of the highest hills on the east side of the river, dips to the east and covers the entire eastern portion of the county. The pipestone stratum varies in thickness from one foot to eleven feet, the average being three and one-half or four feet. At the outcrop on the summit of the hill, as shown by the old quarries made by primitive man, the color is light gray with a reddish tint, gradually shading into a dark red, which resembles the Minnesota pipestone.

The Ohio pipestone was extensively quarried all along the crest of the hill. Many of these old quarries have been extended by white men, who sought to use the product in the making of fire brick, but the percentage of iron was too great, and the project was abandoned. The pipestone, however, as quarried by primitive man, was entirely suited to his purpose, as it was readily carved into form and would take a high polish. The prehistoric inhabitants of the Feurt village site used this pipestone extensively for making pipes and ornaments, as did the builders of the Tremper mound, located directly across the river on its west bank, from which the beautiful effigy pipes were taken in 1915 by the survey.

The Ohio black shale outcrops on the west side of the river and is one of the lowest strata exposed in the county. In color the shale is very black and takes a high polish, but when exposed to the air and sun after being dug from the earth, it has a tendency to split up into thin sheets and finally to disintegrate. The shale was extensively used by the dwellers of the Feurt village, large slabs of it often being found in a single tepee site. On a piece of this black shale, roughly shaped into the form of a spear head, seven inches in length, was drawn a grotesque mythical conception of a water serpent, with pronounced canine teeth and protruding spines.

#### HISTORICAL DATA CONCERNING THE SITE.

The peoples who constructed the Feurt mounds and lived in the village site belonged to the great Ft. Ancient culture, as attested by the mode of burial of their dead, and by the artifacts, found in profusion over the entire site. The land has been in possession of the Feurt family for many years and the site has always been known to local collectors as a very prolific field for their favorite pastime of hunting Indian relics.

Of the local collectors, Mr. Chas. V. Wertz of Portsmouth, perhaps has the largest collection found upon this site. Mr. Wertz very kindly permitted the survey to make use of his collection, which was picked up from the surface from year to year as the land would be freshly plowed. The finds of Mr. Wertz present many interesting features when compared with those made below the plow line by our survey. Specimens of grooved stone axes found on the surface were not met with in any part of the village below the plow line; pestles found by Mr. Wertz were not found by our survey, yet we were able to find many excellent examples of mortars and flat stones used in preparing meal; specimens made of cannel coal were abundant in Mr. Wertz's collection, especially the effigy canines of the various carnivora, but below the plow line not a single specimen of cannel coal was found; again the survey found but few pieces of cut and decorated shell ornaments but Mr. Wertz found many such.

Mr. Wertz also found numerous pieces of copper, on some of which an attempt had been made to destroy their identity by hammering the finished product into a mass. The finding of the masses of bent and battered copper implements by Mr. Wertz led me to make the examination to determine, if possible, whether the Feurt peoples were contemporaneous with the Tremper mound peoples just across the river.

Only two burials showed friendly contact with some tribe of the Hopewell culture. One of these was a splendid necklace made of shell and copper beads, and the other a necklace consisting of bear teeth, and imitation bear teeth made of wood and covered with copper. However, Mr. Wertz found a number of copper pieces corresponding in type to those found in the Tremper mound which were hammered and bent out of semblance and resembling in many respects the cache of copper implements and ornaments found at Ft. Ancient. The specimens found by Mr. Wertz were taken from the edge of the bank where refuse from the village was dumped and where doubtless they were thrown away after being captured and their identity destroyed. The specimens found by our survey were no doubt secured by barter, and were very likely highly prized.

#### EXPLORATIONS MADE BY PROF. MOOREHEAD.

During the year 1896, Prof. Moorehead, on behalf of the Society made a very limited examination of the three mounds. His report appears in vol. 5 of the Society's publications, as follows: "The afternoon of the 13th (July) we went up the Scioto five miles to Mr. Feurt's farm, where there are three mounds and an extensive village site. We opened the smaller mound and dug the large ones the following day. They are located upon the second terrace. The small one is two by twenty-five feet, the next four by fifty feet, the largest six by sixty feet in size. See Figure XV. The village site must cover at least five acres. Many interesting specimens were collected from it, while the men dug, by Cowen, Loveberry and myself.

"The mounds are all sand and gravel. This is rather unusual. The burials numbered five in the smallest, nine in the



next and 19 in the large one. No relics save mussel shells accompanied the remains. The pottery of the village site is very like that found along the Ohio. We find a difference in the character of the pottery after reaching Higbys in Ross county as one ascends the river. It may be that all the people from Higbys or Waverly on down used different clay, different forms, or were another tribe. Future study will determine that.

"Mr. Feurt's farm is five miles up the Scioto on the east bank and seems to have been a remarkable village site. Field searching resulted in the finding of many pottery fragments and other material common to village sites. The pottery is peculiar to the lower Scioto and Ohio river valleys. There is no mica or copper found.

"In the mounds there were more burials above the base line than upon it, yet the place does not seem modern, for no European relics were found. Nearly every skeleton was doubled up, lay in every direction and several were on top of each other. Some were found within ten inches of the surface, but this is due in part to long cultivation lowering the height of the mounds.

"Some war points were found between the ribs of a skeleton and several awls and needles lay near the heads of three skeletons. One skeleton was that of an old man whose teeth were worn away.

"Nine feet below the surface was found charcoal in the large mound. This was followed to near the edges and yielded nothing as usually is the case with charcoal layers. The excavation in the large mound was thirty-five by twenty feet. There was a layer of ashes above the charcoal. Sand above this to top of mound. None of the others were stratified."

#### EXPLORATION OF THE MOUNDS.

On the 5th of July, 1916, was begun the present exploration of the Feurt mounds and village site. The examination had as its purpose the exposing to view of unexplored portions of the three mounds, comprising the group, and certain parts of the village site surrounding them; the recording of all finds both in the mounds and village site and the photographing of all im-



portant features in connection with mortuary customs; to determine, if possible, whether or not the Feurt inhabitants were contemporaneous with the Tremper mound peoples on the opposite side of the Scioto; and to compare the mortuary customs and artifacts found with the dead and in the village site with other sites of the same culture previously explored in Ohio and Kentucky.

The surveyor of the party, Mr. Hugh L. Waugh, made a complete survey of the mounds and the village site and prepared a topographic map, which is shown as Fig. 1. He then established secondary traverse points around the mounds and in the village site, and from these located the various finds both in the mounds and the village site, and from his notes prepared Fig. 2, which shows the amount of the village site dug over.

#### *Mound No. 1.*

Mound No. 1 is the smallest of the three mounds, having a maximum length of seventy-five feet, a maximum width of sixty feet, and height at the center of two and three-fourths feet. From this mound 102 burials were removed by our survey. According to his report, Mr. Moorehead took from the center of the mound five skeletons, making a total of 107 skeletons buried in this small mound.

The mound was begun by placing bodies upon the original surface and then carrying earth from the surface nearby and covering them over. The soil used for covering the bodies was frequently filled with animal bones, and often implements and ornaments were present, showing that the earth had been gathered up from around a tepee site. This condition prevailed throughout the mound.

Of the 102 burials, seventy-three were adults, eleven adolescents and eighteen children. The adult and adolescent burials were practically all flexed and only a single instance was found where the body had been extended at full length. Fourteen burials were of special interest and will be described.

Burial No. 4 had trunk lying on right side with shoulders slightly elevated, head on chest, humeri alongside the trunk, the

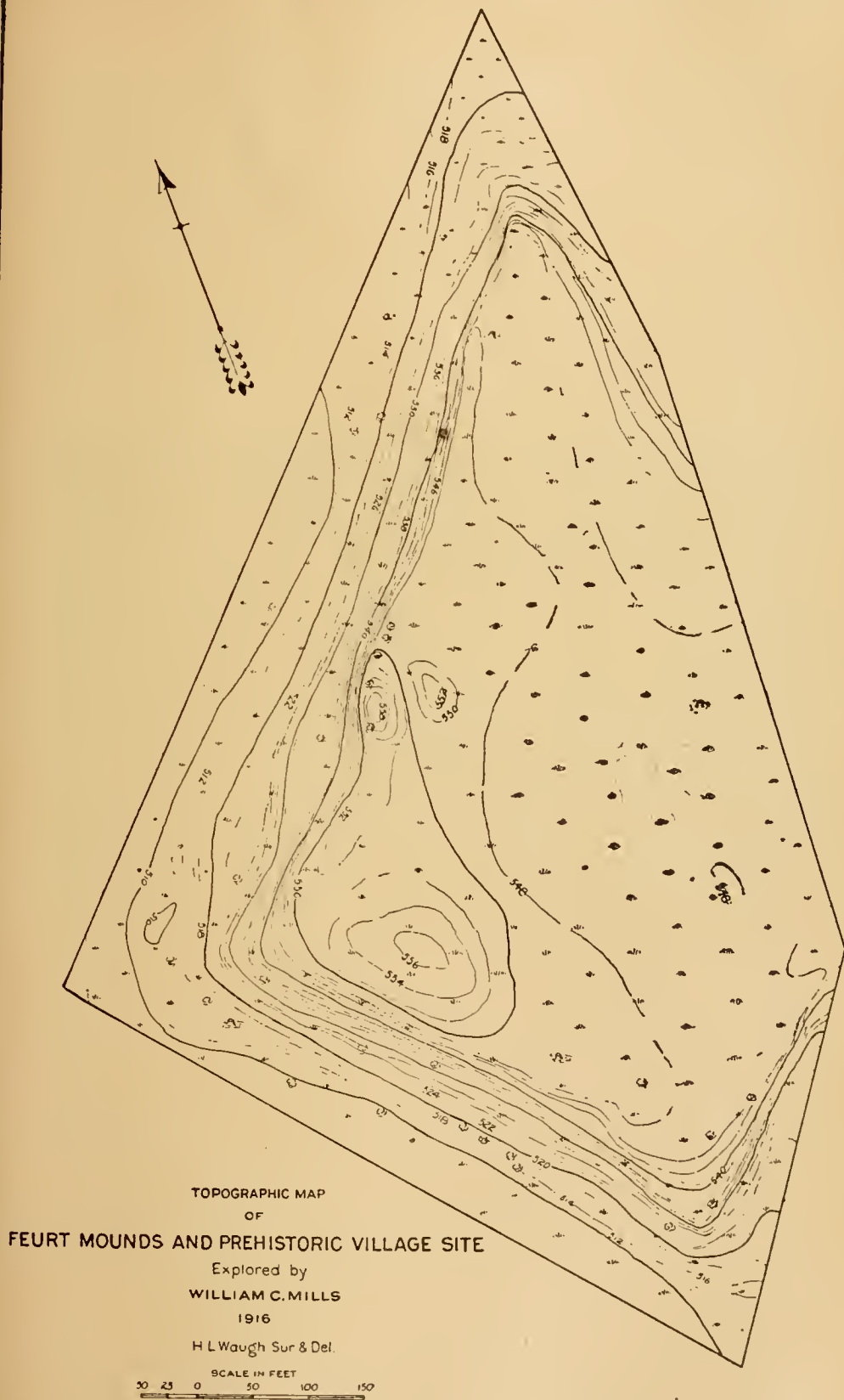


FIG. 1. Topographic map of the Feurt mounds and village site.

FLOOR PLAN  
OF  
FEURT MOUNDS AND PREHISTORIC VILLAGE SITE

Explored by  
WILLIAM C. MILLS  
1916

H. L. Waugh Sur & Del

SCALE IN FEET  
30 60 90 120 150



elbows at the pelvis, the femurs vertical, with the lower leg bones closely flexed against them. The tibias were greatly enlarged, showing a diseased conditon. Upon the chest was found a large molar from the lower jaw of the elk. One of the roots of this tooth was perforated for attachment. The tooth is shown as No. 1 of Fig. 87.

Burial No. 24 comprised only parts of a skeleton, the skull, with lower jaw widely separated from it, and the right leg, complete, being the bones present in the grave. Associated with



FIG. 3. Part of human skeleton buried with animal and bird bones.

these parts was the skull of a very large black bear and the pelvis of a wild turkey. The burial is shown in Fig. 3. There seems to have been no disturbance of the bones after they were placed in the grave and no evidence is forthcoming to determine why only a part of the body was buried, and these parts associated with animal and bird bones.

Burial No. 25 lay on its left side, the skull bent forward resting upon the chest; the right humerus lay alongside the trunk while the left lay beneath the body with the forearm and hand near the face. The legs were closely flexed to the trunk with the feet resting near the pelvis. The burial is shown in



Fig. 4. A long and slender arrow point that had pierced the body, plainly indicates the tragic death of this individual. The arrow entered the body from the left side, striking the seventh rib and cutting its way through the bone, the point being found in the region of the heart.

Another arrow entered the body from the right side, striking the arm bone near the socket joint, no doubt while the individual

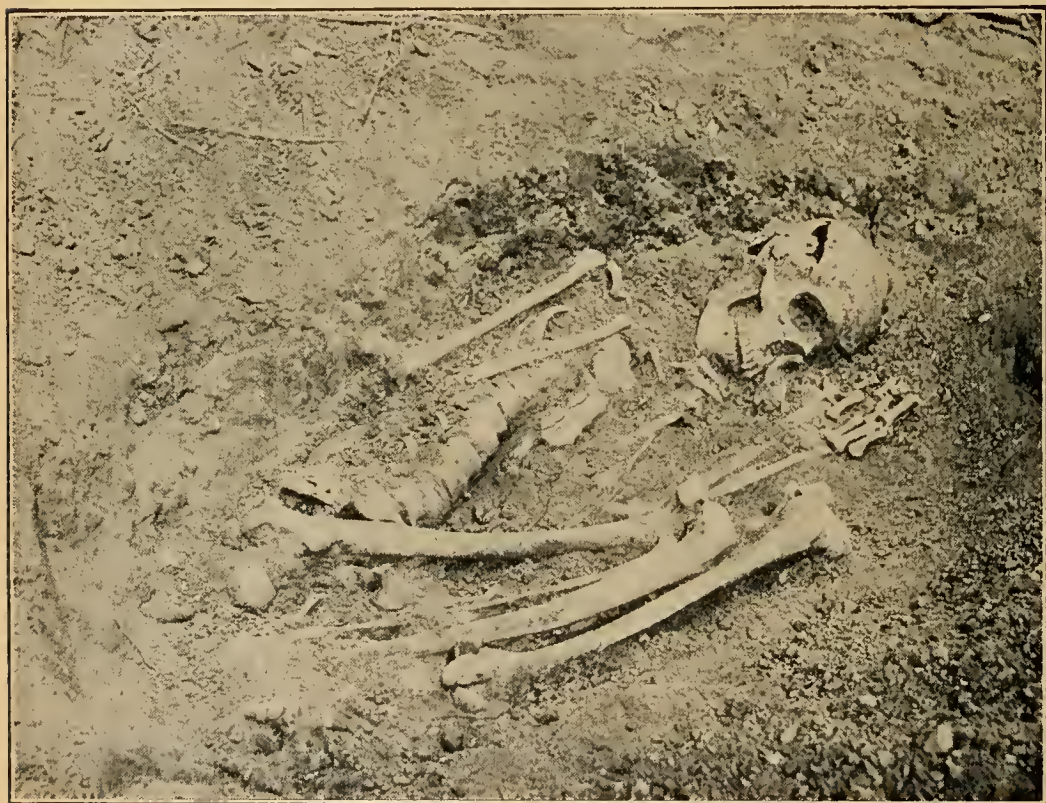


FIG. 4. Burial showing the effect of two arrow wounds.

had his arm raised, in the act of striking a blow with an axe, or was in the act of using his bow and arrow. This wound probably would have caused death by severing the circumflex arteries. The arm bone containing the arrow point firmly embedded in the bone is shown in Fig. 5. The bone presents no indication of repair.

Burial No. 28 was the largest individual taken from the mound, measuring six feet and five inches. The skeleton was

that of a male of mature years which had been placed in the grave on the left side, both arms flexed in front of the body, and the lower leg bones flexed to the back of the femurs. The burial is shown in Fig. 6. Near the pelvis was found a few



FIG. 5. The arm bone showing the arrow point in place.

serrated arrow points and beneath the trunk were two well-wrought bone awls.

Burial No. 33, adult female; placed on left side, arms flexed to trunk, hands in front of skull, femurs flexed closely to the



trunk, with lower leg bones drawn closely to them. The body had been wrapped in bark and the grave lined on sides and bottom with a coarse bark.

Burial No. 58; adult female, placed in center of mound.



FIG. 6. Burial showing the largest individual found in the village.

The arms and legs were closely flexed to the trunk. At the foot of the grave, flat sandstones, approximately eighteen inches long by twelve inches wide were placed on edge, and formed one end and part of one side of the grave. This was the only instance

in which stones were used in the mounds of this group, although the use of flat stones for sides and ends of graves is a common occurrence in this culture, in southern Ohio.

Burial No. 67; child, about ten years of age, placed two feet from the surface of the mound; head bent forward upon the chest. A necklace, made of ten perforated canines of the black bear, was found around the neck.

Burial No. 72; adult male, lying on right side with the arms and legs closely flexed to the body. Near the right elbow were found three well-wrought serrated arrow points.

Burial No. 75; child of perhaps seven years of age. The body was placed on its left side and the arms extended parallel with the body, but the legs were flexed closely to the body. The head was surrounded by fine gravel and sand. Around the neck was a necklace made of a perforated canine of the gray wolf, three effigy bear canines, made of wood and covered with copper, and a large shell gorget. Fig. 7 shows the shell gorget and the effigy teeth.

Burial No. 84; child, of perhaps five years. The burial was twelve inches from the surface and was no doubt disturbed by recent plowing, as the bones were badly broken. The grave was practically round, and the arms and legs were closely flexed to the body. A necklace made of small shells (*Marginella apicina*) was found around the neck.

Burial No. 85; adult male, flexed on right side. Around the hips was the remnant of a belt, to which were attached parts of the lower jaw of the gray squirrel. (*Sciurus carolinensis*).

Burial No. 86; adult male, with enlarged tibia.

Burial No. 94; adult male, arms horizontal with trunk, the lower extremities closely flexed and slightly to the right. A fine necklace, made of shell and copper beads strung alternately, was found around the neck.

Burial No. 97; adult male, near north side of mound; skeleton flexed, on right side. Two large shell discs, perforated at the center and having a diameter of one inch, were found around the neck. The left tibia and fibula were stained with copper, but the object, whatever it may have been, had long since changed to the carbonate of copper.



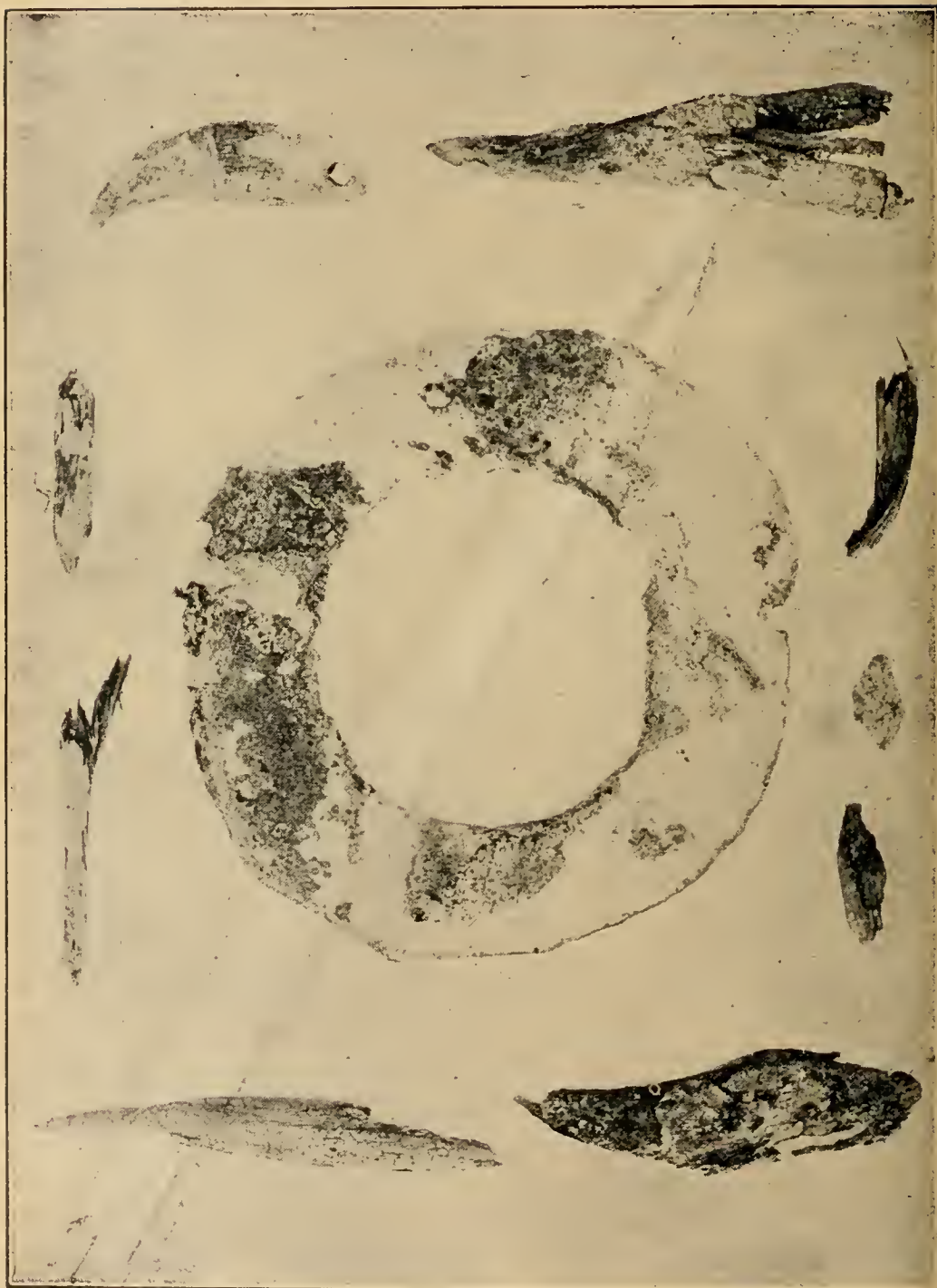


FIG. 7. Shell gorget, and imitation bear teeth, made of wood and covered with copper.

*Mound No. 2.*

After the first mound was finished, our working force having increased to eleven men, I decided to divide the men, and placed six with H. C. Shetrone, my assistant. With these workmen, Mr. Shetrone examined the second mound of the group. With the other five men, I commenced the examination of the village site on the south side of the plateau and not far from the third mound of the group. Mr. Shetrone during his examination of Mound No. 2, secured 137 burials. Of these 121 were adults, ten adolescents and six children, and all were placed in the grave with the arms and legs more or less flexed to the body.

Mound No. 2 was the highest mound of the group, and was located near the west edge of the plateau, about one-fifth of the mound having fallen down the embankment. The actual measurements show the mound to be ninety feet north and south, forty-five feet east and west and about eight feet high. On the north and east sides of the mound the burials were very close together and were arranged in four tiers. Near the center of the mound, as shown by the absence of burials (Fig. 2), is where Prof. Moorehead removed nine skeletons. The south side was again very plentiful in skeletons, as shown in Fig. 2. Burials were also found below the base line. A photograph is shown of a cut in this mound showing a burial below the base line, Fig. 8, as well as burials at various heights in the mound.

One of the interesting features as shown by the burials in this mound, was the absence of artifacts placed with the dead, for only four burials of the 137 had any objects placed in the grave. This condition is very unusual in this culture, for, while graves are seldom prolific in artifacts, a few objects are frequently placed with the dead.

Burial No. 5; adult male, arms and legs closely flexed to the body. This burial was forty-two inches deep. Near the right arm were two very finely chipped arrow points of the triangular type. The points were so placed as to lead one to believe they were attached to arrow shafts when placed in the grave.

Burial No. 6; adult male, legs closely flexed to the body, right arm parallel with body, left arm flexed. Near the pelvis

was found an excellent example of the triangular serrated arrow point, three inches in length.

Burial No. 9 was that of an adult male. The body was flexed and lay on its right side. Near the left arm was found a slender bone awl, six inches in length. The awl is made from very heavy bone, presumably the leg bone of the deer. The implement is about one-fourth inch in diameter, square at one end, with a small crease around the bone, and the other end tapering to a fine point.



FIG. 8. Burials shown at various heights in mound No. 2.

Burial No. 43; adult male, the legs and arms flexed closely to the body. The posterior portion of the skull was partly crushed and badly decayed, and within the skull cavity was found a triangular arrow point. From the general position of the point in the cavity of the skull and the position of the skull with reference to the crushed part, one must believe the arrow did not drop into the cavity, but that it was very likely the fatal shot causing the death of the individual.



*Mound No. 3.*

The third mound of this group was interesting as showing that a dozen or more bodies had been buried elsewhere and finally brought to the mound and reburied. This was evidenced by the absence of parts of the body, such as head, arms or legs, the burials showing no trace of disturbance after having been placed in the grave. Another interesting feature of

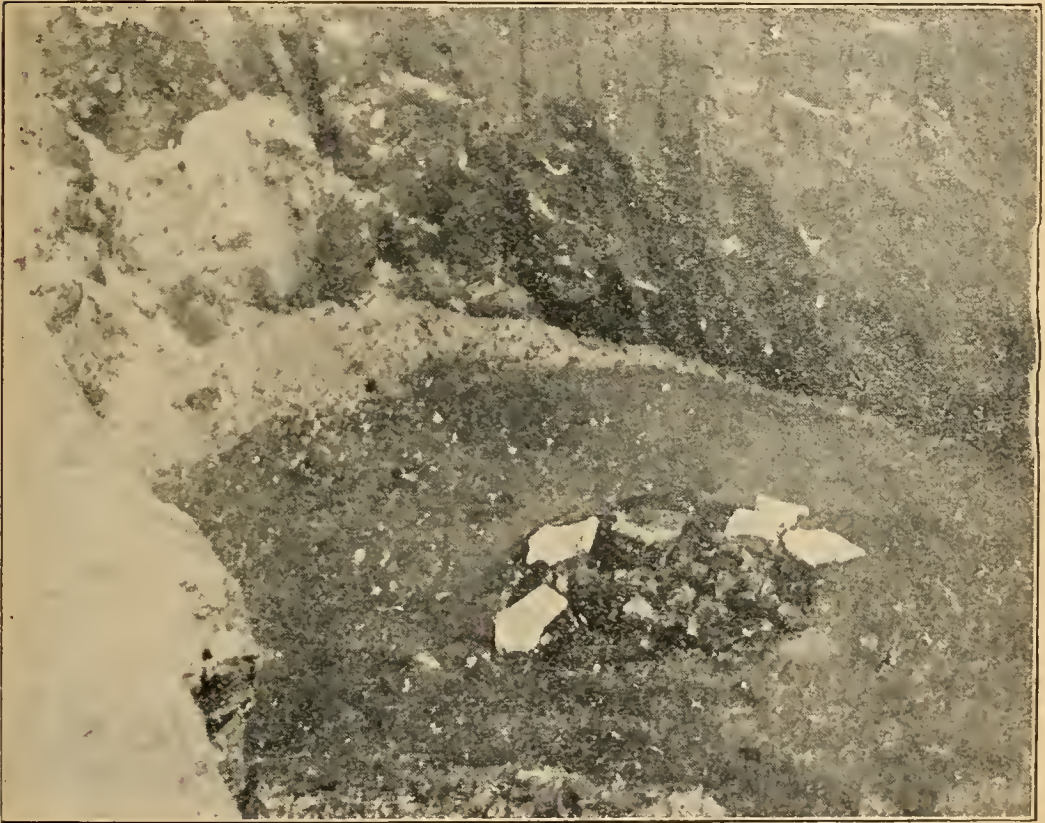


FIG. 9. Tepee fireplace found in mound No. 3.

this mound, was the finding of the fireplace of a tepee site on the base line or floor. The fireplace is shown in Fig. 9, and contains charcoal and pieces of various broken vessels made of clay. No burials were made within the tepee proper, but several were found directly above the site.

Another very interesting feature is the finding of several double burials where two bodies were placed together in the

same grave. One of these double burials, shown in Fig. 10, is an excellent illustration of the general appearance of the skeletons in practically all of the double burials. In that shown, however, in Fig. 11, the bodies were flexed and placed one above the other at right angles. The four skeletons shown in Figs. 10 and 11 are adult males.

Mound No. 3 was six feet high, ninety feet north-and-south diameter, and 112 feet east-and-west diameter. It was constructed of soil taken from the surface, and contained 101 burials. Of these thirty-seven were adult males, nineteen adult females, ten adolescents and fifteen children. Of the 101 burials, something less than twenty will be described.

Burial No. 8; adult male, placed in the same grave with No. 4, a young adult male. The body was closely flexed upon the right side. Around the neck was a necklace made of bone beads cut from sections of the wing bones of large birds like the eagle and blue heron. The beads comprising the necklace were nineteen in number, about one-half inch in diameter, from one and one-half to two inches in length, and highly polished. This necklace is shown as No. 1, in Fig. 12, the smallest of the four necklaces shown.

Burial No. 13; adult male. The skeleton was in a good state of preservation. The body had been placed in the grave closely flexed, with the exception of the right arm, which lay parallel with the body. Around the neck was found a necklace of bone beads composed of twenty-three large and polished sections cut from the wing bone of birds like the eagle and crane. The necklace is shown in Fig. 12, No. 2. Many of the individual beads are decorated with incised circles and all are highly polished. Near the left arm was found a fine example of an arrow point made of antler.

Burial No. 14; adult male, very old. The lower legs were flexed to the femurs, and both arms were so flexed that the hands covered the face. A shell hoe made from *Unio plicatus*, was found with this burial.

Burial No. 23; adolescent, body closely flexed, and the skeleton in fine condition. Around the neck was found a neck-





FIG. 10. Double burial, mound No. 3.



FIG. 11. Double burial, mound No. 3.



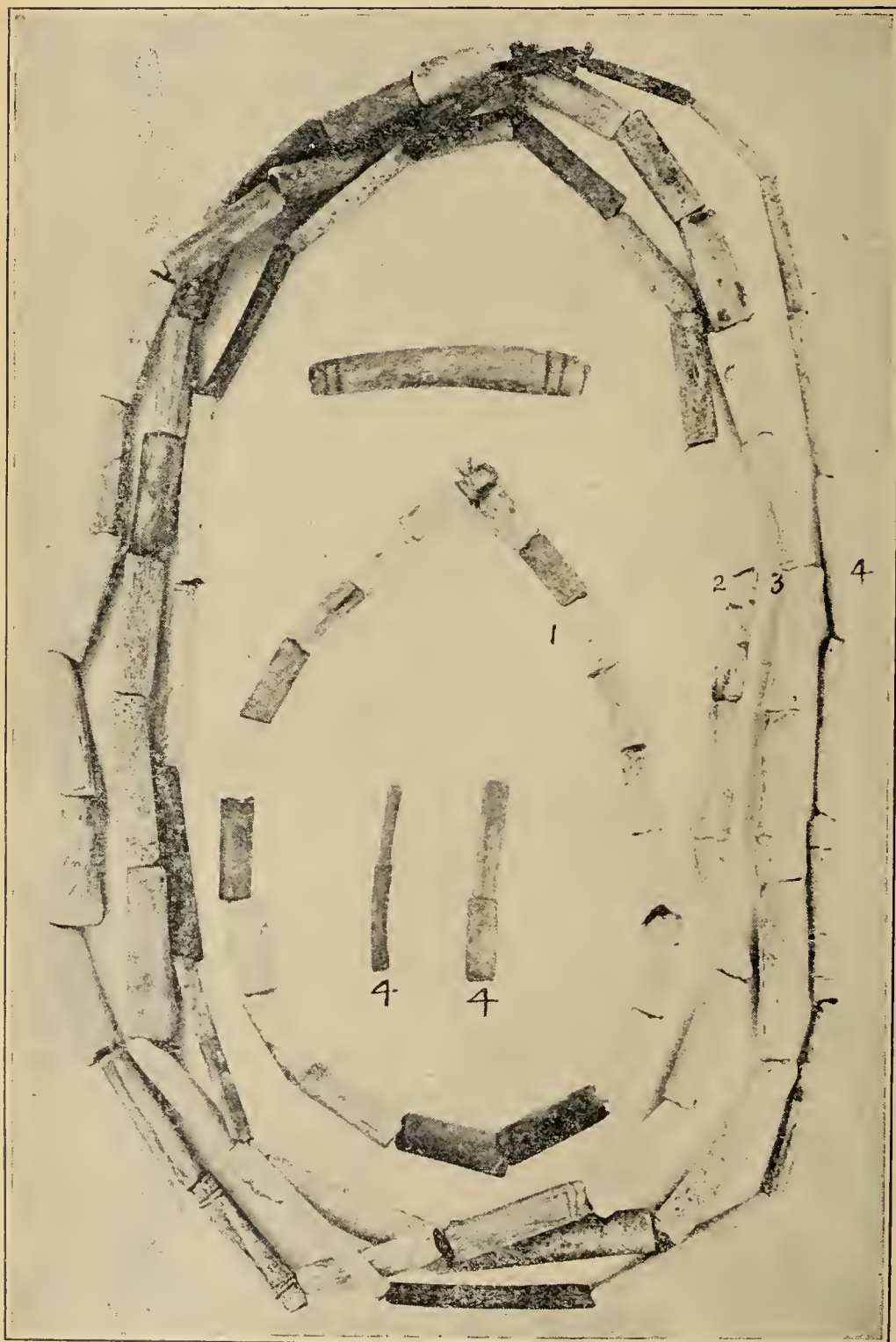


FIG. 12. Necklaces taken from various burials.

lace made of forty marine shells (*Marginella apicina*). This necklace is shown in No. 1 of Fig. 13.

Burial No. 28; adult male. The body was placed in the grave lying on the back, with the legs flexed in front, and the arms to the side of the body. Around the neck was found a necklace made of shell beads, twenty-two in number. The necklace is shown in No. 2, Fig. 13, and was made of two different kinds of shell beads, round and oblong.

Burial No. 29; adult male, legs and arms closely flexed to the trunk, and the skeleton in a fine state of preservation. Around the neck of the skeleton was found a very large necklace of bone beads made of the wing bones of large birds. The beads varied in length from one and one-half inches to two and one-half inches and were highly polished. The necklace is shown in Fig. 12, No. 3. Beneath the skull was found a large bone awl, six and one-quarter inches in length, made of the heavy bone of the deer. The awl is round in cross section and undecorated, and was perhaps used as a hair pin or ornament.

Burial No. 31 was that of a child. The burial was near the surface and the plow had partly disturbed the remains. A necklace of shell beads was found around the neck. The necklace is shown in Fig. 13, No. 3.

Burial No. 33; adult male. The body had been placed in the grave upon the left side; the legs were closely flexed to the trunk. The right arm lay parallel with the body and the left arm at right angles to the body. A very large necklace made of forty perforated canine teeth of the mountain lion and the gray wolf was found around the neck. The necklace is shown in Fig. 14. Many of the teeth are decorated with incised lines.

Burial No. 38; adolescent. The burial was near the plow line and a part of the skeleton was destroyed and the remainder badly broken up. The body was flexed when placed in the grave and a necklace consisting of four perforated *Olivella* shells was placed around the neck. The shells are shown in Fig. 15, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Burial No. 40; adult female, body flexed, with the exception of one arm which lay parallel to the body. Under the skull was found a large bone awl, neatly made and highly polished, per-

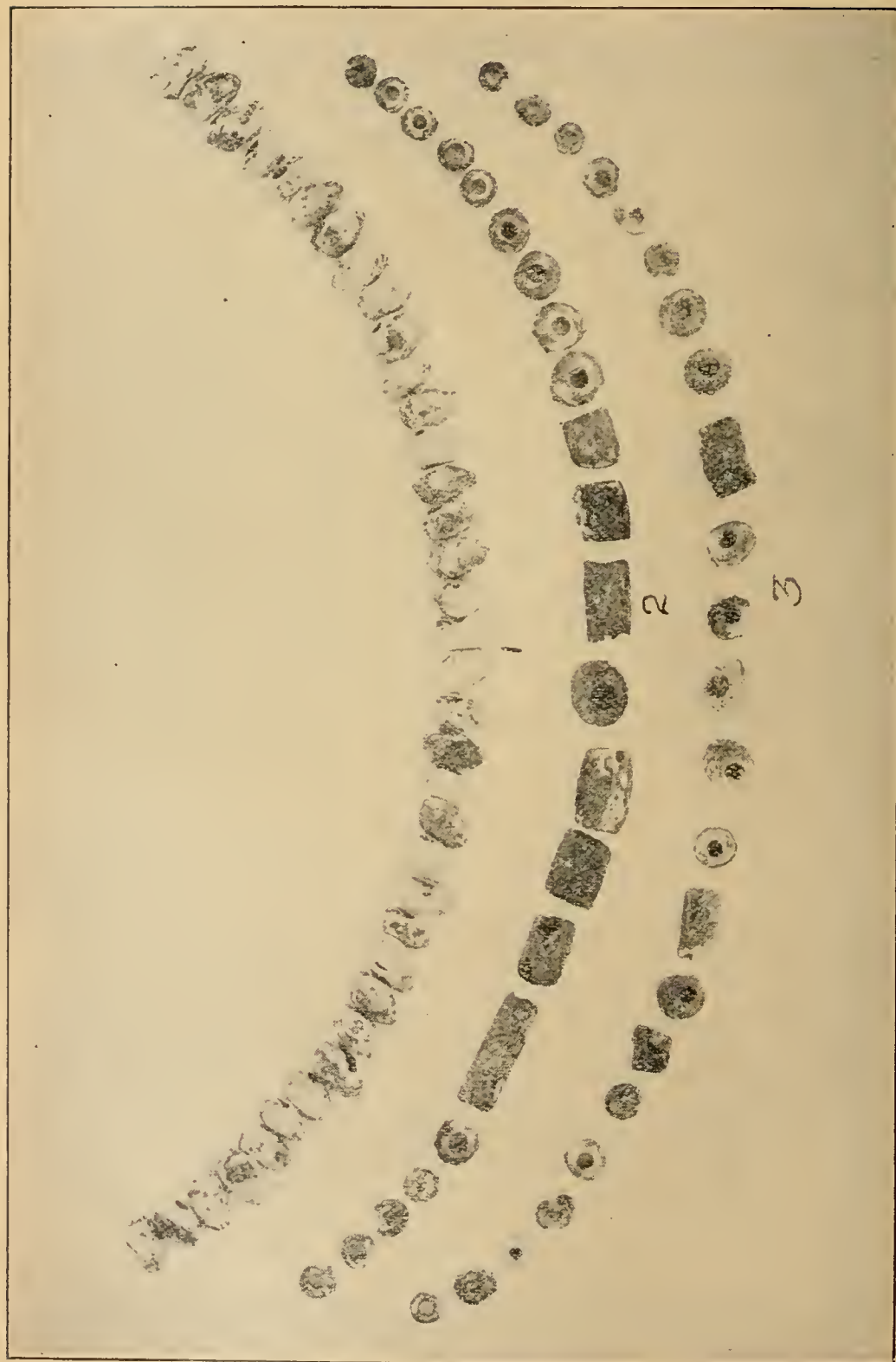


FIG. 13. Necklaces made of shell and bone, taken from the burials in mound No. 3.



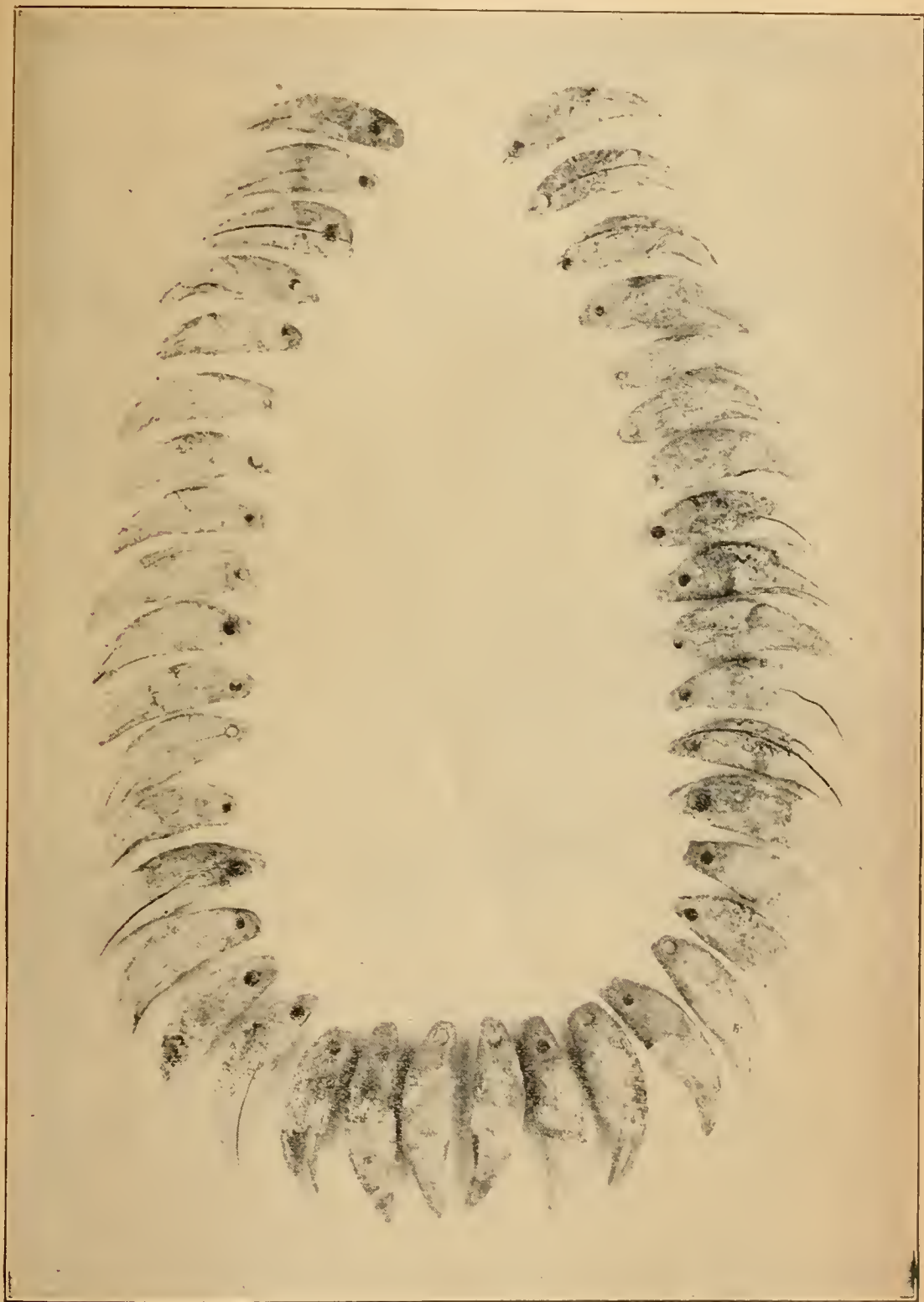


FIG. 14. Necklace made of canine teeth of the mountain lion and gray wolf.

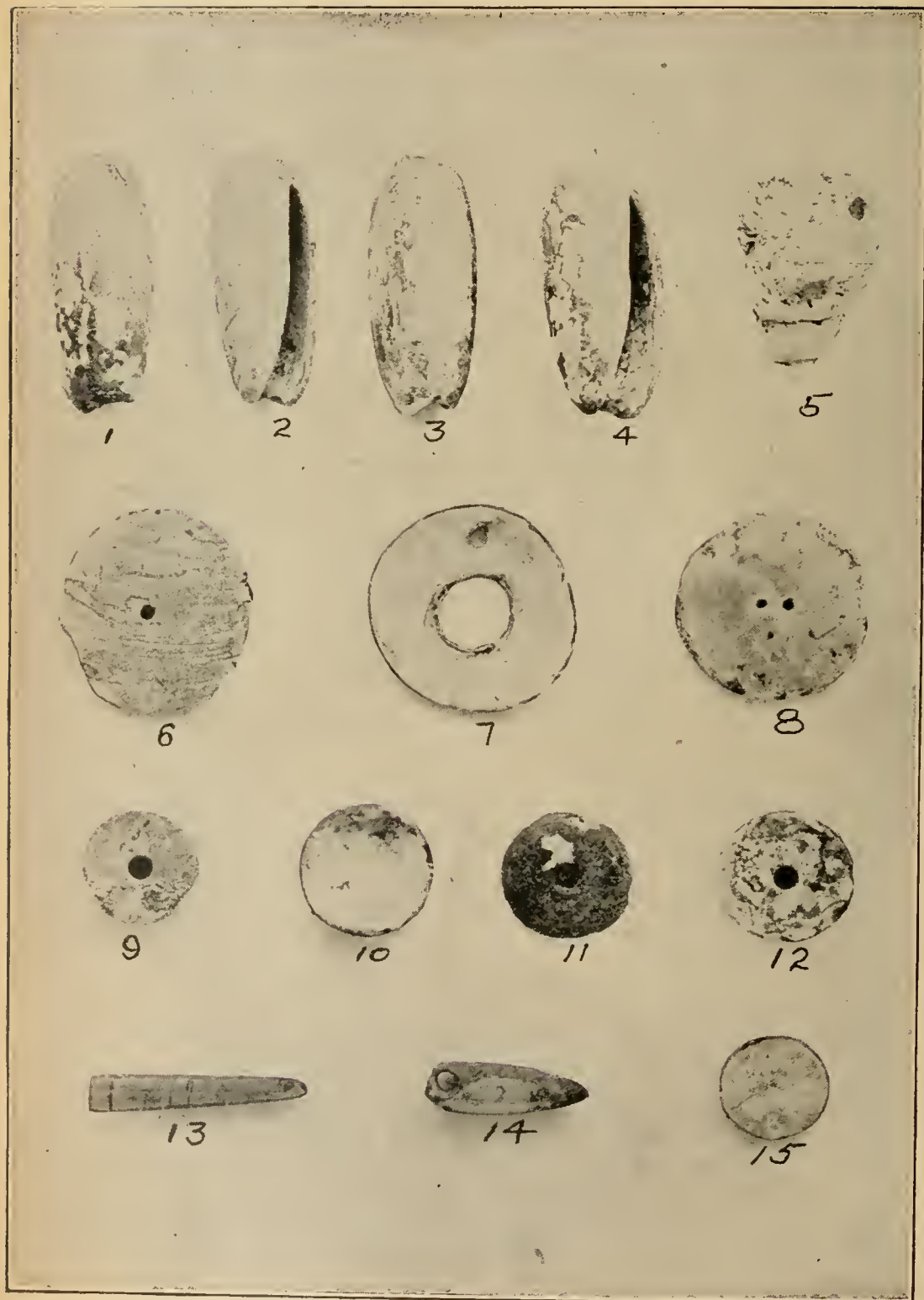


FIG. 15. Ornaments made of shell.

haps used in the hair. The awl was six and one-quarter inches in length, round at one end and having a spatula-like enlargement at the other.

Burial No. 48; adult male, legs flexed at knees and arms flexed to face. Near the pelvis was found a fine stone celt and around the neck was a necklace of bone beads, as shown in No. 4 of Fig. 12. This necklace is made of small wing bones of hawks, owls, wild ducks and geese and therefore very irregular in size. Some of the small beads have been telescoped by the large ones, this condition being shown in No. 4 of Fig. 12.

Burial No. 49 was that of a child, and was placed one foot under the surface, the bones of the small skeleton being badly decomposed. Upon the breast was found three circular disk-like beads perforated at the center, about one-half inch in diameter, and a small pendant of shell. The beads are shown as 9, 11 and 12 of Fig. 15, and the pendant as 14 of the same figure.

Burial No. 77 was also a child. The skeleton was in very good condition and the bones for the most part were in a good state of preservation. With this skeleton was found a perfect triangular arrow point. The point had evidently been attached to an arrow, from the position in which it lay in the grave. With the point was also a large bone awl made from the tarso-metatarsus of the wild turkey. While bone awls of this sort were found in very large numbers in the general digging of the mounds and village site, this is the only one made of this bone found intentionally buried with the dead.

Burial No. 94; adult male. The legs and arms were closely flexed to the trunk, and the body was lying on the right side. On each side of the head was a small disk-shaped bead, one inch in diameter which may have been used as ear pendants. One of the discs was pierced with one hole at the center, while the other had three perforations surrounding the center of disk; one of the holes is very small, while the other two are larger and about the same size. Around the neck was suspended a shell disk one inch in diameter. A large hole, one-quarter inch in diameter, pierced the shell at the center, while a small hole for its suspension was near the outer edge of the disk. The discs are shown in Fig. 15, Nos. 6, 7 and 8.



Burial No. 95; an adult female. The arms and legs were closely flexed to the trunk. Near the left arm was found a well-wrought arrow point, lying parallel with the arm.

Burial No. 97; adult male skeleton, closely flexed. Near the pelvis was found a large bone awl made of a splinter of the heavy leg bone of the deer. The length of the awl is five and three-quarter inches.

#### THE VILLAGE SITE.

The examination of the village site was begun by the writer with a force of 5 men, after the first mound was finished and the examination continued during the remainder of the time devoted to the work at the Feurt farm, except for a short time consumed in examining the third mound. The amount of the surface of the hill examined is shown in Fig. 2. This village proved of exceptional interest when compared with other explored sites of the same culture (Fort Ancient culture) in Ohio and Kentucky.

In Ohio, the Baum village site was explored by the writer during three seasons in the field, 1899, 1900 and 1902. The site is located in the Paint Creek valley, Ross county, Ohio, and lies about 12 miles west of Chillicothe. The report of Baum explorations is found in *Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio*, Vol. 1, pt. 3, and will be referred to in this report as Baums'.

The Gartner Mound and Village Site is located six miles north of Chillicothe along the Scioto river and is described in *Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio*, Vol. 1, pt. 2, and will be referred to as Gartners'. The Kentucky site, written up as "The Prehistoric Ethnology of a Kentucky Site," is located in Mason County, Kentucky, about 14 miles southwest from Maysville. The site was explored by Harlan I. Smith in 1895 and his report published in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, New York, in 1910, and will be referred to as the Kentucky site. The three sites mentioned above are about of equal distance from the Feurt site and would fall within a fifty mile circle of the same.

From the very earliest settlement of the lower Scioto the Feurt site was noted on account of the mounds, but after Mr. Feurt's father cleared the land and placed it under cultivation, it

became apparent that the entire spur of the hill, shown in Fig. 2, was at one time a great camp site, as evidenced by the profusion of animal bones, mussel shells, implements and ornaments turned upon the surface after each successive plowing, thus forming a mecca for collectors of prehistoric objects. One of the most interested of the collectors in this vicinity was Mr. Charles V. Wertz, previously mentioned, who has kindly placed his collection at my disposal. This collection shows many forms of artifacts not found under the plow line and therefore is of special interest in comparing the artifacts from the various village sites.

The present extent of the village site is not far from four acres, but formerly the tableland extended much farther out into the valley and its extent when occupied by early man would perhaps be nearly five acres. Under the surface soil of the plateau containing the village site, is found an excellent quality of gravel, which for more than half a century furnished the road building material used in constructing the pike for many miles both north and south of the Feurt farm. Day after day at the season of the year when road building and repair was in progress, as the gravel was removed from beneath, the top soil containing the artifacts would cave off and fall down to the bottom of the bank. The various objects, frequently broken, were gathered up by gravel haulers and by those interested in collecting, but the great bulk of artifacts were mixed with the gravel and scattered on the road, soon to be destroyed. Consequently, an acre of rich-laden soil, containing the very best material of the site, was practically lost to science. However, on the south side of the spur, the plateau had not been disturbed, and as Mr. Feurt would often say, "this condition prevailed at the point where the gravel was removed," and from this information, I feel assured had we been able to examine this part of the village that many more objects of special interest would have been brought to light.

As before stated our object in making the examination of the village was twofold. First, to determine if possible whether or not the Tremper mound peoples living on the opposite bank and belonging to the great Hopewell culture, were contempora-

neous with the Feurt peoples, belonging to the Fort Ancient culture, and if so whether or not the two cultures differing so widely could live in peace in such close proximity, separated only by the Scioto river, and its accompanying valley; second, a comparison of the Feurt peoples with similar known sites in Ohio and Kentucky.

#### RESULTS OF THE EXAMINATION.

Before beginning work in the village site, I had fully satisfied myself by a superficial examination that the Feurt peoples belonged to the great Fort Ancient culture, characterized by the mode of burial of the dead in mounds; by the fact that the mounds in this culture are seldom surrounded by an earthwork; by the entire absence of copper objects made by themselves; and by the almost total absence of the use of mica for ornament. The Fort Ancient culture peoples depended upon the chase for a part of their living, and from the bones of the animals they killed for food they made implements and ornaments to supplement those made of stone and flint. They also developed agriculture, for every village of this culture examined produced many specimens of the cereal corn.

The Hopewell culture, to which the Tremper mound peoples living on the opposite bank of the river belong, were characterized by a very different mode of burial, the dead for the most part being cremated and the ashes and charred bones placed in individual or communal graves; by the presence of copper implements and ornaments in great numbers; and by the making of objects of personal adornment in imitation.

For instance, if the supply of pearls did not equal the demand, they made them out of clay and covered the fashioned pearl with mica, rendered malleable by heat, or if the supply of bear teeth was not adequate, they simply made them of bone. These imitation bear teeth—and the same is true of the imitation eagle claws and other forms—varied in size from that of the natural object, to a much larger size, representing a mythical animal or bird.

The development of sculpture in the Hopewell culture is quite marked, this appearing particularly in the decoration of



their tobacco pipes, in the realistic portrayal of bird and animal life, sculptured in full relief and fashioned in minutest detail. They also excelled in the art of weaving, as well as in ceramics.

The fashioning of awls from the tarsometatarsus of the wild turkey was entirely different in the hands of the two cultures. The Feurt peoples would use the entire bone, while the Hopewell would split the bone and make two awls instead of one; again the Feurt people in making a needle would use a flat and long bone, with an eye at one end, and sharp pointed at the other, while the Hopewell peoples in making their needles would use a strong, heavy but small and short bone, round in cross sections, an eye near one end and the other end sharply pointed. Accordingly, with such known facts concerning their artifacts, one can readily distinguish between the cultures inhabiting a given region. If an exchange of commodities were made no doubt the object, whether implement or ornament, was converted to their use, but if an object was secured in battle, it was frequently destroyed or broken up and then cached or thrown away. Here we find a friendly contact in the copper bead necklace and the imitation bear teeth, covered with copper, neither of these objects being made by the Feurt peoples, but who certainly wore objects secured in barter from a culture versed in working copper. Further, during Mr. Wertz's various examinations of the Feurt site he secured from the edge of the bank several objects of copper that had been thrown in the refuse pile of animal bones and broken pottery. The various objects of copper had been hammered together and the identity of the object destroyed, and I have been led to believe that these objects had been captured as a prize from an enemy and disposed of as such.

Therefore, upon the testimony disclosed by our explorations and the finds of Mr. Wertz, we must conclude that the Feurt peoples for a period of time were living in peace with their neighbors across the river,—the Tremper Mound peoples, as evidenced by the change of commodities; that later the two peoples became involved in conflict, this being borne out by the finding of skeletons pierced with arrow points, and by the

finding of copper objects of the Tremper peoples in the refuse dumps of the Feurt peoples, with unmistakable signs of their having been mutilated.

#### EXPLORATIONS IN DETAIL.

The greater part of the village was examined under my direction, although Mr. Shetrone, with his six workmen examined that part of the village north of mounds No. 1 and 2, where he unearthed fourteen burials and ten tepee sites. The second squad of workmen, under my direction, working on the south and west sides of the plateau, unearthed forty-nine burials. Twelve of the burials were adults, three of which were male and nine female, and the remaining thirty-seven were very small children and babies.

#### THE VILLAGE BURIALS.

The fourteen burials unearthed by Mr. Shetrone north of mounds No. 1 and No. 2 consisted of ten adults, four of which were male and six female, and four adolescents. All of the bodies were flexed when placed in the grave. Three burials out of the fourteen had objects in the way of ornaments placed with them, and these will be described.

Burial No. 3; adult female. The burial was only about 12 inches deep, and being subjected to freezing and thawing, trampling by livestock and disturbed by cultivation, practically no part of it could be saved. At and around the left knee was placed a large strand of shell disc-shaped beads, numbering 180. These are shown in Fig. 16.

Burial No. 6; adult male. The body when placed in the grave was flexed, the arms over the head and the legs drawn up close to the body. A shell necklace was found on the neck which consisted of five disc-like beads, one-half inch in diameter; two cut pieces of shell and eight long beads made of the columella of an ocean shell. This necklace, one of the most interesting found in the village is shown in No. 1 of Fig. 17.

Burial No. 10; adolescent. The body was flexed and the skeleton badly decomposed. Around the neck of this individual

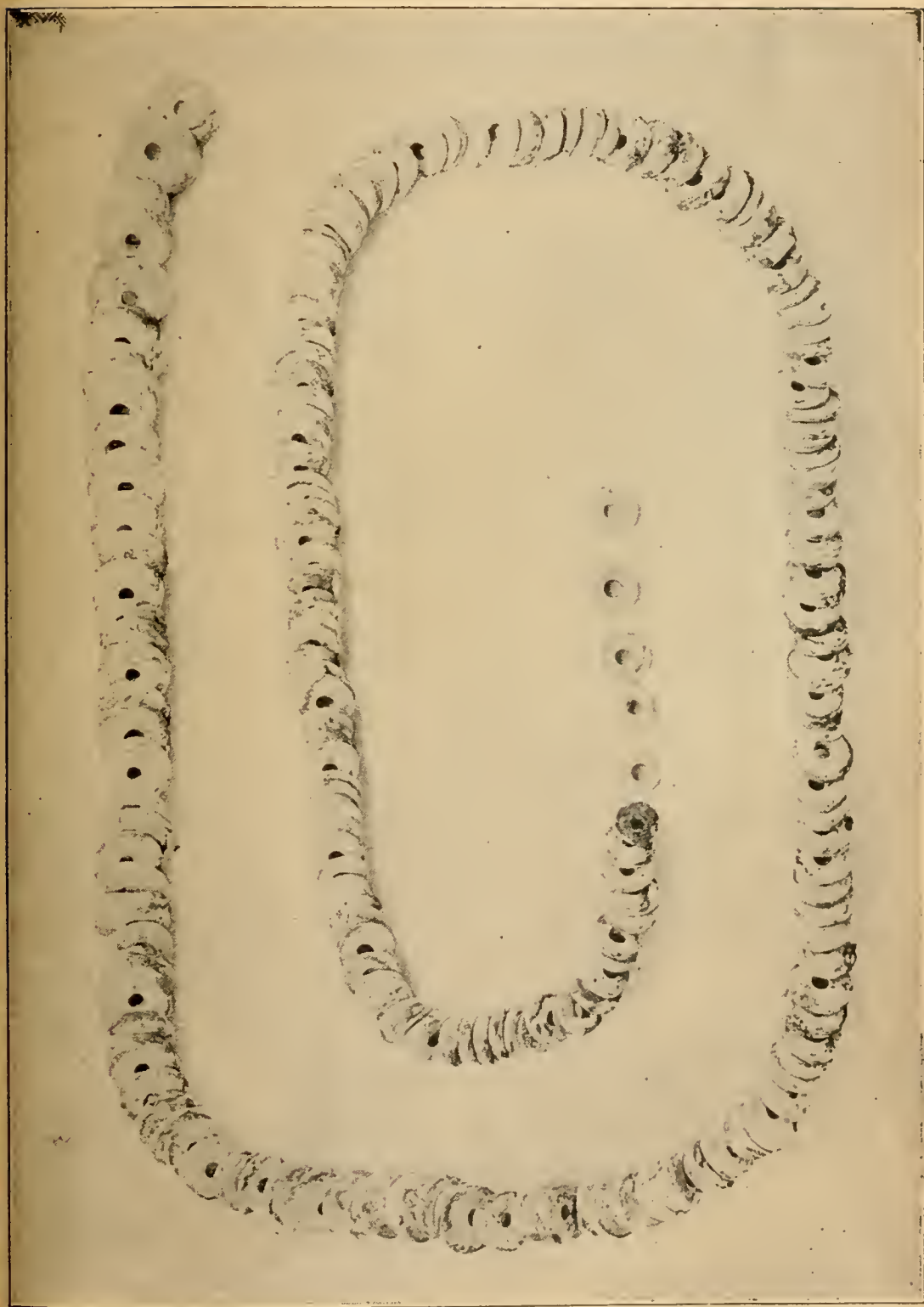


FIG. 16. Necklace of shell discs, taken from burial No. 3, found in the village.





FIG. 17. Necklace of shell and copper beads found in the village site.

was found one of the finest necklaces taken from the village. It is made of both copper and shell. The copper was hammered into small tubular cylinders about one-half inch long, which were alternately strung with small shell beads, as shown in No. 2 of Fig. 17.

The burials on the south and west side of the village site numbered forty-nine individuals, only one of this large number having artifacts placed in the grave,—that of a small child less than one year of age.

As before stated out of the forty-nine burials in the village only twelve were adults, three of which were males and nine females.

All of the males were aged individuals, while the females mostly were old, with however several who had not reached middle life. The remaining thirty-seven were very small children or babies.

#### LOCATION OF THE BURIALS WITH REFERENCE TO TEPEE SITES.

The adult burials for the most part were not placed in close proximity to the tepee site in this respect, differing greatly from the village site burials at Baum's, where practically all of the burials closely surrounded the tepee site, representing a family private burial where both adult male and female, together with adolescents and children were found. The same conditions prevailed at Gartner's. Smith mentions no family burials at the Kentucky site. However, he found "the dead were deposited in the ground in graves, many of which were grouped, each group being covered by a low dome-shaped mound." Smith also found that many graves had slabs of stone at the sides and ends of the grave and some had slabs over the top.

The conditions existing at Feurt's were certainly similar to those of the village site burials of the Kentucky site, and no doubt slabs of stone would have been used had they been available. At the Tremper mound on the west side of the river directly opposite Feurt's intrusive burials of the Ft. Ancient culture were found in the top of the mound in which slabs of stone were used, as the slabs were available near the mound.

On the east side of the river slabs of stone are not procurable in the immediate neighborhood of the Feurt side.

A very interesting phase of the Feurt site burials was the finding of so many children and babies. These burials were confined to the west side of the village site and all were placed in close proximity to tepee sites, resembling in many respects the burials at Baums' and Gartners'. The thirty-seven burials were attributed to 21 sites; ten sites having one burial each, six sites having two burials each, three sites having three burials each, and one site having four burials. With only one of the thirty-seven burials were objects placed in the grave, which was that of a small child not more than six months of age. Around its neck was placed an elegant necklace of beads made of the columella of ocean shell, with a pendant in the form of a decorated shell gorget. The necklace is of special interest, as being buried with a child too young to understand and appreciate its decorative features. Possibly the mother in her bereavement bestowed upon her beloved child her finest ornament, permitting it to be placed with the body when it was lowered in the grave.

The decorative feature of the shell gorget of this necklace is of interest, since it is the only decorated gorget found in the village. The specimen is circular in form, three inches in diameter and decorated on the edge with scalloped indentations. One-fourth inch from the edge an incised line encircles the gorget, while between this incised line and the edge small circular indentations appear. The center bears the incised figure of what probably is intended as a spider. The gorget is pierced with two holes near the edge, and with one hole at the center. The necklace is shown in Fig. 18.

#### TEPEE SITES.

The tepee sites at the Feurt village were in many respects similar to those of Baum's and Gartner's, but lacked a certain air of permanence. At Baum's and Gartner's the poles used in constructing the tepees were large, and the tepee seemed to be more of a permanent abode. At these sites the fireplaces were very often mended many times, while at Feurt's only two instances



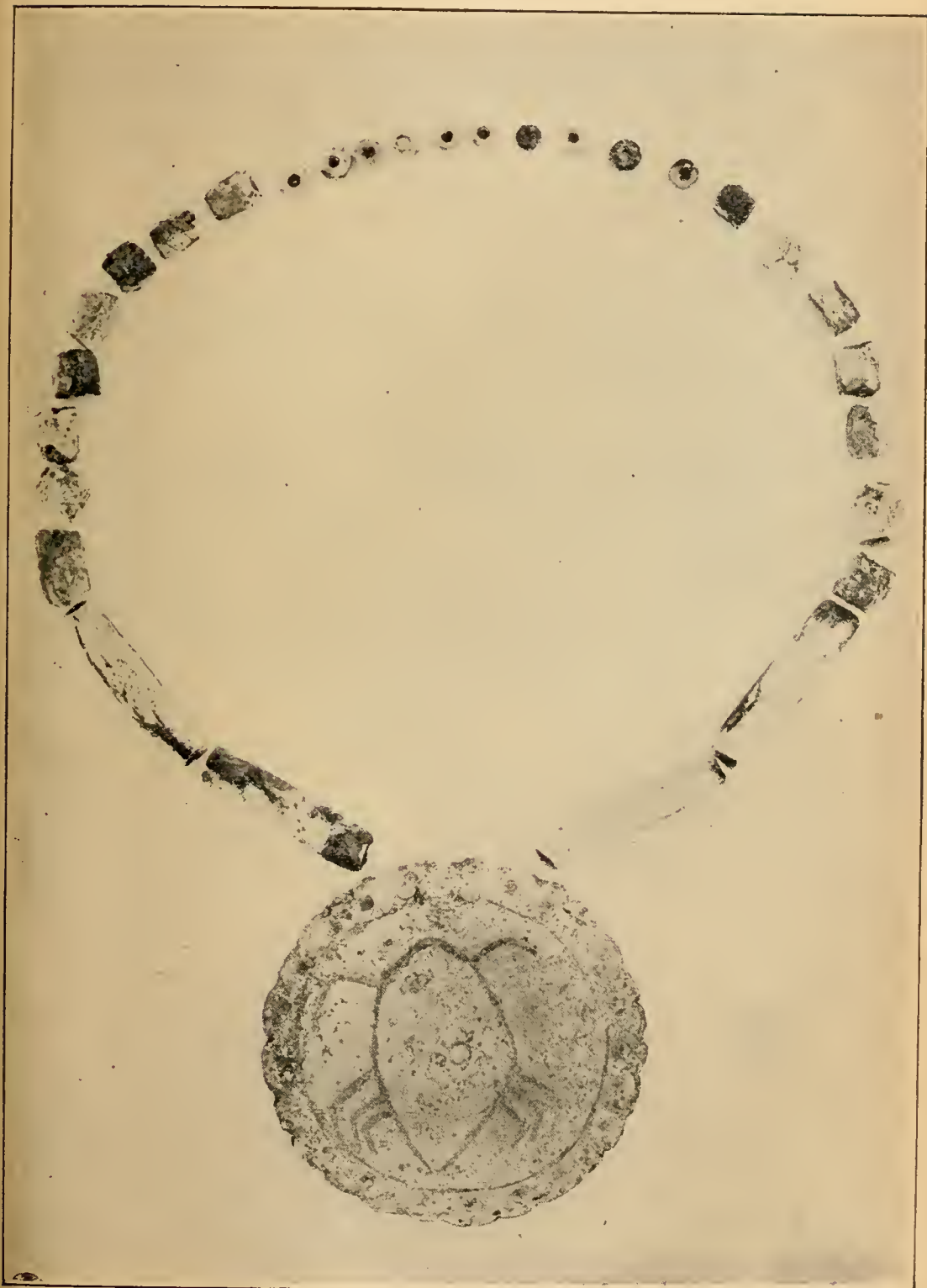


FIG. 18. Necklace of shell beads found in the grave of a small child.

were found, one on the south side and one on the west side of the plateau, showing attempts to mend a fireplace. This was done by placing puddled clay in the bottom of the fireplace to fill up the deepened hole, caused by cleaning out the ashes from time to time, which process would incidentally remove a portion of the earth bottom. This condition of impermanence seems to have been due to the absence of the empty subterranean storehouse, to receive the refuse which would naturally accumulate around a primitive home.

Instead of gathering up this refuse, the Fuert dwellers would cover it up with fresh soil, which for some reason apparently they found easier to dig up and carry in than to gather up the refuse and carry it out. Consequently we found a succession of tepee sites, one over the other. On the south side of the plateau the surface had been raised four feet by the process of covering up instead of cleaning up, and in this four feet of surface accumulation were found bones of animals used for food in great profusion, shells of the fresh water mussel and implements and ornaments of bone, stone and shell scattered through the soil, which no doubt had been lost and accidentally covered up.

Some of the tepee fireplaces were well made, one found north of the two mounds and worked out by Mr. Shetrone being almost a circle in form (Fig. 19). This fireplace is two and one-half feet in diameter and had not been in use very long, as the ground in the center was not burned to a great depth. The circular ring forming the fireplace was made of puddled clay tempered with small gravel and broken pottery. In many of the tepee-site fireplaces were found broken pottery in abundance, and in two instances broken pots containing charred corn were found. At Gartner's broken vessels were found in the refuse pits containing charred corn still clinging to the sides of the vessel. The charring of the corn must have been accidental, for no doubt the corn had been placed in the pot to cook and after receiving plenty of water was placed over the fire; but in the meantime, forgotten, the pot became dry, the corn was burned and the pot broken, and all was lost. This accident, while it worked a hard-

ship upon primitive man, tells a mute story of early domestic trouble.

In several of the tepee sites large stone mortars were found, showing that the preparation of meal from corn and perhaps acorns was part of the domestic routine. Smith seems not to have found evidence of the remains of habitations in the Kentucky site, while at all the sites in Ohio the tepee was abundant.

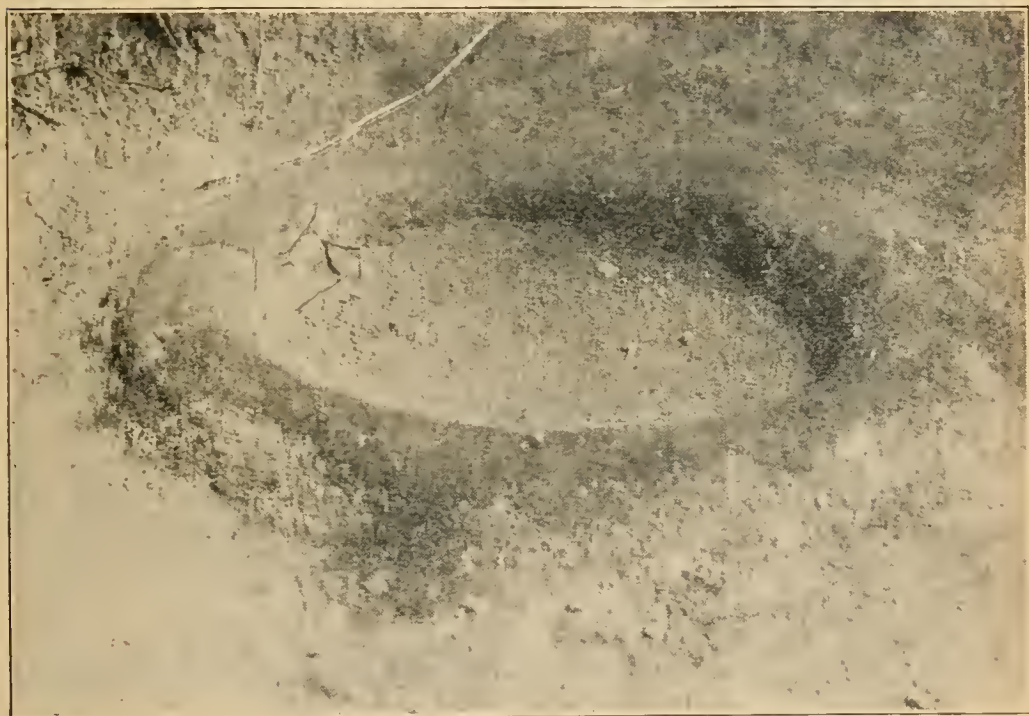


FIG. 19. Fireplace found in the village.

#### SUBTERRANEAN STOREHOUSE.

The subterranean storehouse previously spoken of as abundant at both Baum's and Gartner's was practically absent from the Feurt site, only two being found. One was cistern-like in form, being small at the top, having a diameter of 20 inches, gradually tapering to an enlarged bottom three and one-half feet in diameter, and having a depth of four and one-half feet. The storehouse was filled with refuse consisting of animal bones, broken pottery and shells of the fresh water mussel, all mingled with soil and ashes.



The second storehouse was small, being about two feet in diameter at the top and two and one-half feet at the bottom, with a depth of about three feet, and was likewise filled with animal remains. I see no explanation for the sparseness of such necessary appurtenances to a village of barbarous Ft. Ancient culture peoples.

The Feurt inhabitants were certainly agriculturists, as evidenced by the finding of charred corn in various parts of the village. Perhaps their storehouses were constructed of wood and built upon the surface. At Baum's two hundred and thirty-four storehouses were examined, and at Gartner's more than one hundred were found. Smith makes no record of these storehouses at the Kentucky site, although corn and cobs were frequently met with.

#### FOOD RESOURCES.

From our examination of this village, and the evidence surrounding the tepee site, one must infer that the presence of bones of various animals in such profusion is indicative of their use as food and must have been one of the principal sources of supply. The presence of mussel shells, and the bones of fish and turtles in large numbers shows that the river served as their leader for at least a portion of the year. The finding of the bones of the wild duck, wild turkey, hawks and eagles, indicates that all the birds that could be secured also were used for food. The presence of charred corn in so many of the tepee sites as well as the shells of walnuts, butternuts, hickory nuts and acorns found so plentifully in the fireplaces, would indicate their use as food, and the profusion of seeds of the wild cherry, blackberry and wild plum in the fireplaces show that they drew heavily upon these for sustenance.

#### ANIMAL FOOD.

It is quite evident from the large number of perfect and fragmentary bones of various animals scattered around the tepee sites of the village, and in fact wherever refuse could be thrown, that these represent animals that were used for food. The animals identified were the deer, elk, black bear, mountain lion,

wild cat, raccoon, opossum, beaver, otter, ground hog, muskrat, skunk, rabbit, mink, porcupine, wolf, gray fox, gray squirrel, Indian dog and fisher.

Virginia deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*) was perhaps the animal most sought for food, as its bones constitute fully fifty percent of all the bones found in the village.

At Baum's the deer constituted fully thirty-five percent of the animal bones of the village. At Gartner's the bones of the deer were equal to all others combined. Smith in the examination of the Kentucky site mentions the Virginia deer among the animals used for food, but does not compare its bones as to numbers with other animals.

Elk (*Cervus canadensis*) were not abundant in the village, but more plentiful than at either Baum's or Gartner's. The elk was also found in the Kentucky site by Smith.

Black Bear (*Ursus americanus*) was more plentiful than at either Baum's or Gartner's. Smith found the bear at the Kentucky site.

Mountain Lion (*Felis concolor*). The bones of this large animal were very often met with and were more abundant than at Baum's or Gartner's; but this animal was not found by Smith at the Kentucky site.

Wild Cat (*Lynx rufa*). The bones of this animal were not abundant in the village, but at Baum's and Gartner's they were found in numbers. Smith mentions finding the bones of this animal in the Kentucky site.

Raccoon (*Procyon lotor*). The bones of the raccoon were not very abundant in the village, and in this respect resembled the Gartner site, but at Baum's the raccoon was found in abundance. Smith mentions the raccoon in the Kentucky site.

Opossum (*Didelphs virginianus*). The bones of the opossum were found in abundance in the village, as they were at both Baum's and Gartner's. Smith mentions this animal as found in the Kentucky site.

Beaver (*Castor canadensis*). The bones of the beaver were not abundant. Greater numbers were found at Baum's and Gartner's. Only the incisors of the beaver are used for cutting tools and ornaments. The bones, on account of their

form, are seldom used for making into ornaments, consequently they are usually found perfect; but not many were found. Smith mentions the beaver in the Kentucky site.

Otter (*Lutra canadensis*). Only a few bones of this animal were found in this village, but its remains were plentiful at Baum's though not so many were found at Gartner's. Smith does not mention finding the bones of the otter at the Kentucky site.

Ground Hog (*Arctomys monax*). The bones of this animal were fairly abundant and resembled the Gartner finds, but at Baum's the bones of the ground hog were especially abundant. They were also found at the Kentucky site by Smith.

Musk Rat (*Fiber zibethicus*). The bones of the musk rat were not abundant in the village site, but their distribution resembled both Baum's and Gartner's. Smith does not mention the finding of the bones of the musk rat in the Kentucky site.

Skunk (*Mephitis mephitis*). The bones of this animal were more plentiful in the Feurt site than at either Baum's or Gartner's. Smith did not find the skunk at the Kentucky site.

Rabbit (*Lepus sylvaticus*). While the bones of this animal were fairly plentiful in the village, I am led to believe that bones of such animals as the rabbit, ground hog and raccoon would be for the most part destroyed by the Indian dog, primitive man's only domestic animal. This is more probable since practically no subterranean storehouses were in evidence for the disposal of the refuse from the village and bones scattered over the surface would be readily accessible to the hungry dogs, as evidenced by the large leg bones of the bear, deer and elk showing that they had been gnawed.

Mink (*Putorius vison*). A number of lower jaws and portions of broken skulls of this animal were obtained. The mink was found at Baum's and Gartner's. Smith also records the animal from the Kentucky site.

Porcupine (*Erethizon dorsatus*). The bones of this animal were found in the Feurt site, and might be considered the first record of the porcupine in a prehistoric Ohio village. Although the bones of this animal were found at Baum's, they



had not been properly identified when the published report upon the Baum village was made.

However, a record was made of the finding of the bones of the porcupine at Baum's in my report upon the Tremper Mound. At the Tremper mound the first and only sculpture so far unearthed of this animal was found. The bones were not found at Gartner's and Smith does not mention them at the Kentucky site.

Wolf (*Canis occidentalis*). The bones of this animal were sparingly found throughout the village, and this same condition prevailed at Baum's and Gartner's the bones not being plentiful but a few being present throughout the village. Smith found the bones of the wolf in the Kentucky site.

Gray fox (*Urocyon virginianus*). The bones of the gray fox were very abundant in this village as well as at Baum's and at Gartner's. Smith did not find the gray fox at the Kentucky site, but mentions finding the bones of the red fox. In Ohio the remains of the red fox have not been found in any prehistoric village site of record, but the bones of the gray fox have always been found in large numbers in practically all of the sites.

Gray squirrel (*Sciurus carolinensis*). Found everywhere in the village. The gray squirrel was also present at Baum's, but was not found at Gartner's. Smith did not find the bones of the gray squirrel in the Kentucky site, but found the red or fox squirrel.

Indian Dog (*Canis*). The bones of the dog were very often met with and resemble the dog found at the Baum site and at Gartner's. Smith did not find the dog at the Kentucky site.

Fisher (*Mustela pennanti*). The bones of this animal were sparingly found in the village. It was also found at Baum's and recorded from there as the first record of its presence in Ohio. The bones of the fisher were not found at the Gartner site, and Smith does not mention the animal as present in the Kentucky site.

## TURTLES USED FOR FOOD.

Snapping Turtle (*Chelydra serpentina*). Found abundantly in this village. At Baum's the snapping turtle was present everywhere in the village.

Box Turtle (*Cistudo virginea*). Found in abundance in the village. The bones were also very abundant at Baum's and at Gartner's. Smith found at the Kentucky site two specimens of turtles.

## MUSSELS AND FISH USED FOR FOOD.

Everywhere in the village the shells of the fresh water mussel were found, and these were certainly a great source of food supply. At Baums' the mussel shells were abundant, and at Gartner's the remains of large mussel bakes were found in several instances and these bakes contained many thousands of shells. Smith found the mussel abundant at the Kentucky site.

Fish bones were found everywhere in the village; those identified were catfish, perch, suckers, buffalo, gar and fresh water drum. Bones of fish were found in abundance at Baum's and at Gartner's and Smith found fish bones in the Kentucky site.

## BIRDS USED FOR FOOD.

The bones of birds found in the village site were numerous, especially those of the wild turkey, which predominates among bird bones. Others noted were the trumpeter swan, Canada goose, great blue heron, bald eagle, great horned owl and several species of ducks. The bones of various birds were found at Baum's and at Gartner's. Smith found the bones of the great blue heron, wild turkey, duck, owl and eagle at the Kentucky site.

## PLANT FOOD.

Corn (*Zea mays*) was the most important agricultural product raised by the dwellers in the Feurt village, for charred corn was found in many tepee sites and fireplaces in the village. However, as far as noted, only the eight-rowed variety was grown. Since but few subterranean storehouses were found, no doubt surface granaries were constructed of wood to care for the supply of corn. The tepee was all too small to store any amount

of food products. At Baum's and at Gartner's it was found that for a time after the grain had been used out of the subterranean storehouses, they were used for the storage of nuts and dried fruit, and doubtless for the storage of meat, both fresh and dried.

The charred corn so frequently found in the fireplaces at Feurts, was due, I am sure to accident, either the spilling of the corn into the fire, or the breaking of the pot in which it was cooked. Fig. 20 shows the lumps of corn taken from the half-broken earthen pots. At the Gartner village site broken earthen vessels were found in the refuse pits with lumps of charred corn still clinging to the sides of the vessel. At Baum's the charred remains of the ears were found in the bottom of the subterranean storehouse, where the ears had been placed in regular order, and at Baum's two varieties were found — an eight-rowed and a ten-rowed variety. The eight-rowed variety found at the Feurt site resembles in every way the eight-rowed variety found at Baum's. The grains of corn, together with the cobs are shown in Fig. 21. Smith at the Kentucky site found an eight-rowed and a twelve-rowed variety. As far as we know, the twelve-rowed variety has not been found in Ohio.

Kidney Beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) were found sparingly in the fireplaces, and were no doubt used for food, as it is well known the kidney bean grew wild over the state, as recorded by the early botanists. Beans were found at Baum's and Gartner's and Smith records the finding of the beans at the Kentucky site.

The presence of the shells of hickorynuts, walnuts, butternuts and acorns in so many of the fireplaces indicate their extensive use for food by the Feurt peoples. All these were found at Baum's and Gartner's except the acorn. Smith found at the Kentucky site only hickorynuts and walnuts.

The charred remnants of wild plum seeds, wild cherry seeds and seeds of the blackberry found in the fireplaces, is evidence that these fruits, of which no doubt the country would produce a bountiful supply, also were used for food in season. At Baum's wild plum, wild grape and the seeds of the papaw were found, while at Gartner's only the seeds of the papaw were



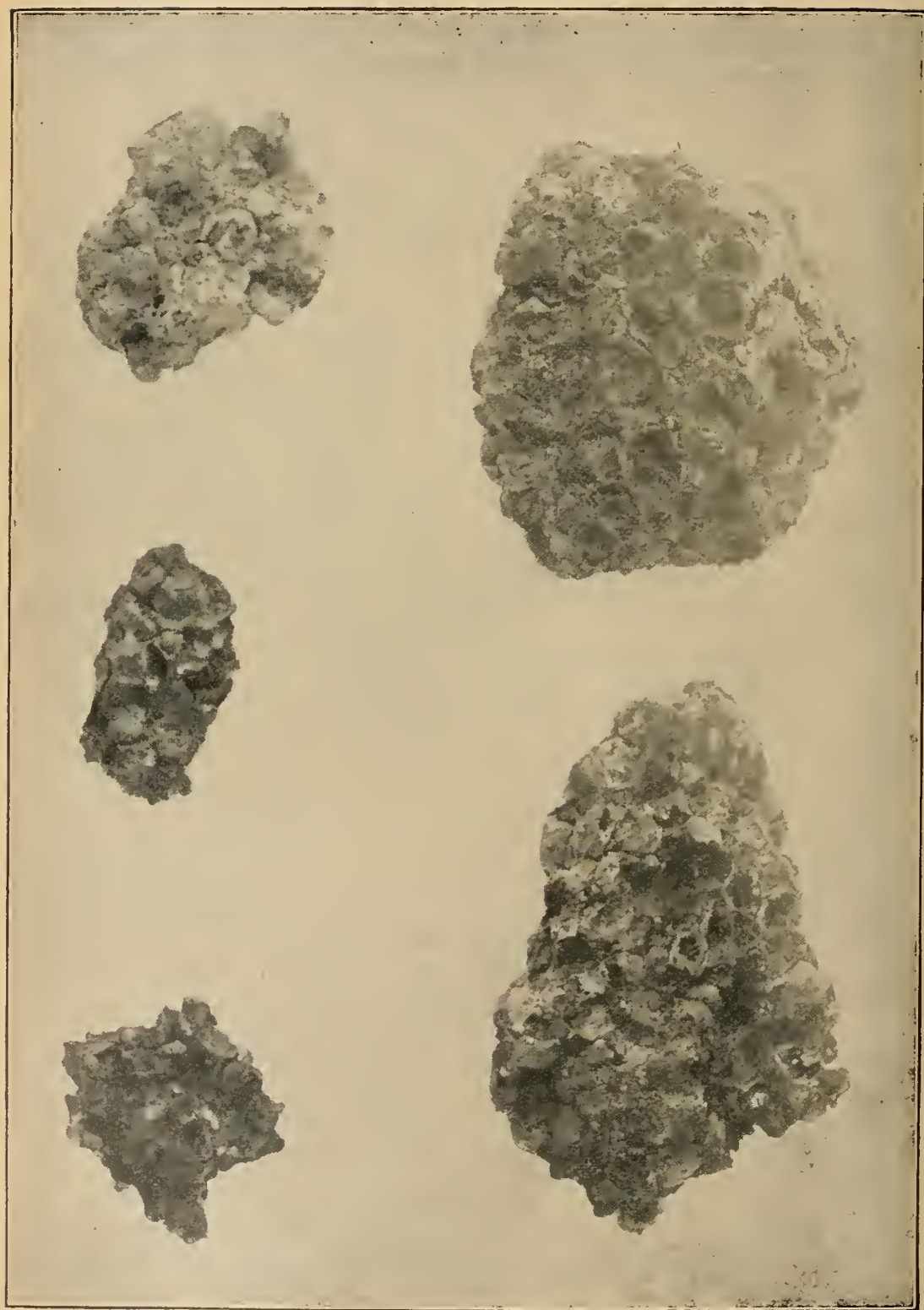


FIG. 20. Lumps of charred corn taken from broken vessels.

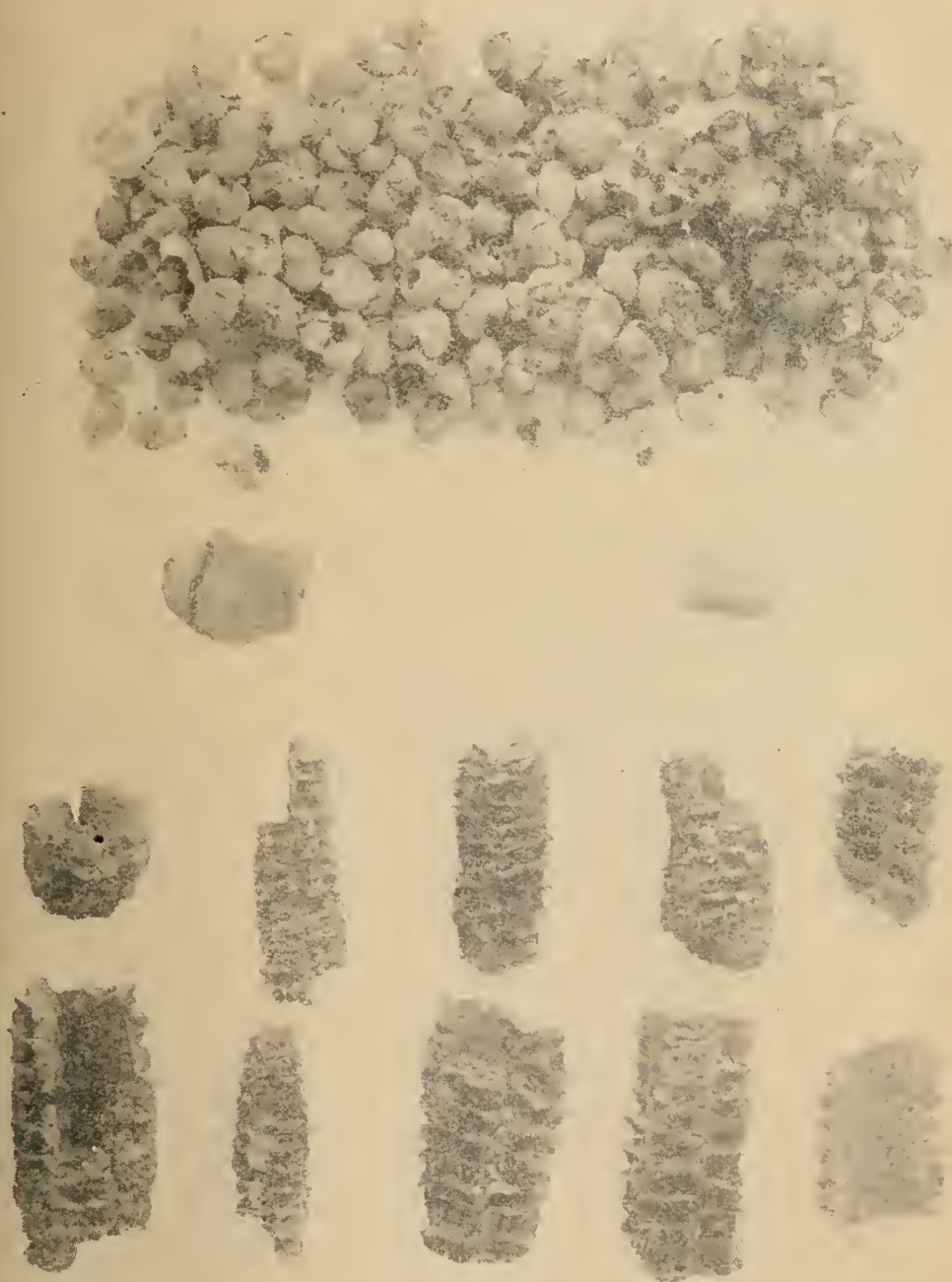


FIG. 21. Charred corn and cobs found in the fireplaces.

in evidence. Smith found at the Kentucky site papaw seed and wild plum seed.

#### SECURING OF FOOD.

Man's greatest necessities are food and water, and the securing of food to meet his needs must often have been a very severe problem. As for water, he could locate his primitive home near a stream or spring where there was always a constant supply. Again, we often find within fort walls large reservoirs for preserving the water supply, such as those at Ft. Ancient, but we find no evidence of the digging of anything like wells; and no doubt dependence for the most part was placed upon natural supply from streams and springs.

The securing of the necessary food would certainly tax the ingenuity of primitive man, with his primitive implements and methods.

Hunting evidently was the principal means of securing food, for no doubt all animals and birds had to be hunted. The weapons used, as indicated by our finds, were the bow and arrow. Arrow points chipped from flint were in evidence everywhere in the village, as well as arrow points made from tips of the horns of the deer. Perhaps other weapons used in the chase were the stone axe and celt, also found in the village site.

Fishing was another means of securing food, as indicated by the fish-hooks made of bone; and it is not improbable that many of the finely serrated arrow points found were used for spearing fish.

Agriculture. The finding of corn in so many places in the village, together with shell hoes in abundance, would indicate that agriculture was an important source of food supply.

Wild Fruit. The presence of wild cherry seeds, wild plum seeds, blackberry seeds and the seeds of the papaw, would indicate that wild fruits were much used for food.

Wild Nuts. The shells of walnuts, hickorynuts, butternuts and acorns found in the fireplaces indicate the use of nuts as food.

#### PREPARATION OF FOOD.

After food was secured the next important step was to render it more palatable by cooking. Certainly there must have been



a time in the course of human progress when man did not know the use of fire in the preparation of food, and flesh of animals he killed for food no doubt was eaten in the raw state. But when man became acquainted with the use of fire, naturally the home would become established and the cooking of food would mark an important step in his advancement from the lowest stages of savagery.

Knives played a very important part in the preparation of food.

These implements were usually made of flint, as shown in Fig. 22, Nos. 1, 2 and 4, and were very abundant in all sections of the village. Knives similar to those shown in the cut were found at Baum's, as also were long knives flaked from jasper cores. These flaked knives were not found at Gartner's, nor did Smith find them at the Kentucky site.

Hammerstones, as shown in Fig. 23 were very abundant in the village, and were most useful in the preparation of meats, being used to break the large bones of the deer, elk, bear and mountain lion. Hammerstones were plentiful at Baum's and at Gartner's and also in the Kentucky site. Grooved axes, as shown in Fig. 25 are of special interest, because of their presence near the surface only, or rather in the upper six inches of the soil of the village site. Our own examination did not disclose the grooved axe, but Mr. Wertz found a number of these axes in the village two of which are shown in Fig. 25. The axe might be considered one of the necessary tools in the primitive home, and would no doubt be useful in conjunction with the hammerstone, in the preparation of meats. No grooved axes were found at the Gartner site, nor by Smith at the Kentucky site.

Celts. One of the best known implements of the Ft. Ancient culture is the celt, made of flint or granite, and found everywhere in the village. When attached to a handle they would no doubt serve in cutting up the meat preparatory to cooking. A typical collection of celts is shown in Fig. 26. Celts were found at Baum's and at Gartner's and by Smith occasionally at the Kentucky site.



FIG. 22. Knives and spear points made of flint.

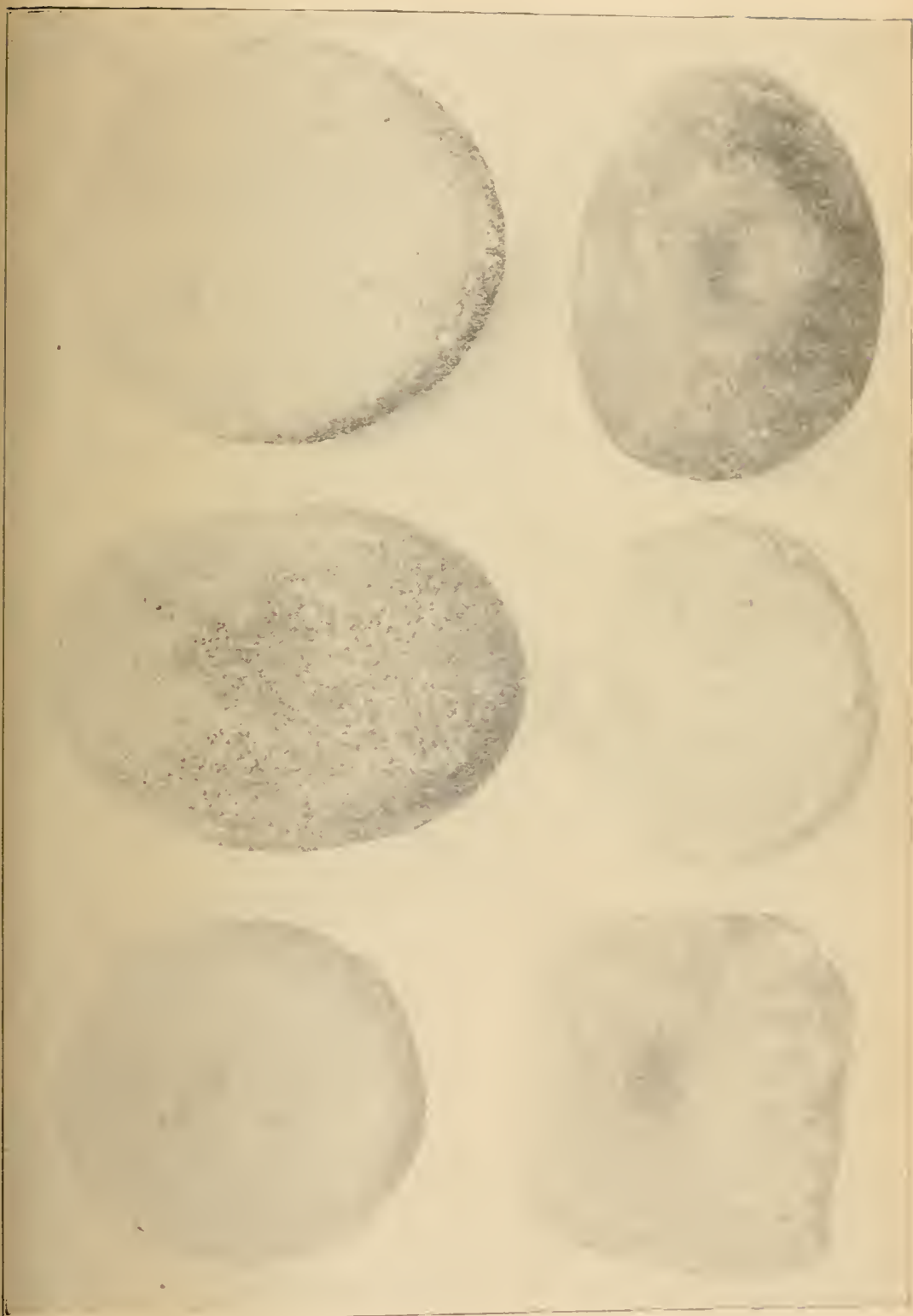


FIG. 23. Hammerstones found in the village.



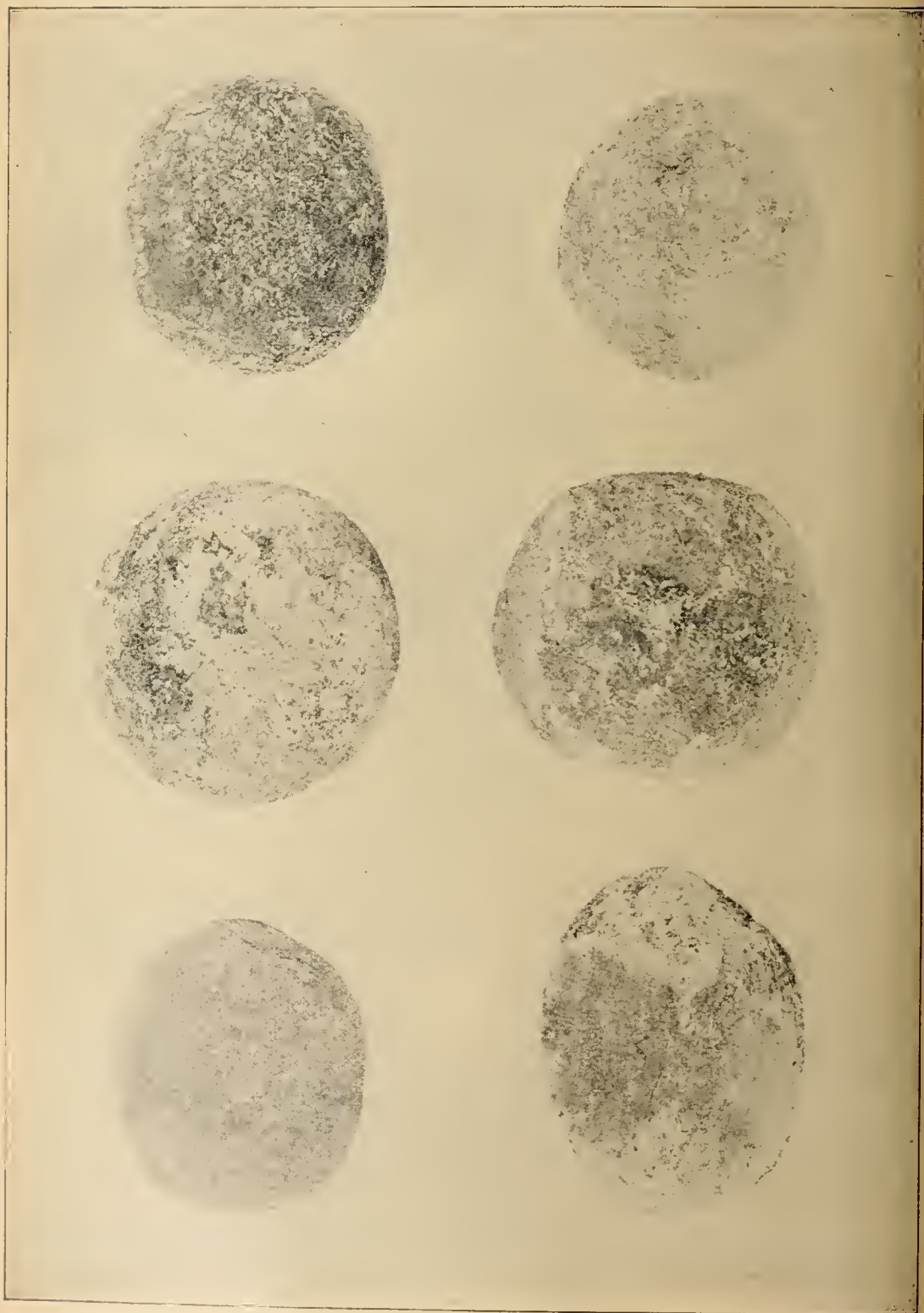


FIG. 24. Hammerstones and stone balls found in the village.

Stone mortars were not abundant in the village, although a number were found in various sections of the site. Good examples of these are shown in Fig. 27. They are made of slabs of the waverly sandstone found in the hills to the east. At Baum's stone mortars were found in all parts of the village, which in every way resembled those found at Feurt's. At Gartner village mortars were found, and from their number,

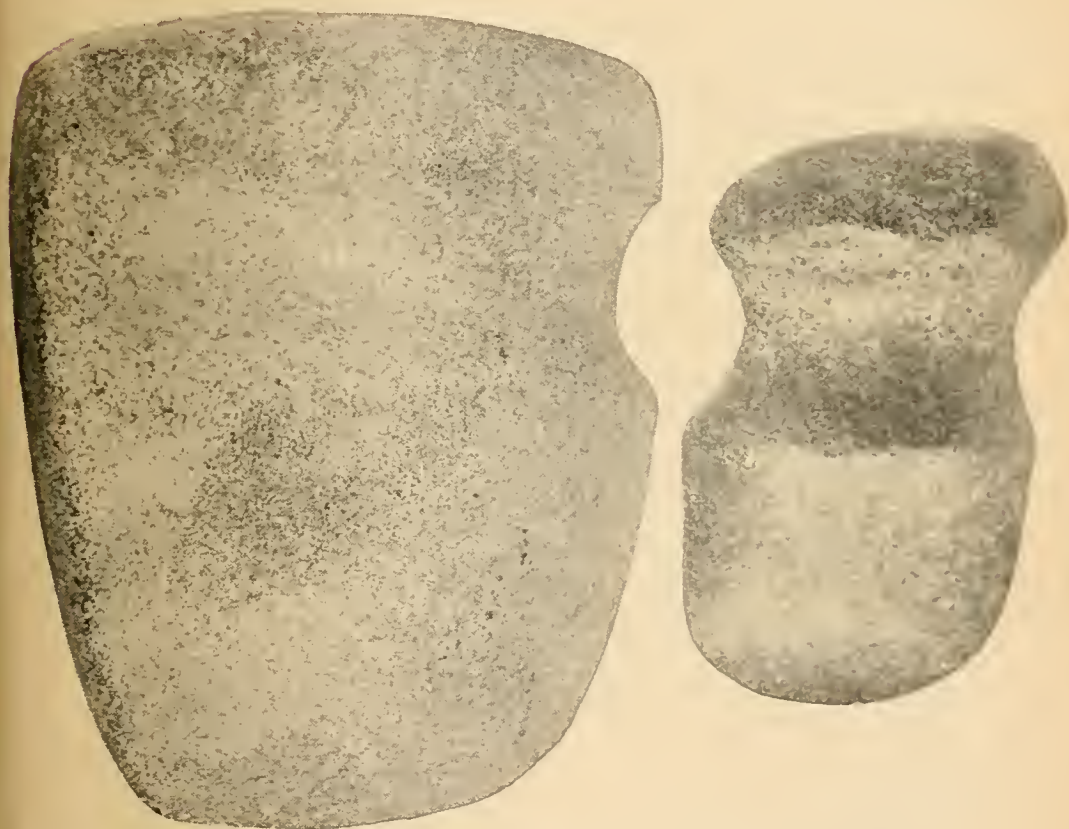


FIG. 25. Types of grooved axes found in the village.

they must have been universally used. Smith did not find mortars at the Kentucky site.

Pestles made in the form shown in Fig. 28, and known as bell-shaped pestles, were not abundant in the Feurt village, although quite a number were found by Mr. Wertz on the surface of the site. Our survey was unable to find any bell pestles below the plow line, but the ordinary round and flat grinding stones were abundant. At Baum's and at Gartner's

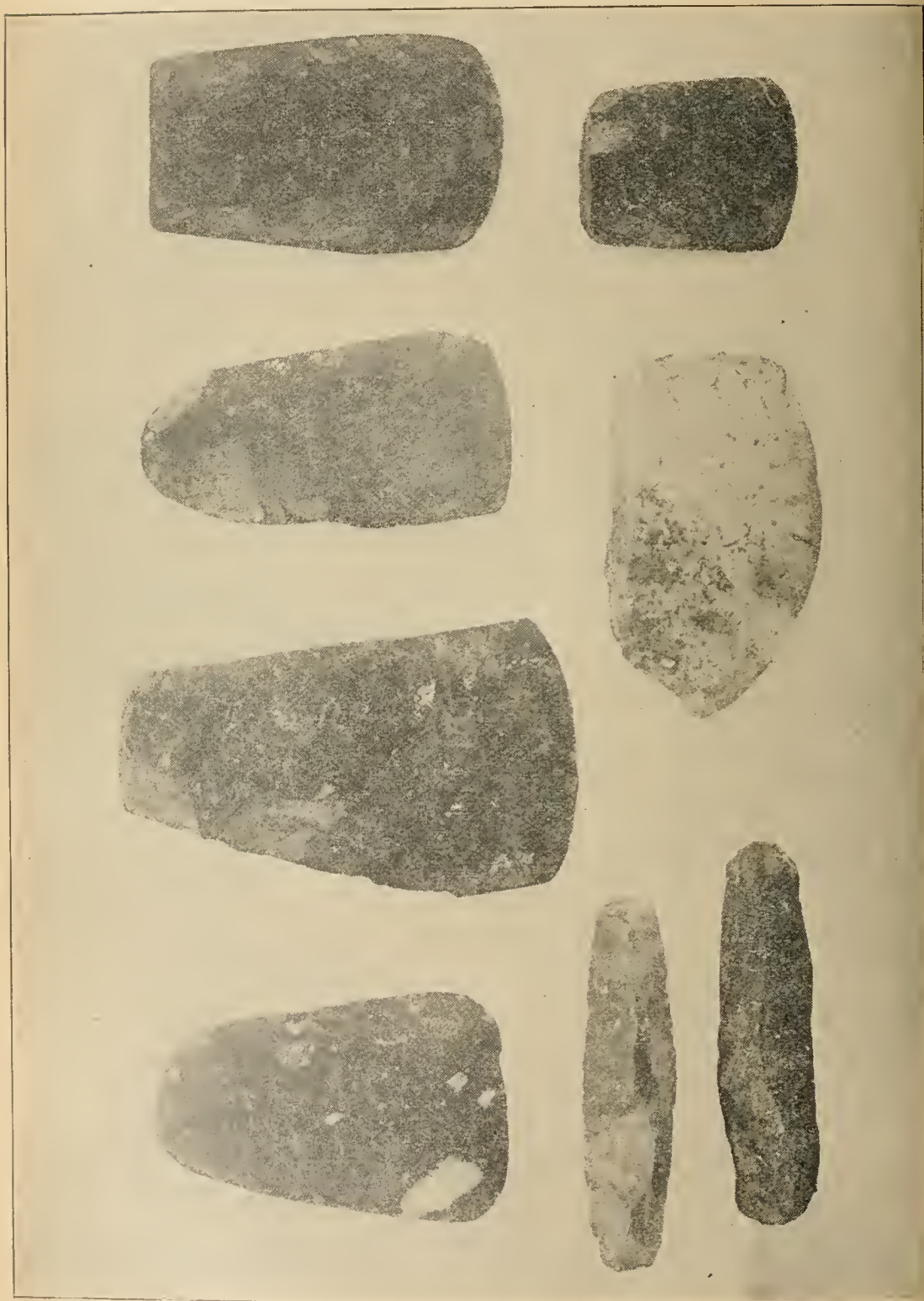


FIG. 26. Celts found in the village.



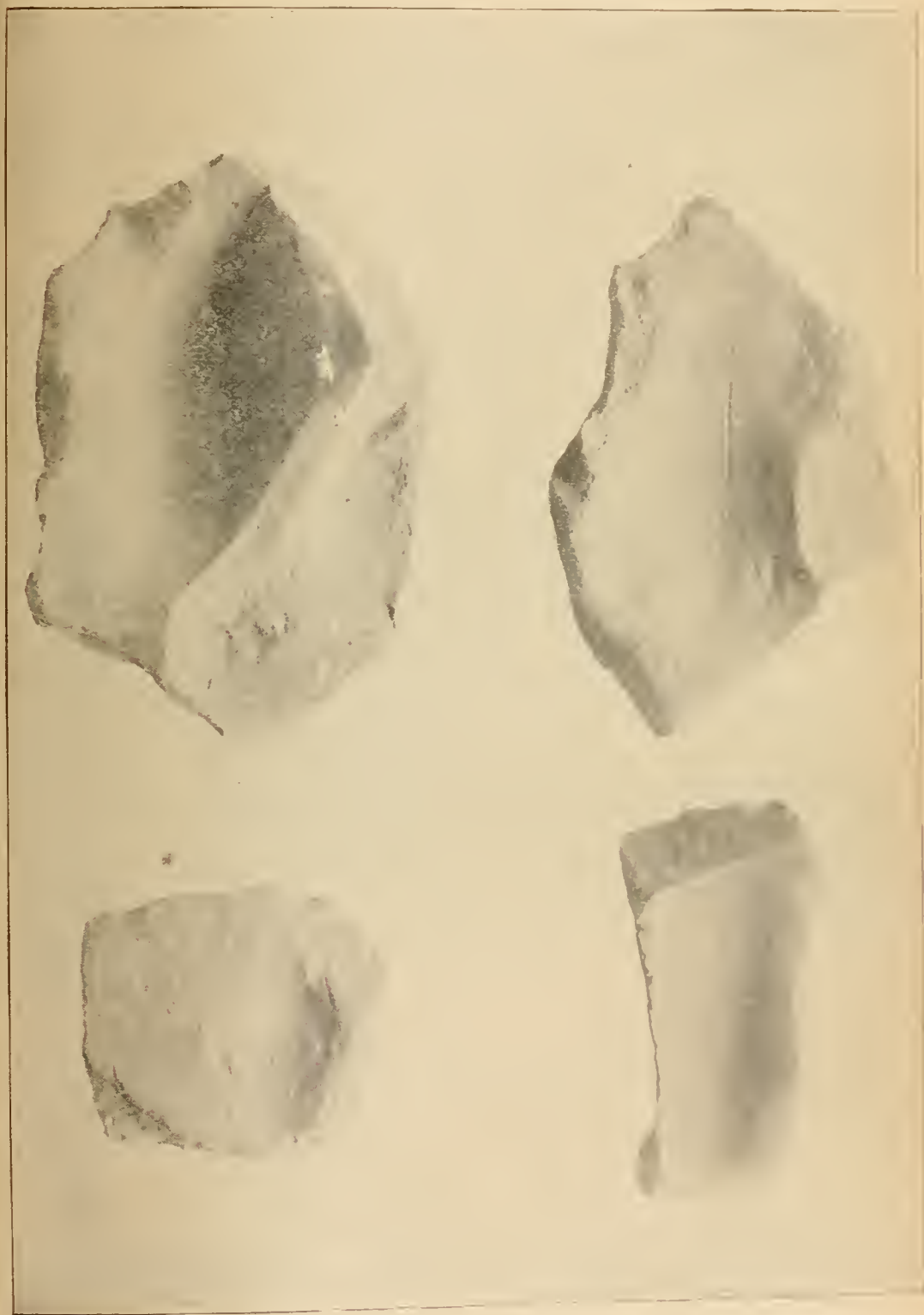


FIG. 27. Stone mortars and grinding stones; A site

the pestle was found, but Smith makes no record of its presence in the Kentucky site.

#### COOKING OF FOOD.

Roasting. Meat was very likely fastened on sticks and roasted before the open fireplace, as was the custom of the early Ohio Delaware and Shawanese tribes.

Boiling. If broken utensils afford any testimony, one



FIG. 28. Bell-shaped pestles found in the village;  $\frac{2}{3}$  size.

would be led to believe that food was cooked in pottery vessels, broken parts of which are found everywhere in the village, especially around the fireplaces. The pots used for cooking seem to have been placed directly over the fire, for many of them were found in place. In two instances during the explorations on the west side of the village, pots were found upon the fireplaces broken, with the charred remains of corn clinging to their sides. The charred lumps of corn are shown in Fig. 20.

DESCRIPTION OF POTTERY USED FOR COOKING FOOD.

The pottery found in the Feurt village differs but little, if at all, from the pottery found both at Baum's and Gartner's in Ohio, and by Smith in Kentucky. The clay used was no doubt secured just beneath the surface in the village and the tempering material used was broken shell and in a few instances small pieces of quartzite. Several instances were noted in the tepee sites where a quantity of prepared clay properly tem-

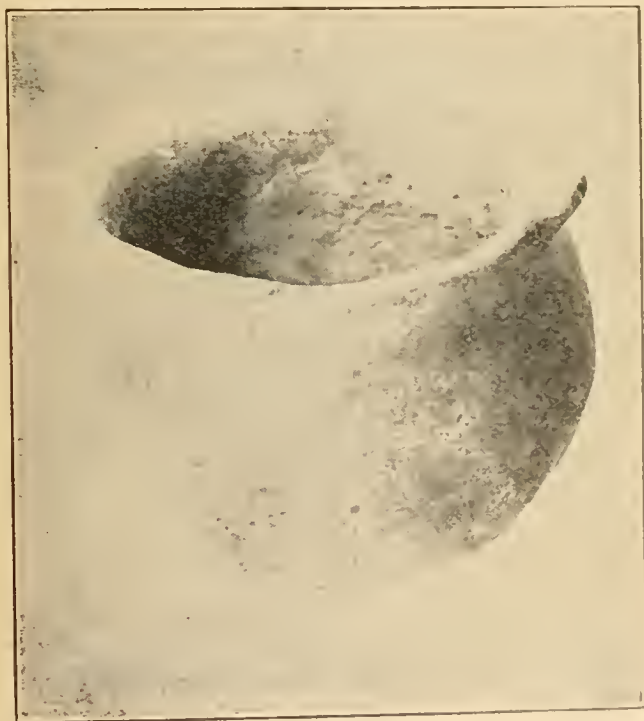


FIG. 29. Perfect piece of pottery, holding 3 pints.

pered with broken shells and ready to be used in making vessels had been left upon the floor unused.

No perfect pieces of pottery were found by our survey, but Mr. Wertz found along the bank of the south side of the village a perfect vessel, which is shown in Fig. 29. The pot is undecorated, would hold about one and one-half quarts, is symmetrically made, and might be considered a typical plain piece, though the majority of the vessels of this type were made somewhat larger. The decorated parts of broken ves-



sels were more in evidence than the plain, although found together in every part of the village.

Practically all the forms of decoration are shown in Figs. 30 and 31. Many very large pieces of broken pottery were decorated similarly to No. 1 of Fig. 30, which shows a free-hand decoration by incised lines about one-eighth inch apart. No. 2 of Fig. 30 shows another familiar decoration, made by removing about one-eighth inch of the surface to the depth of about one-sixteenth of an inch. The decoration usually is in straight lines, as in No. 2, or in curves as shown in No. 6 of Fig. 30. Another form of decoration much met with is shown in Nos. 3, 4, of Fig. 30 and No. 2 of Fig. 31. This is made by indentation. Decorations of this sort usually are found on small vessels.

A very pleasing decoration is shown in No. 5 of Fig. 30 and No. 4 of Fig. 31. This decoration is made by the use of a paddle around which cord had been wrapped. No. 6 of Fig. 31 is a combination of indentations, both dots and lines. Nos. 9 and 10 of Fig. 31 show two kinds of indented rims, both of which are very pleasing.

Practically all of the broken pots found at Feurts' had handles, either for suspension over the fireplace, or for removing from the fire after the food had been cooked, or for carrying. The principal varieties are shown in Figs. 32 and 33. Nos. 1 to 8 inclusive of Fig. 32 represent all the different forms of lugs found in the village. No. 9 of Fig. 32 represents a duck head, which is carried above the rim. The specimen does not show to advantage in the cut, but is a very good representation of a duck's head. No. 12 of Fig. 32 represents a raccoon in the act of climbing over the rim of the vessel. Perhaps these life forms were symbolic, having definite relations to their use.

In Fig. 33 the handles are shown. No. 7 of Fig. 33, is a handle detached from the rim, which shows the manner of attachment. A hole is bored through the body of the vessel at a point suitable below the rim, and the handle, freshly made, is thrust through the hole and properly clinched on the inside. The top is fastened to the rim, and when the vessel becomes

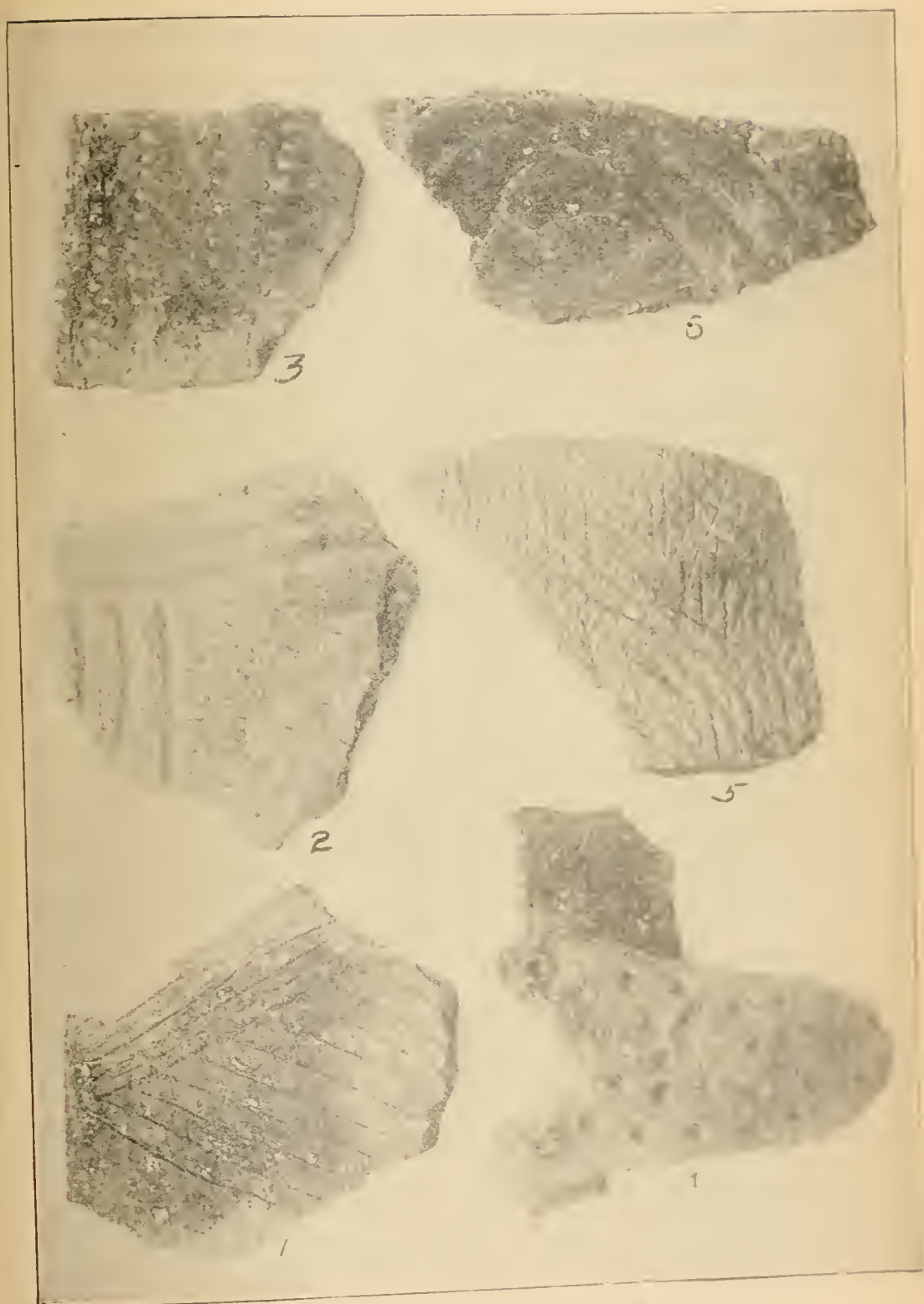


FIG. 30. Decorated potsherds.

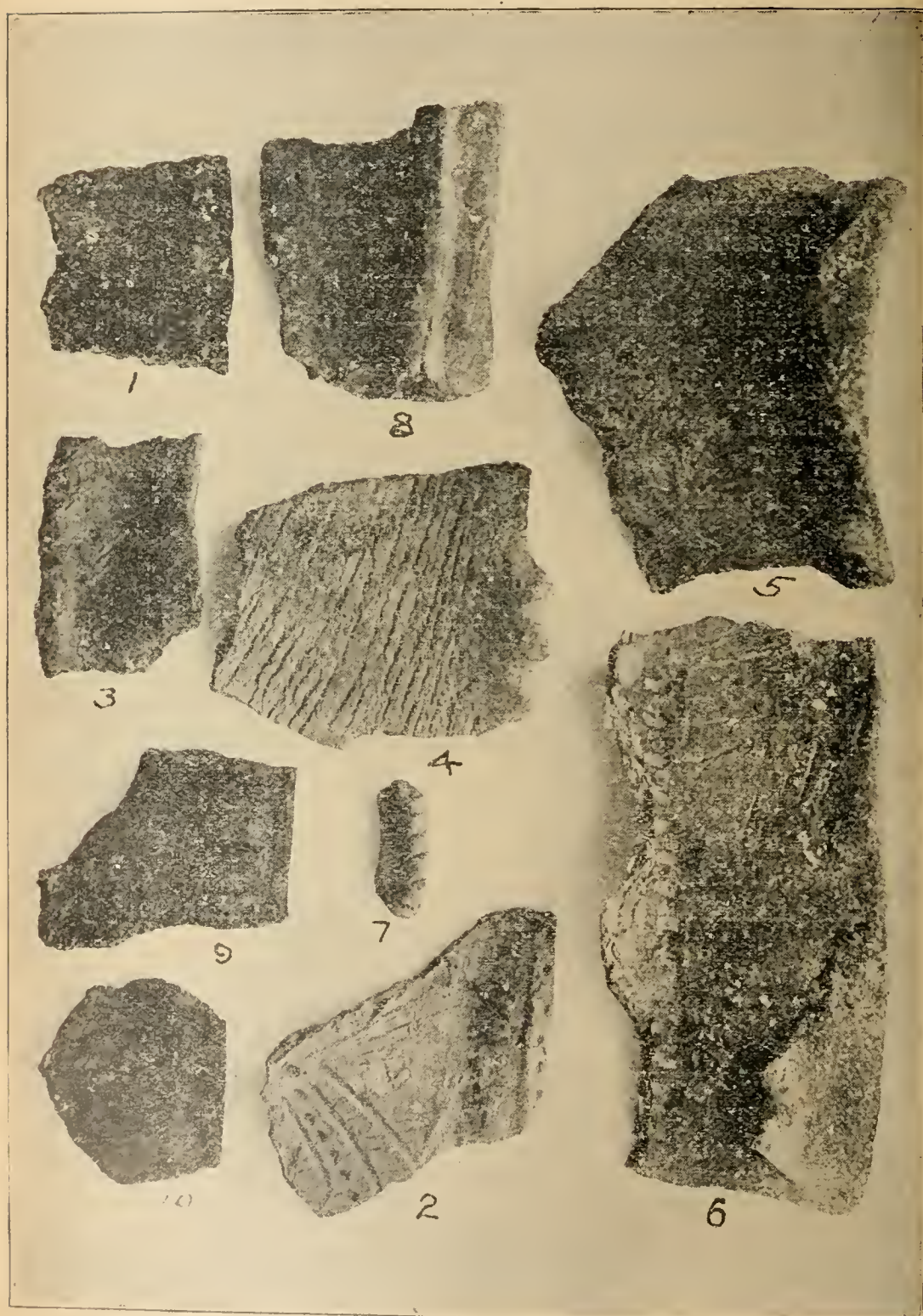


FIG. 31. Decorated rims of large pots.



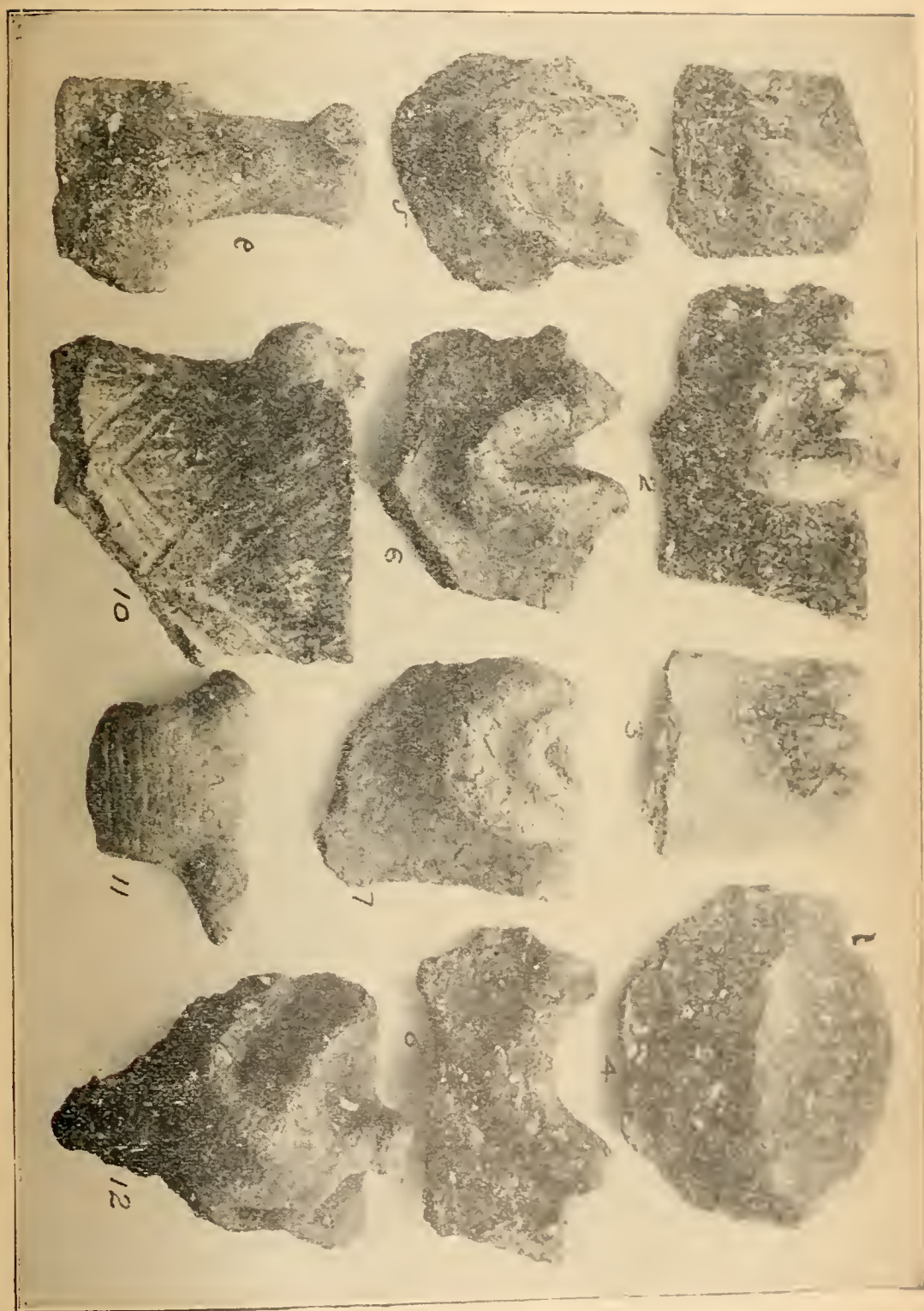


FIG. 32. Various forms of handles from broken pots.

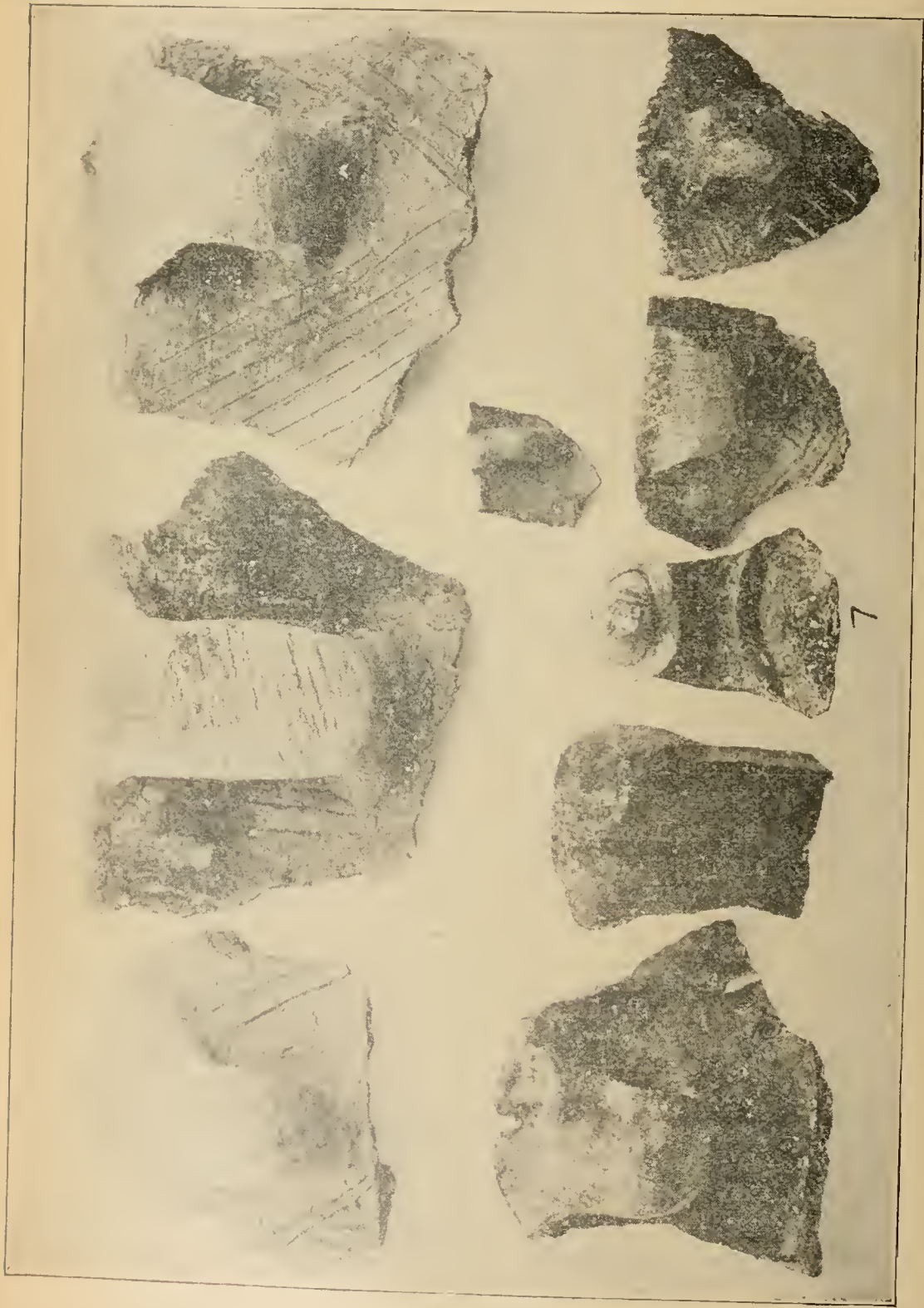


FIG. 33. Various forms of handles from broken pots.

dry and burned the handle is very strong and firm. Fig. 34. Nos. 1 to 7 are small objects made of clay. No. 1 is a round ball three-fourths inch in diameter. No. 2 is made in the image of a child, head and legs broken off, the specimen is decorated by finger nail markings. No. 3 is the head of a small animal, perhaps the mink. No. 4 is a broken ornament. No. 5 is a small pendant covered with finger nail markings. No. 6 is a small crescent. No. 7 is a large crescent, broken. No. 8 is the modeled head of the mountain lion, from the rim of a pot. No. 9 is also a modeled head, that of a bird. No. 10 is a modeled raccoon, on the side of the rim of a vessel. No. 11, modeled human head, from rim of vessel.

Practically all of the forms and decorations of the pots of the Feurt site were found at Baum's and at Gartner's. So similar are they that should the fragments accidentally become mixed, it would be impossible to separate them, and the same might be said of the pottery found by Smith in the Kentucky site. At Feurt's, no small miniature pottery was found, while at Baum's and Gartner's many examples of this miniature ware were in evidence. Smith also found the small pottery in the Kentucky site, but no evidence of its presence at Feurt's was discovered.

#### USE OF POTTERY IN MORTUARY CUSTOMS.

The use of pottery in connection with mortuary observances was not discovered at Feurt's although more than four hundred graves were examined. This lack of any evidence of placing pottery with the dead, although practiced by this same culture both at Baum's and at Gartner's is of special interest. At Baum's one hundred and twenty-seven burials were found, only six of which had pottery placed in the grave. At Gartner's a fine specimen of pottery vessel was found in one grave, while in others the prepared clay, ready to be made into pottery, had been placed in a niche made near the head of the grave. Smith did not find pottery with any of the burials of the Kentucky site.



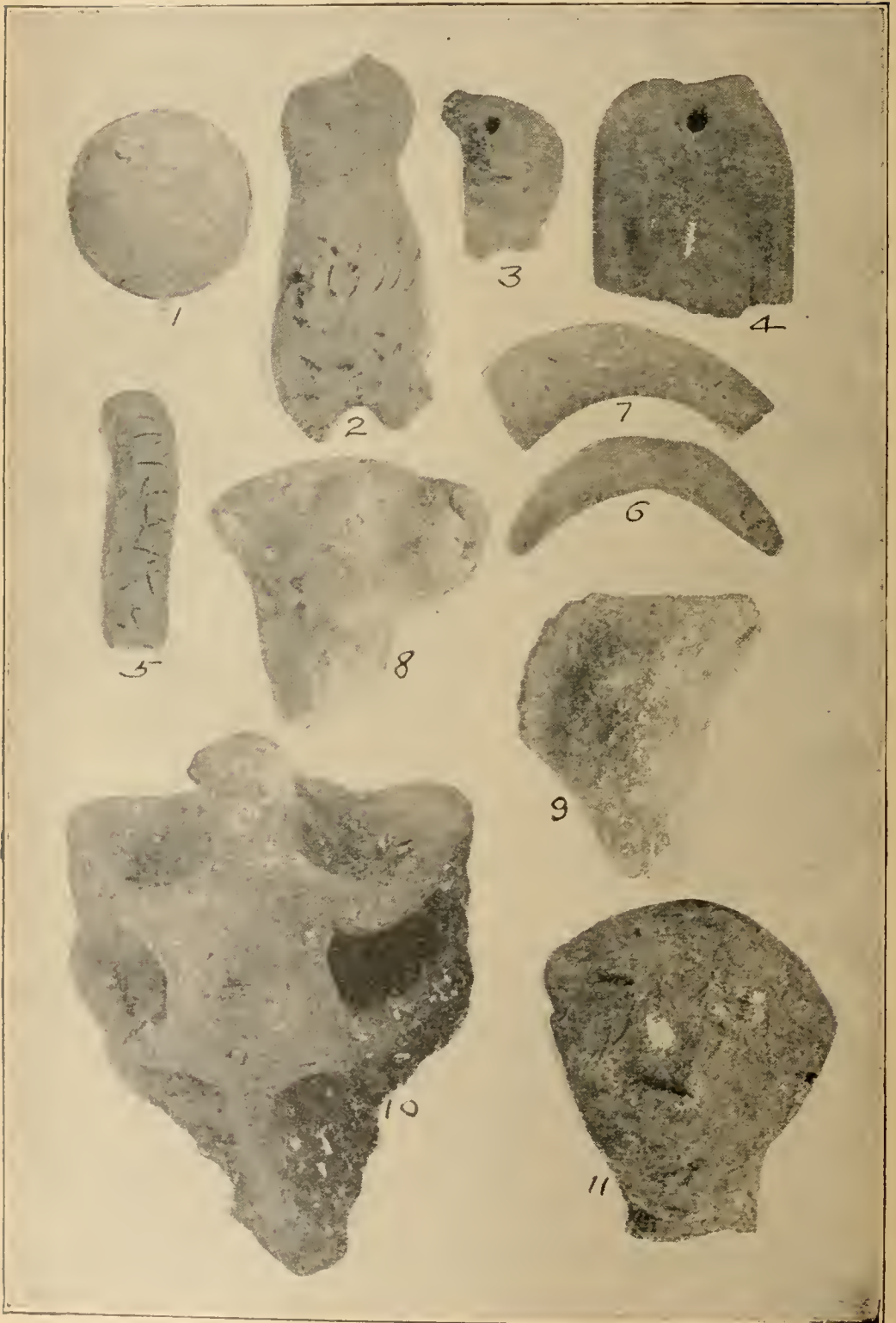


FIG. 34. Objects made of clay;  $\frac{2}{3}$  size.

## IMPLEMENTS MADE OF STONE.

**The Arrow Point.** The most common of the stone implements found in the Feurt village is the arrowpoint, showing that the bow and arrow was the most used weapon of its early inhabitants. The arrow points for the most part are of the triangular type, made of coal-measure flint, with now and then a specimen made of flint from Flint Ridge, Licking county. The triangular points are of two kinds, serrated and plain. Excellent examples of the serrated point are shown in Fig. 35. This type of arrow point equals the plain point in numbers, more than one thousand of the two types being found in the village. Fig. 36 shows fine examples of the plain triangular type. The triangular type of arrow point was found in abundance at Baum's and Gartner's but mostly of the plain variety, and not a typical specimen of the serrated form was found at either Baum's or Gartner's. Smith found the serrated and plain at the Kentucky site.

The serrated type is found everywhere in the region of the lower Scioto and the Ohio rivers.

**Spear points.** The spear points found in the village site are of special interest, since the greater number were found near the surface. Those found below the plow line are similar to the arrow points in form, being of the triangular type, only larger, and vary in length from three to four and one-half inches. Those found on the surface are shown in Figs. 37 and 38, and show wonderful development of the art of flint chipping. The splendid specimens shown in Figs. 37 and 38 were found by Mr. Wertz during his many years of surface exploring at the Feurt site. Flint spear points were most plentiful on all of the Ohio sites, and all show excellent chipping, but the specimens found at Feurt's were far superior both in design and workmanship. Smith found the spear point at the Kentucky site, but the specimens were inferior to those found in the Ohio sites.

**Flint Drills.** Flint drills were very abundant in the Feurt site. A good selection of the various forms is shown in Fig. 39. Any one of the ten forms was often duplicated, of some a dozen or more specimens being found. Flint drills were plen-

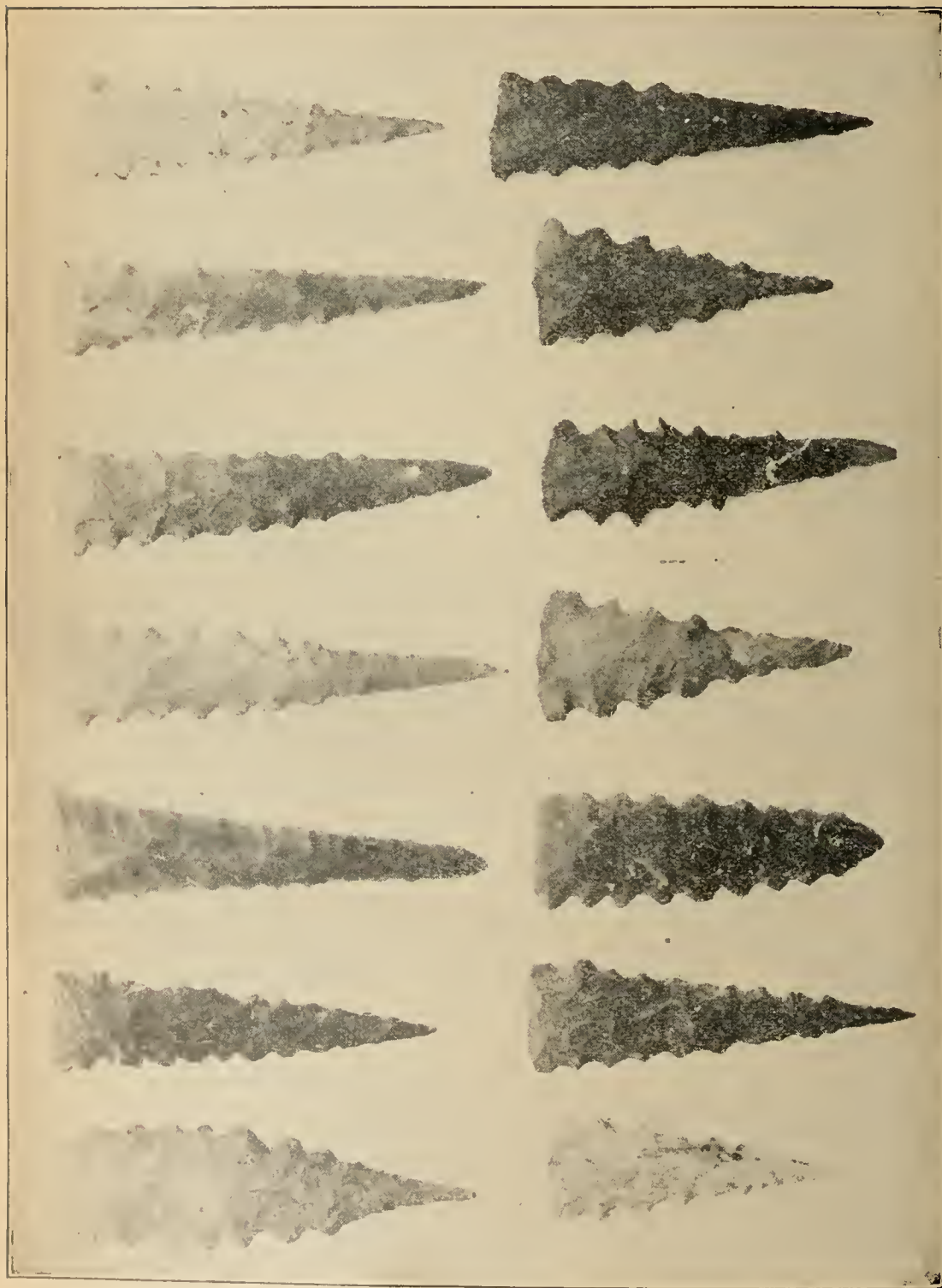


FIG. 35. Serrated arrowpoints found in the village; full size.



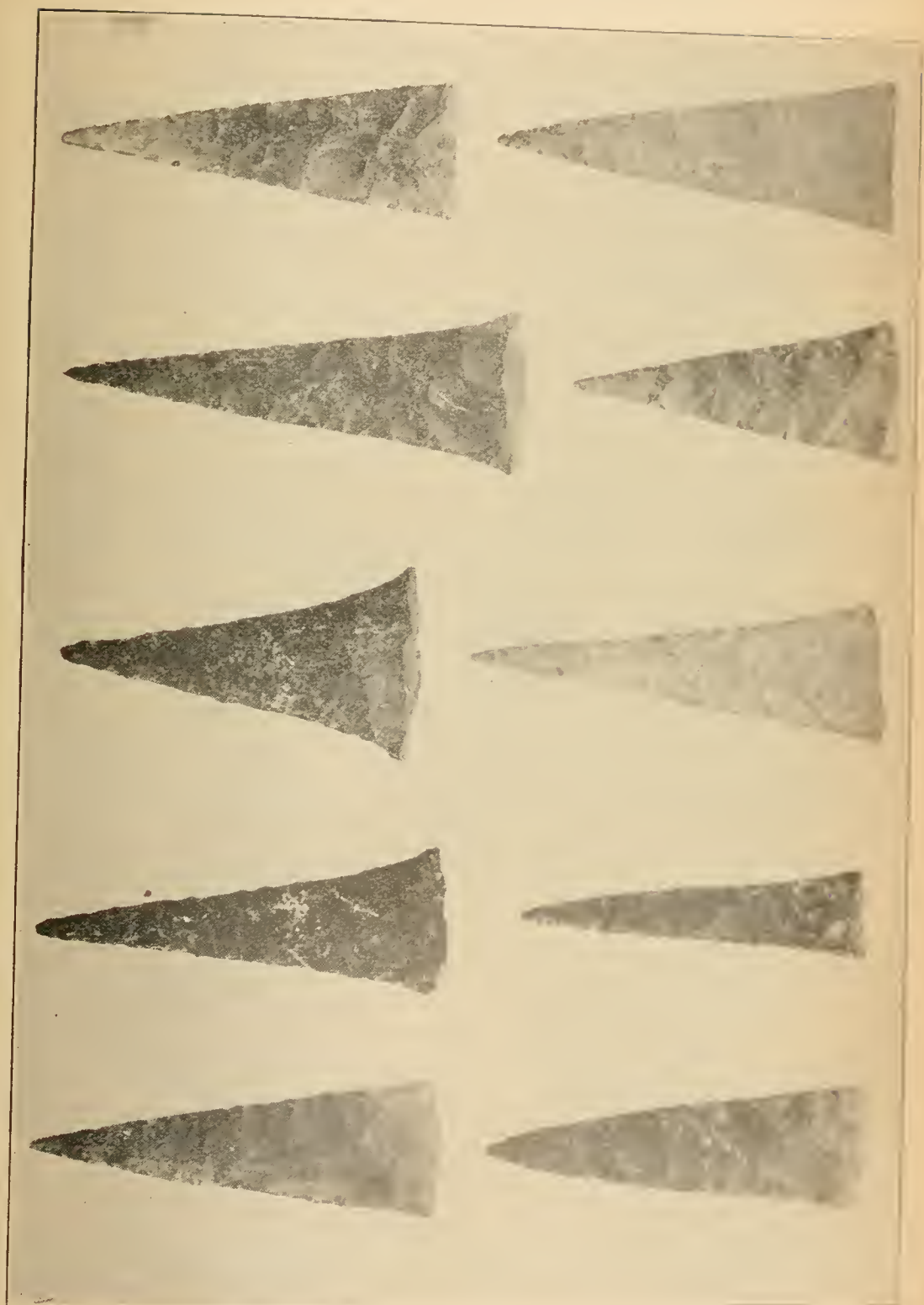


Fig. 36. Plain triangular arrowpoints; full size.

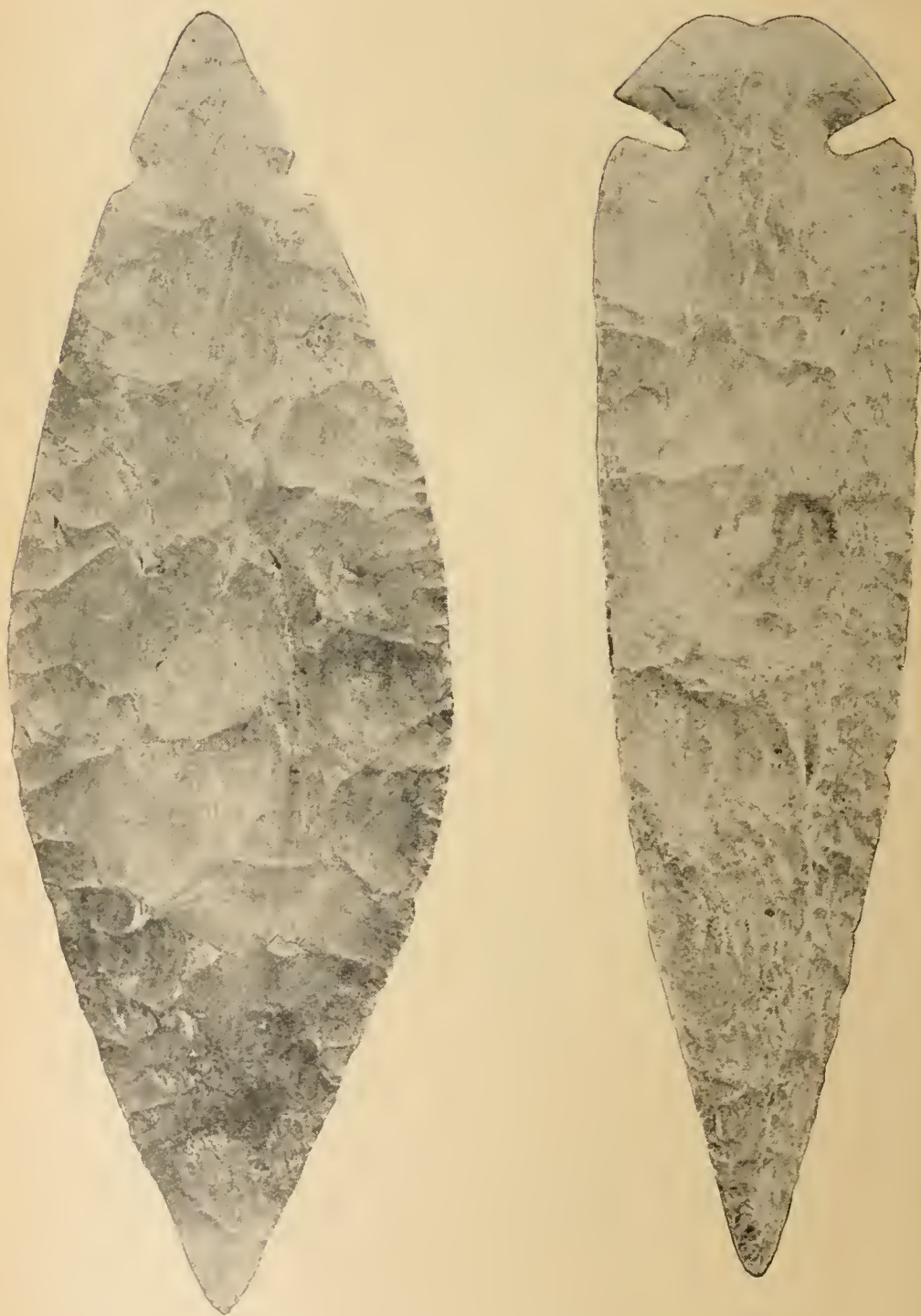


FIG. 37. Large spearpoints; full size.

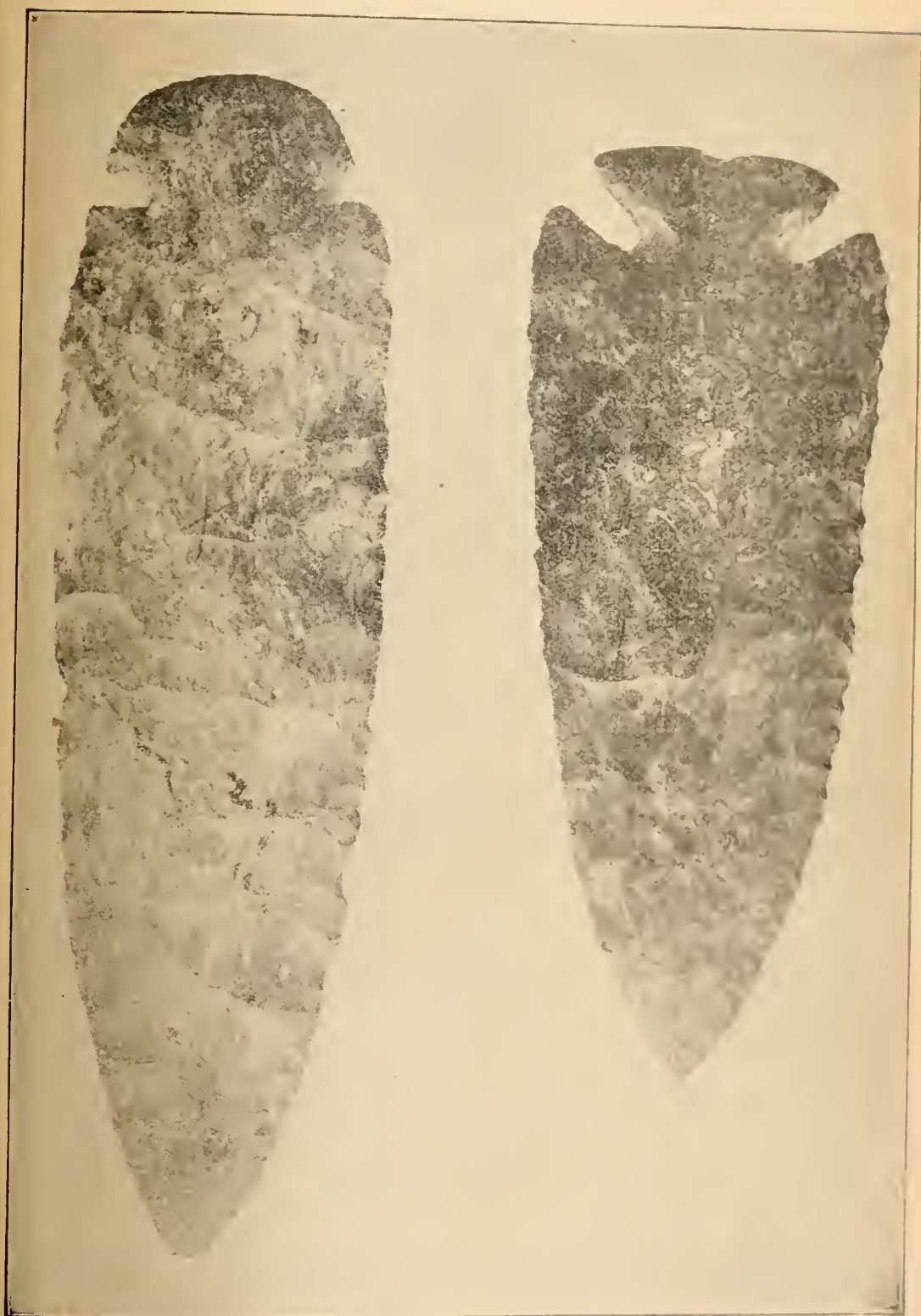


FIG. 38. Large spearpoints; full size.



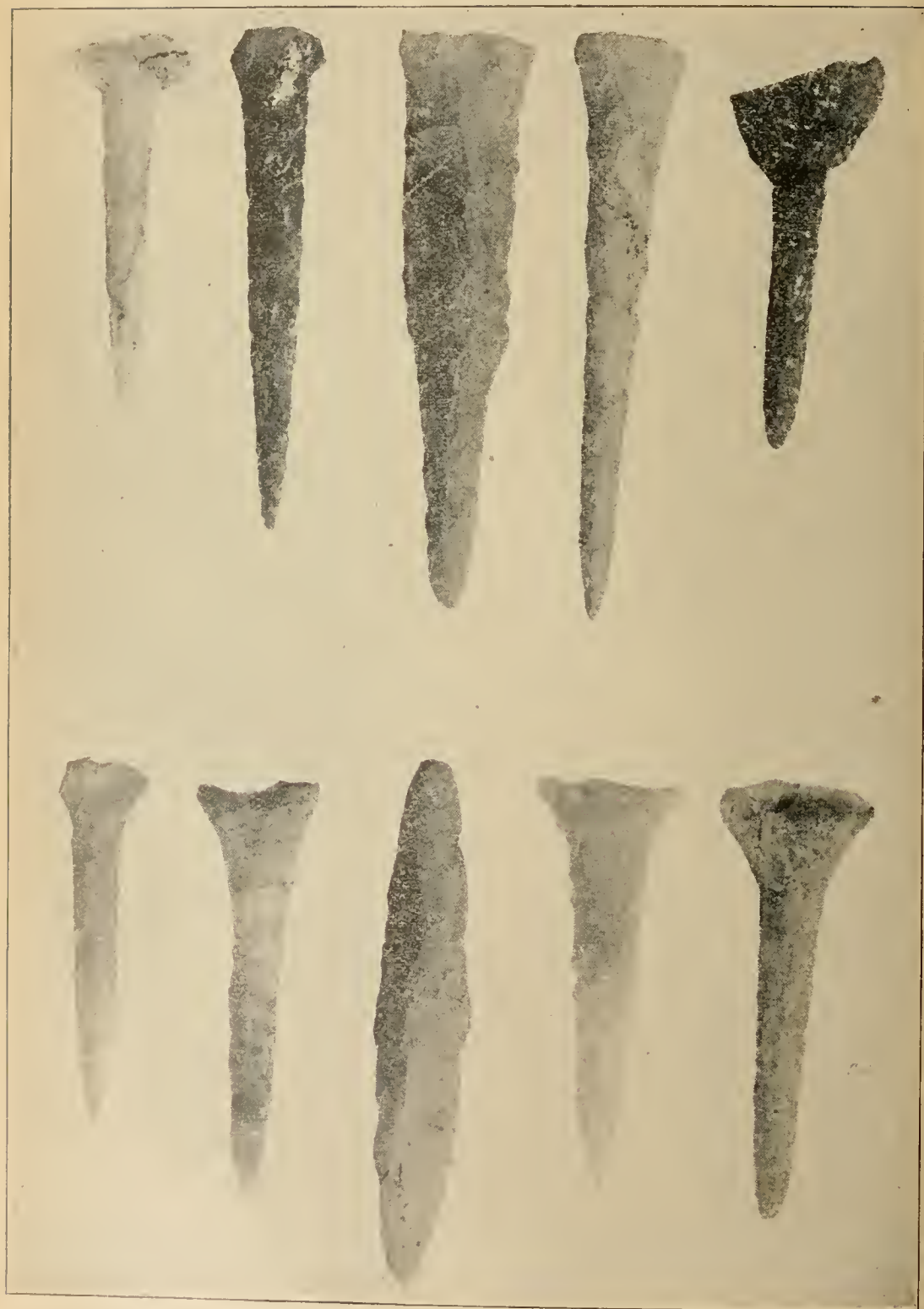


FIG. 39. Flint drills; full size.

tiful at Baum's but no specimens were found at Gartner's, although evidence of the use of the drill was met with frequently and they were no doubt in general use. Smith found the drill in the Kentucky site, but not in abundance, and in less variety as to form than found at Baum's and at Feurt's.

#### HEMATITE IMPLEMENTS.

Objects made from hematite were frequently met with in the village. The celt was the most abundant, and varied in size from three-fourths of an inch in length to two and one-half inches, many of them showing usage. Good examples of the hematite celt are shown in Fig. 40, Nos. 1 to 4.

Hematite plummets also were found in goodly numbers. Nos. 5 and 6 of Fig. 40 show two forms most commonly met with. Hematite hemispheres also were found, as shown in No. 7 of Fig. 40, as were hematite cones, shown in No. 8 of Fig. 40.

An unfinished gorget made of hematite is shown in No. 9 of Fig. 40. Gorgets made of hematite are very unusual, and are of special interest when found in the village sites of this culture. Objects made of hematite were not found either at Baum's or at Gartner's and Smith does not report it in the Kentucky site.

Hematite nodules are found in abundance within the limits of Scioto county, at various places where the hematite nodules outcrop, and consequently the material was very accessible to the dwellers in the Feurt village. Small hematite paint cups were frequently found. These are shown in Fig. 41, Nos. 1, 2, 3, which are good representations of the various sizes found. No. 4 of Fig. 41 is a round ball of quartzite, finely polished. No. 5 of Fig. 41 is a diamond-shaped unfinished specimen, made of quartzite, evidently intended for a bead, as an attempt is made to perforate the piece by drilling. No. 6 of Fig. 41 is a limestone cone finely polished.

Fig. 42 shows two very interesting specimens. The larger is a spud-shaped implement made of cannelcoal, and the other a chisel of banded slate. These two specimens were found by Mr. Wertz. Cannelcoal objects were not found by our survey.

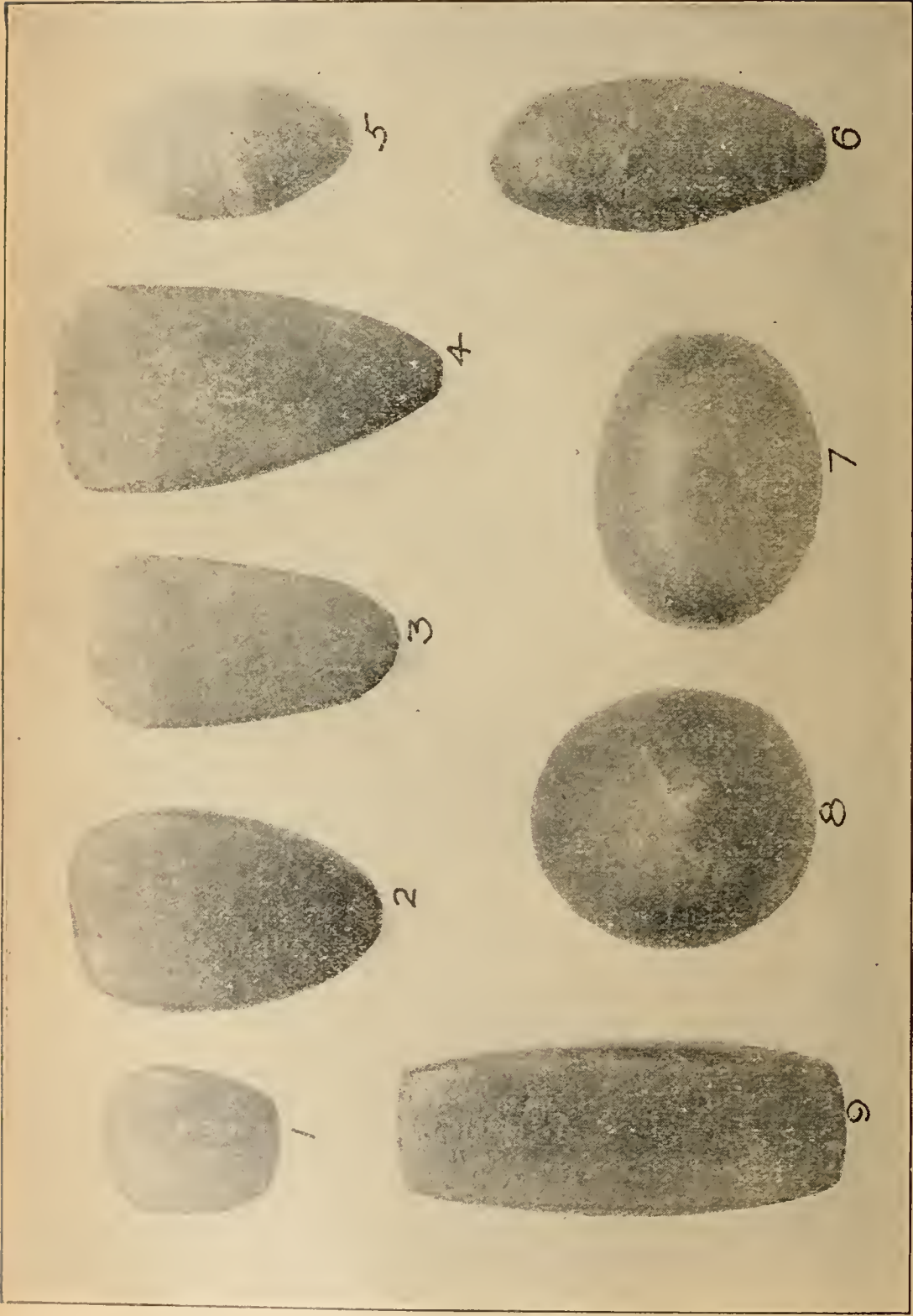


FIG. 40. Hematite objects;  $\frac{2}{3}$  size.



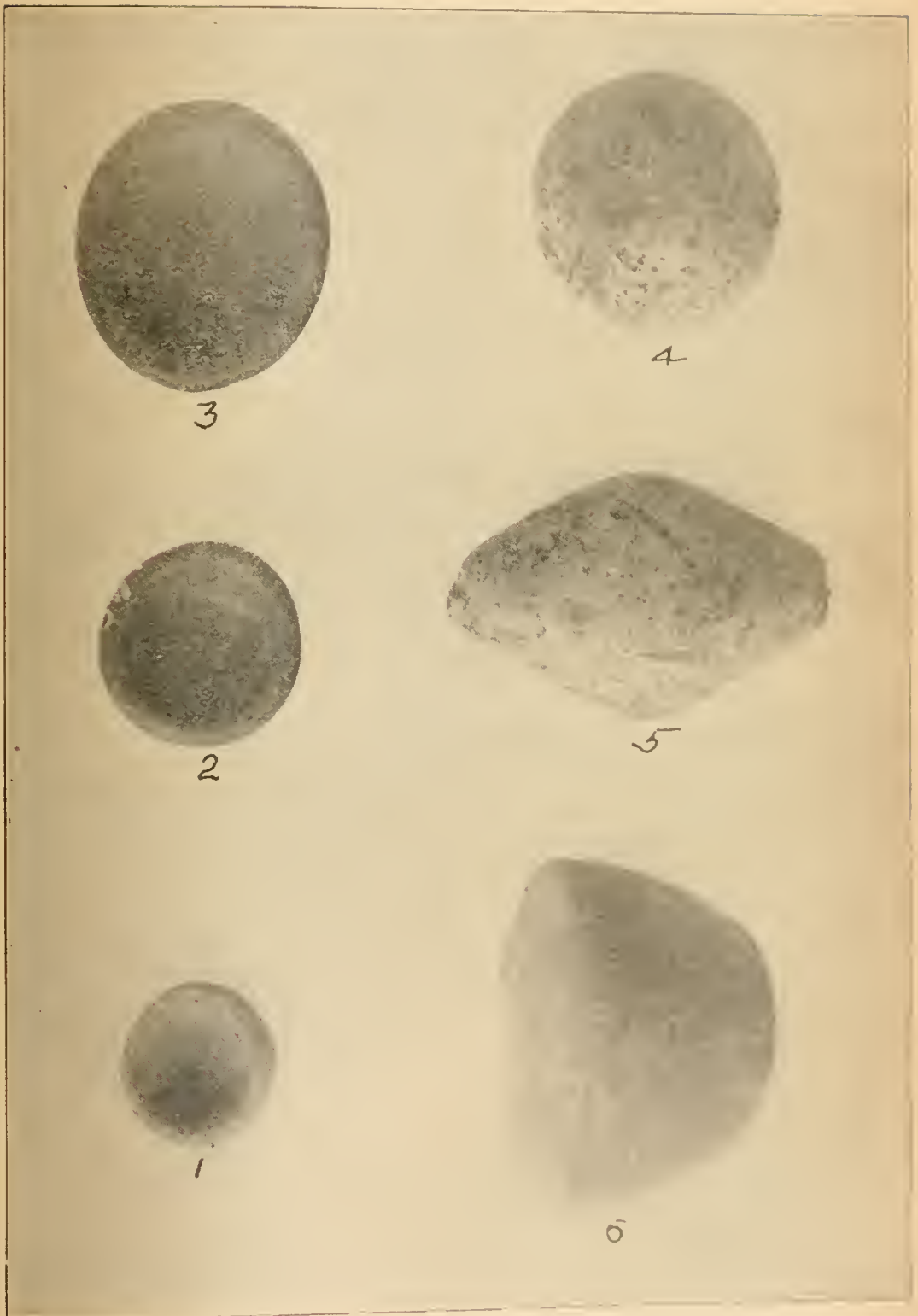


FIG. 41. Hematite and other objects found in the village; full size.

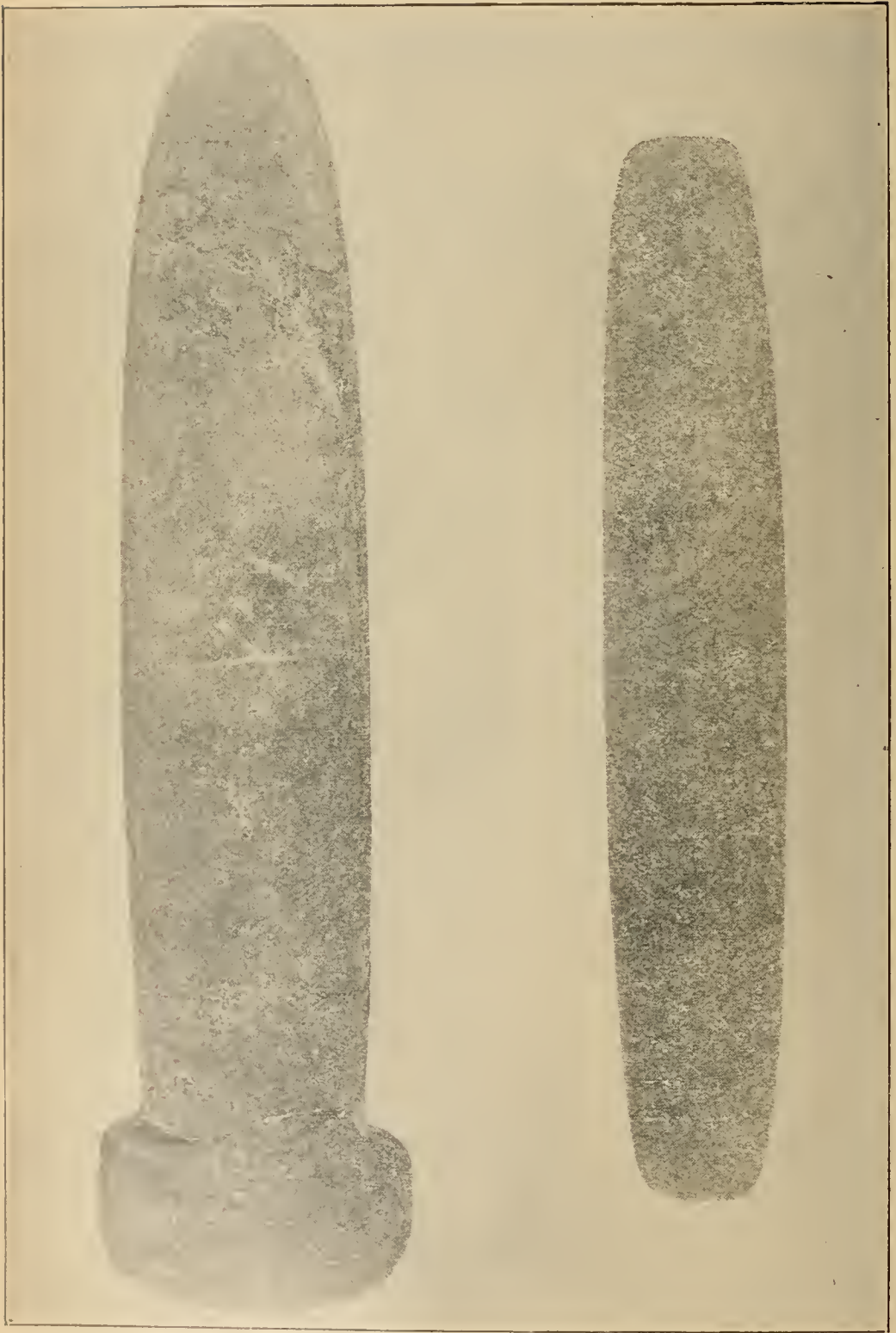


FIG. 42. Objects of camelcoal and slate found in the village; full size.

but Mr. Wertz found many objects made of this mineral upon the surface of the village during the years of his examinations of the site.

ORNAMENTS OF STONE.

Fig. 43 shows a number of stone gorgets found in the village site.

Nos. 1 and 2 are almost alike, very likely are unfinished, and are made of waverly sandstone. No. 3 of Fig. 43 is unfinished, as a hole had been started at the center and left. The specimen is made of black slate. No. 4 of Fig. 43 is a finished gorget made of waverly sandstone and pierced with one hole for suspension. Fig. 44 shows several effigy ornaments of unusual interest. No. 1 is perhaps an effigy of a mountain lion claw. No. 2 is an ornament made of banded slate and decorated with a notched edge. No. 3 is a large bead made of hematite. No. 4 is a gorget made of banded slate and pierced with one hole. No. 5 is the head of a bird made of sandstone, and No. 6 is the effigy of a bird, made of black slate.

Fig. 45 shows one of the most interesting and valuable of the specimens found in the village site. The specimen is of black slate, is about six and one-half inches long and one-fourth inch in thickness, and is made in the shape of a large spear point. On the one face, that shown in the cut, is plainly carved a mythical fish-serpent with large canine teeth and exaggerated spines. The greater part of the body and spines are decorated with criss-cross lines. A zigzag line is drawn from the eye to the heart, which gives us some clew to the petroglyphs found along the Ohio river and in various parts of the state. In practically all animals and birds cut upon stone, a zigzag line is thus drawn from the eye to the heart, and one must infer that the Feurt peoples were of, or contemporaneous with, those who carved the petroglyphs and that they knew and understood the meanings of such drawings.

ORNAMENTS MADE OF CANNELCOAL.

Cannelcoal objects were found in abundance in the upper six inches of the village site, and many effigy canines of animals



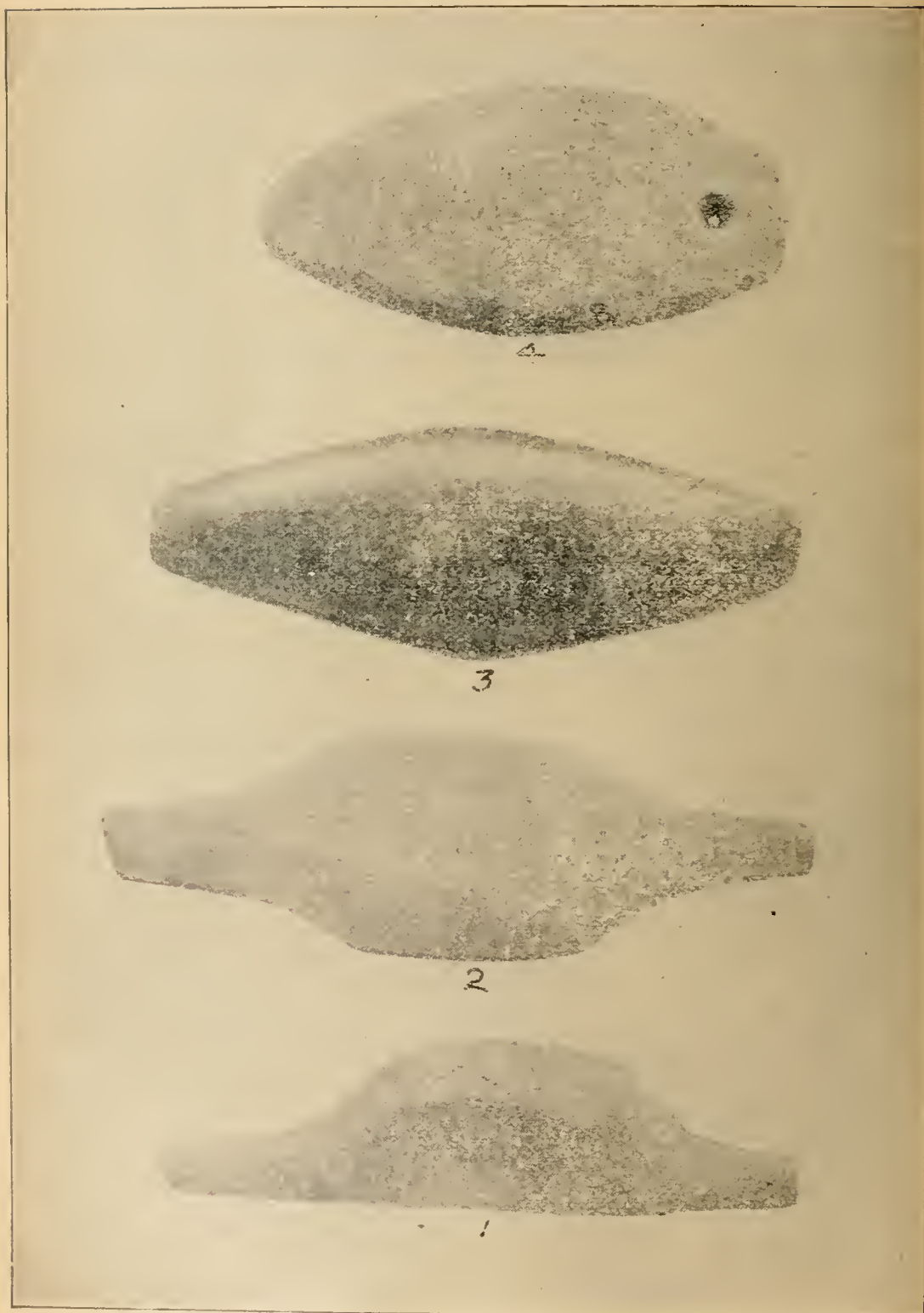


FIG. 43. Finished and unfinished objects found in the village; full size.



FIG. 44. Effigy and other objects found in the village; full size.



FIG. 45. Mythical fish-serpent found in the village;  $\frac{2}{3}$  size.



and claws of birds were secured by Mr. Wertz during his explorations in the Feurt village. These are shown in Fig. 46. Other objects made of cannelcoal were also abundant, examples of which are shown in Fig. 47. One specimen, a broken gorget, is decorated by an incised drawing of some grotesque object. Other specimens were in the process of making. Our survey did not find any of the cannelcoal objects, which seem to have been a late acquisition to the artifacts of the tribe.

At Baum's and at Gartner's no objects made of cannelcoal were found, but Smith found in the Kentucky site many effigies made of cannelcoal similar to those found at Feurts'.

#### DISCOIDAL STONES.

Discoidal stones or disc-like game stones are of special interest because of the large number found in every part of the village—upward of 300 specimens. Many of them were mere discs of waverly sandstone, perfectly plain or decorated with incised lines, and sometimes perforated with a single hole at the center. Other plain discoidals are made of pottery fragments, while still others are of cannelcoal, as shown in Fig. 47. Four specimens of the cannelcoal discs are shown. No. 1 is fairly well made. No. 2 is finely made and highly polished. No. 3 shows some chipping and No. 4, a fairly well made specimen, might be considered representatives of the class. The bi-concave type of discoidals found in the village were of two kinds, perforated and unperforated. Either class may be plain or decorated.

The plain bi-concave type, perforated, is shown in Fig. 48, Nos. 1, 2 and 3. For the most part they are made of granite, quartzite or waverly sandstone, and are highly polished, showing much skill and a great amount of patience in their manufacture. None of the well-wrought specimens would exceed two and one-half inches in diameter and none were less than one and three-fourths inches in diameter. The decorated bi-concave type, perforated, are of special interest because of the great diversity of decoration. Several were found with a bird foot, perhaps that of the wild turkey, carved upon both faces, as shown in Fig. 49, No. 2, while others have plain lines running from the



FIG. 46. Objects made of cannelcoal; full size.

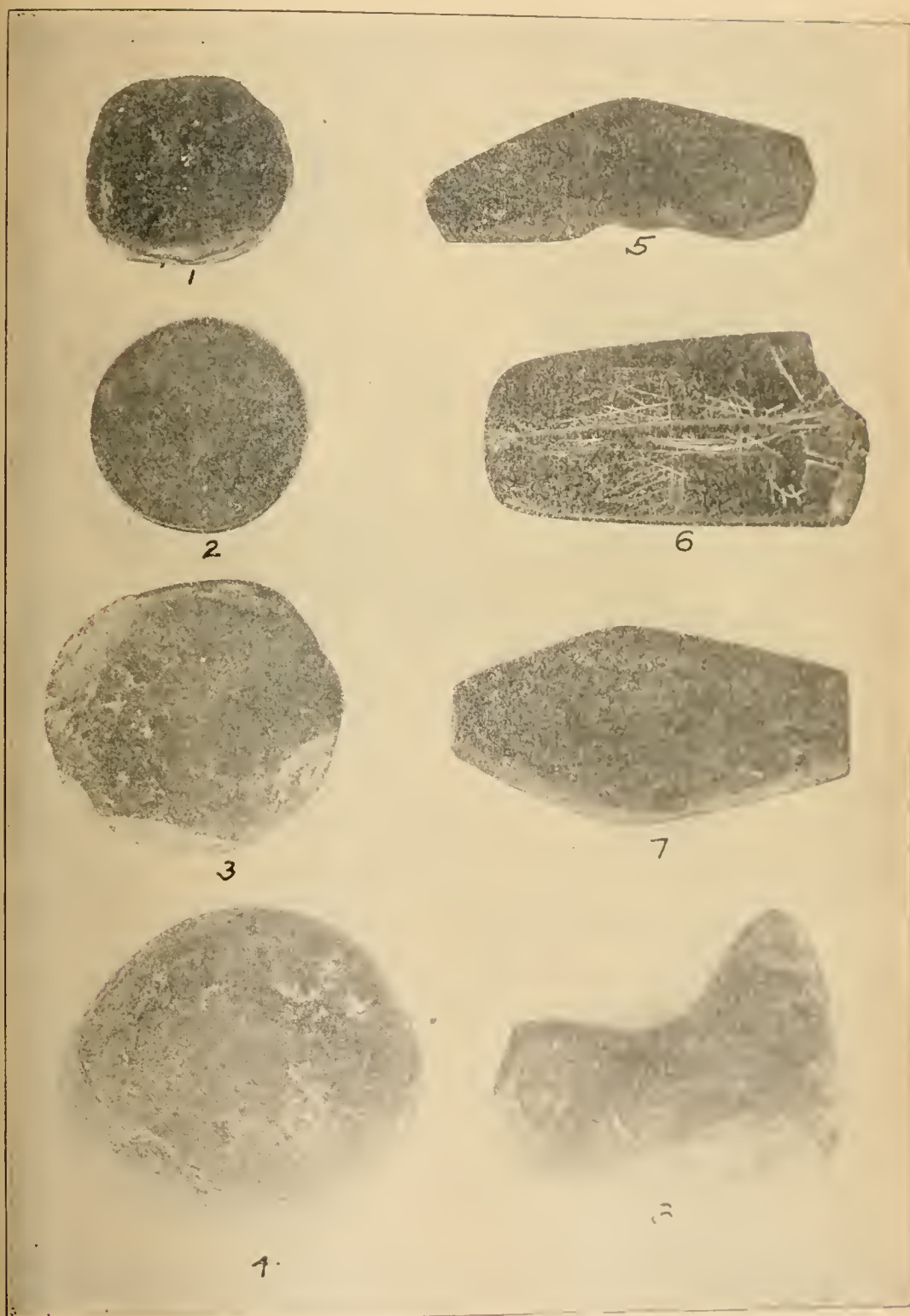


FIG. 47. Objects made of cannelcoal: full size.



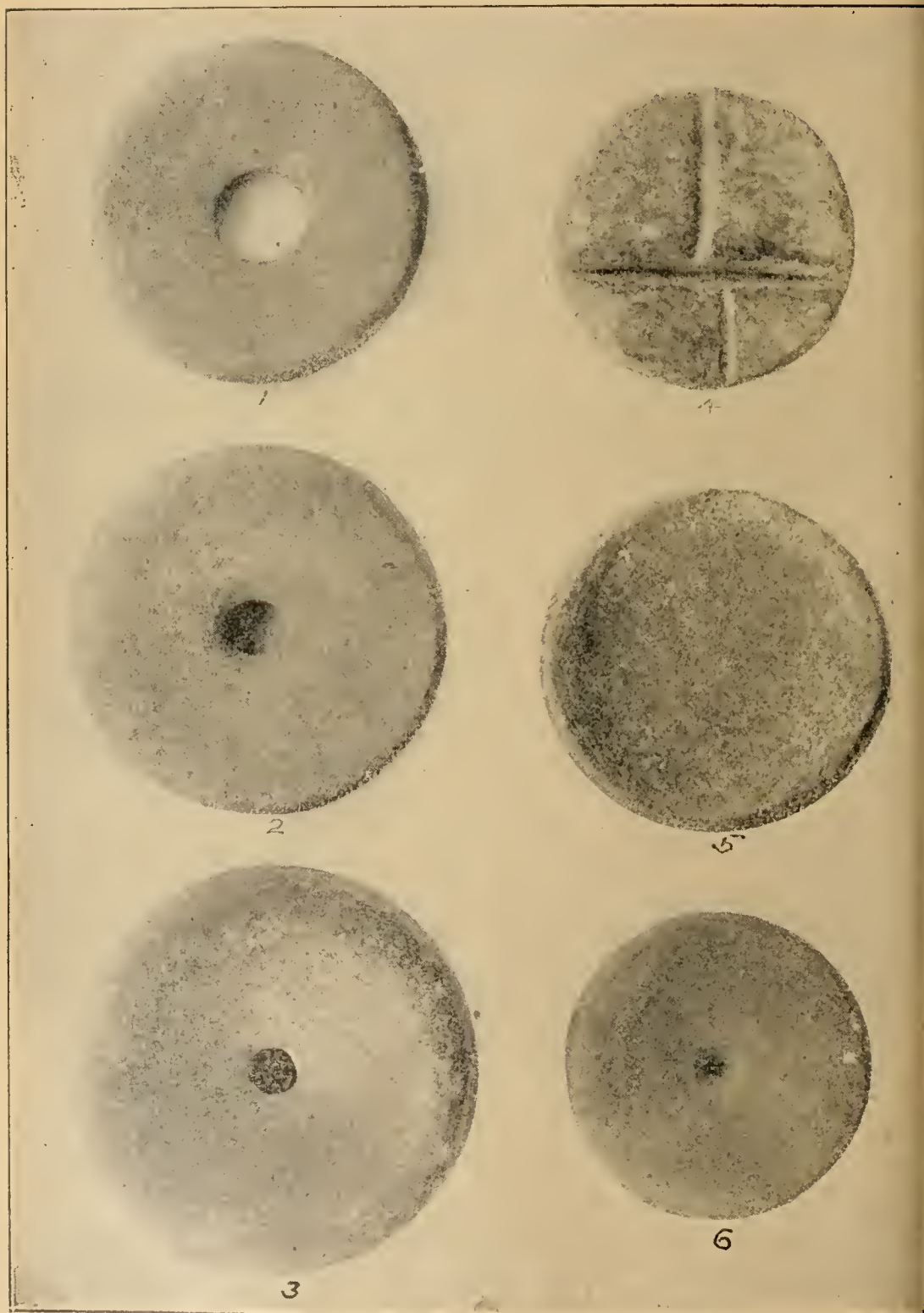


FIG. 48. Bi-concave discoidal stones; full size.

central hole to the edge of the discoidal as shown in Fig. 50, No. 4. Still others have the lines extending from the central hole to the rim and the space between the lines decorated with criss-cross lines, as shown in Fig. 50, No. 5. Another form of this type is shown in Fig. 50, No. 6 where the concave part is slightly raised, forming a ring around the central hole. Only a few of this type were found.

The plain bi-concave type were found in all parts of the village, and were perhaps as plentiful as the bi-concave forms. A good example is shown in Fig. 48, No. 5. Another form very near to the plain is shown in Fig. 48, No. 6, which has merely a countersunk hole in each side of the specimen as a decoration. Another type of special interest is made like No. 6, with lines radiating from the center. This type is shown in Fig. 50, No. 8.

Another form of the unperforated bi-concave, which is noteworthy, is shown in Fig. 49, No. 1. This discoidal was not found by our survey but was found in the village site more than a quarter of a century ago by a Mr. Creighton, who disposed of the specimen to Mr. S. P. Adams. It is decorated on the concave part on either side with a turkey foot. The specimen is unusually large, being three and five-eighths inches in diameter and three-fourths of an inch in thickness, and is made of a close grained granite rock. The specimen is shown in Fig. 49, No. 1.

Another very interesting discoidal is shown in Fig. 50, No. 1. It is decorated with two lines drawn at right angles directly through the center of the specimen, and the four quarters of the stone so divided are further decorated with lines forming a geometric figure. Specimen No. 2 of Fig. 50 represents a wheel in motion and is the only one of its kind found during our work in the village.

Another type of discoidal is shown in Nos. 3 and 7 of Fig. 50. This type shows a convex center instead of concave. The convex part is marked in the center with a small depression, and radiating from this are four lines dividing the disc into four quarters. Another type which seems very prominent and is frequently met with is shown in Fig. 48, No. 4. The specimen shows a perfectly plain circular disc divided into four parts, two

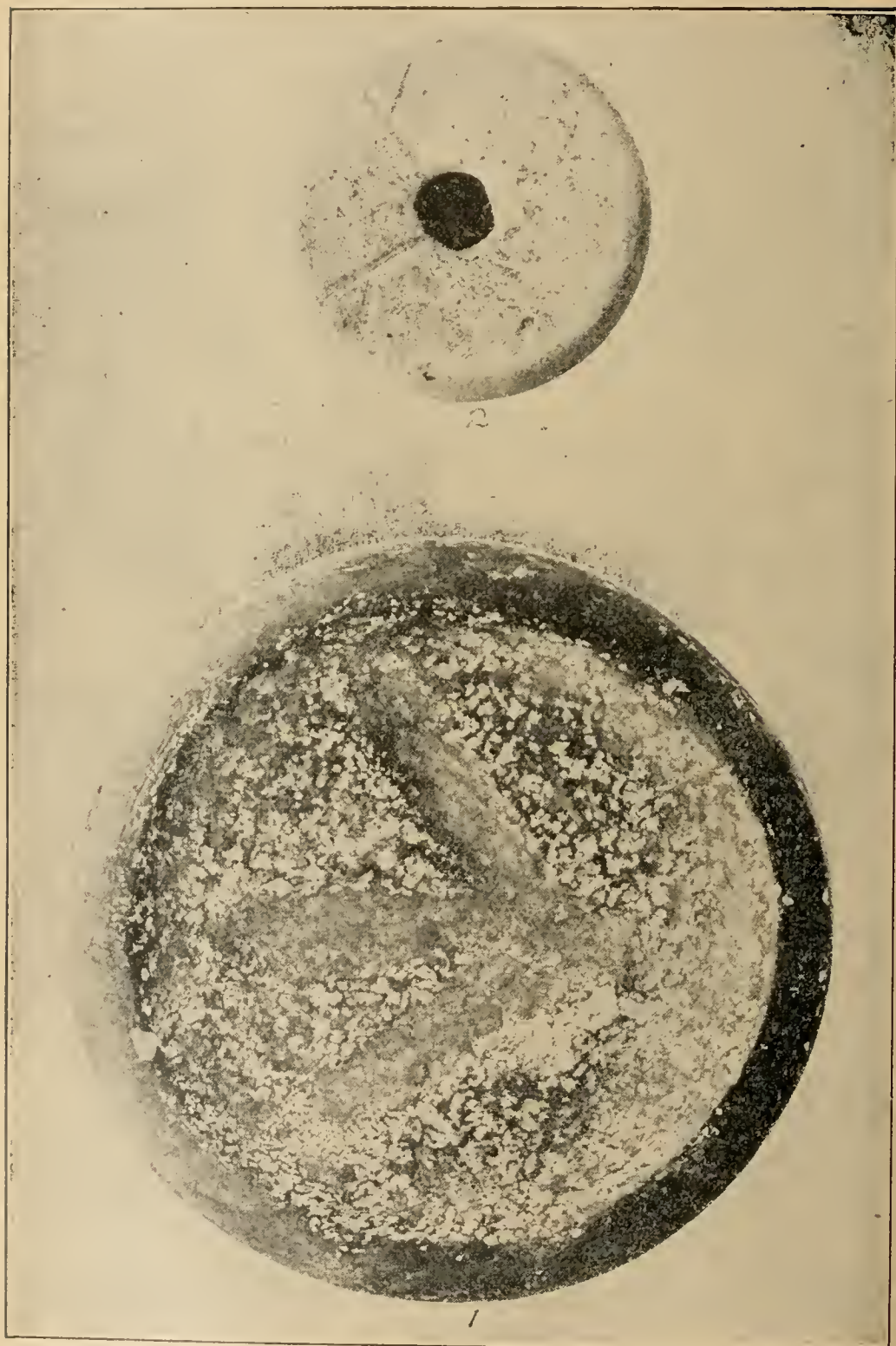


FIG. 49. Discoidal stones decorated with bird foot; full size.



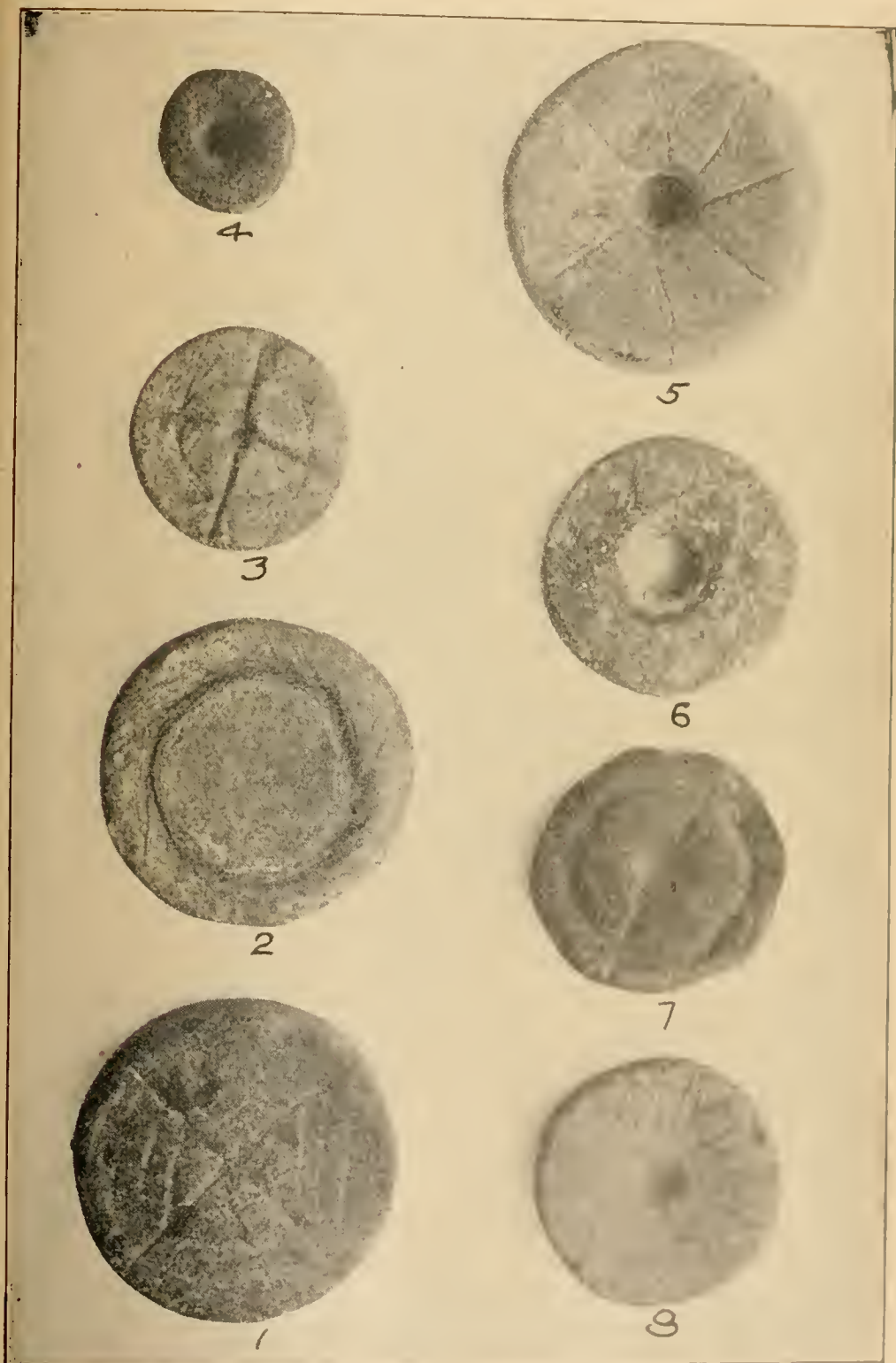


FIG. 50. Various forms of decorated discoidals; full size.

of which are of equal size and larger than the other two which are of unequal size.

Discoidal stones seem to have been of unusual importance with the Fort Ancient culture, but the section near the Ohio river region is more prolific in these specimens than any other part of the country. In many village sites in Adams, Brown and Hamilton counties this small size discoidal has always been met with. At Feurt site previous to our examination, many specimens were found. Mr. Charles V. Wertz has more than one hundred and fifty specimens in his collection; Mr. S. P. Adams of Portsmouth, more than one hundred and twenty-five; Mr. John Welty, Mr. Morris Hicks and Mr. Paul Esselborn, all collectors of Portsmouth have many fine specimens in their respective collections.

Discoidal stones were found at Baum's resembling in general form those found at Feurt's, but were never so plentiful, and might be considered of rather rare occurrence. At Gartner's one specimen only was found in a grave of the mound, while the village site did not produce a single specimen. Their use in Ohio seems to have centered around the Ohio river region, and gradually to have diminished toward the north. Smith found the discoidal stones in goodly numbers at the Kentucky site, south of the Ohio river region, but not in such profusion as our survey unearthed at Feurt's.

#### PIPES.

Pipes were found in the Feurt site in every part of the village, and seem to have been generally used from the early beginnings of the village. Many of the pipes were broken while in use and then discarded, if beyond repair. Others in a perfect state, were frequently found in the tepee site, where they had been mislaid and afterward covered up by fresh soil carried in by the inhabitants to make their dwelling place more sanitary. Many kinds of stone were employed in the manufacture of pipes, such as Ohio pipestone, limestone, sandstone, laurentian slate and hematite, but the greater number were made of the Ohio pipestone, which was secured on the very crest of the hill almost in sight of the village. Suitable pieces for the making of pipes were brought to the village, there to be manufactured into

form. No large pieces were found in the village site, indicating that the blocking out to the desired size and shape was done at the quarry.

This old Indian pipestone quarry was known to the early settlers in this section of Ohio, and Mr. Feurt tells me that it was exploited a number of years ago, with the idea of using the pipestone in the manufacture of firebrick. It proved, however, to be unfitted for this purpose on account of its high percentage of iron and the project was abandoned. However, the contained iron did not interfere with its use by primitive man, for the manufacture of pipes and ornaments.

As before stated, the outcrop of the pipestone lies high up on the hills and gradually dips to the south-east, causing the outcrop in the eastern part of the county to be near the base of the hills. The pipestone stratum varies in thickness from one and one-half feet to eleven feet, with perhaps an average of three and one-half or four feet. In color the pipestone varies greatly, ranging from almost white through yellow and brown to dark red. The dark red variety was used by the Feurt peoples in preference to the other colors.

This red variety is very hard to distinguish from the Minnesota pipestone and many pipes and ornaments made of the Ohio material have been attributed to the Minnesota quarries. The Tremper mound peoples, living directly across the river from the Feurt side, preferred using the light grays, yellows, and browns, although the largest plain pipes found there were made of the dark red variety. None of this red variety was used for their sculptures of birds and animals, while at Feurt's the red variety was used both in the plain and sculptured forms.

#### THE PIPE IN ITS STAGES OF MANUFACTURE.

The pipe, as is true of practically all types of artifacts, was found in its various stages of manufacture, and exceptionally good examples were obtained both of the plain and sculptured forms. In Fig. 51 is shown a series of specimens illustrating the successive steps in the manufacture of a pipe in the effigy of the human face. Beginning with No. 1 is shown the blocked out piece as it is brought from the quarries and before pecking or



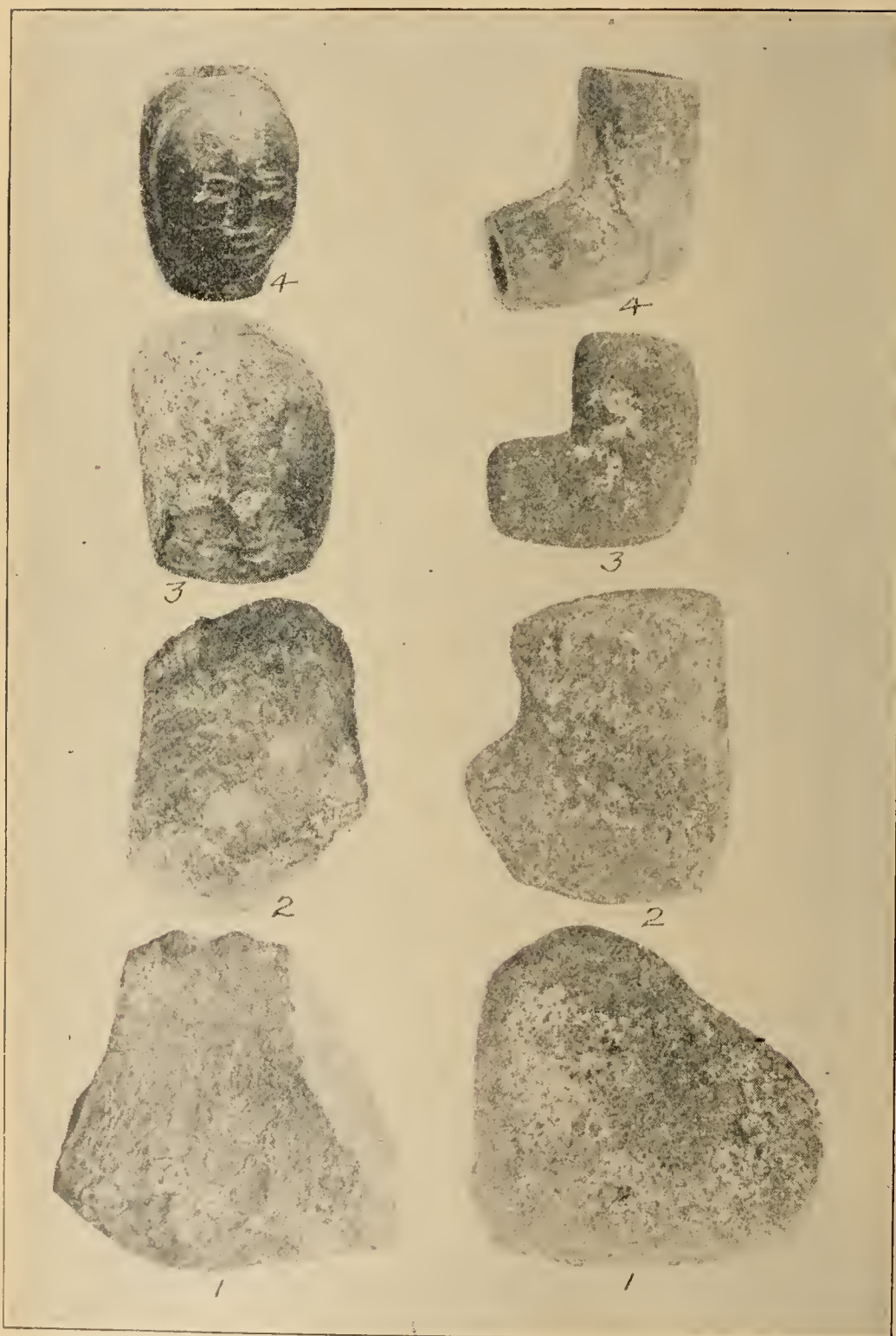


FIG. 51. Shows stages in the manufacture of two types of pipes; full size.

grinding has been started. In No. 2 the pecking and polishing has begun. In No. 3, the crude outline of the face is apparent, and in No. 4 the pipe is a finished product. In row No. 2 is another series of specimens, showing the stages of manufacture of the plain elbow type. No. 1 shows the specimen being pecked into form; No. 2 shows the general form the pipe will be when completed; No. 3 shows the pecking completed and ready for grinding and polishing, while No. 4 is the finished product ready for use. All of the specimens shown in Fig. 51 are of the dark red pipestone.

#### EFFIGY PIPES.

The sculptured pipes found in the Feurt village differ greatly from those of their neighbors, the Tremper mound peoples across the river. The portrayal of life forms is not so realistic and the sculptures lack detail, so that outside of the human face sculptures, it would be difficult to determine what kind of bird or animal the primitive artist had in mind. On the other hand, the Tremper mound peoples were able to produce sculptures with such realistic and minute detail, that not only the animal or bird is readily identified, but its habits and characteristics are fully portrayed.

The Feurt mound peoples had not reached so high a stage of development as is shown by the effigy pipes in Fig. 52. No. 1 of Fig. 52 is a pipe made in the form of a discoidal stone, and represents one of the bi-concave plain type, made of waverly sandstone. Nos. 2 and 4 are made in the image of the human face. A study of the specimens will soon convince one of their similarity. No. 2 was found by Mr. Wertz and is made of a light gray pipestone, and No. 4 is made of a dark red pipestone. No. 3 of Fig. 52 is of a light gray pipestone and is perhaps intended for a bird. This specimen also was found by Mr. Wertz. No. 5 of Fig. 52 is supposed to represent an animal head, as the large tongue and teeth are shown. The specimen is made of hard black hematite.

Fig. 53 shows three more sculptured pipes. No. 1 is made of waverly sandstone and perhaps was intended to represent a bird of some kind. The pipe is well made, is of unusually large



FIG. 52. Effigy pipes;  $\frac{7}{8}$  size.





FIG. 53. Effigy pipes;  $\frac{3}{4}$  size.

size and shows much use. No. 2 is a small effigy pipe representing the head of a bird with a small beak. The pipe is made of a light gray pipestone and like No. 1 shows long use. No. 3 of Fig. 53 is a very unusual pipe representing the human form in a kneeling position. The head and body parts are missing, the pipe having been broken while in use and thrown away. The specimen was found by Mr. Wertz on the west side of the village.

One feature of the sculptured pipes found at Feurt's is of interest when compared with pipes found at Tremper's across the river. In the Tremper pipes the smoker would always face the animal or bird, and in the Feurt pipes the opposite is noted.

Fig. 54 shows four pipes, two of which, Nos. 1 and 2, might be classed as effigy pipes. These two pipes are of the platform type, with the platform made in the effigy of the stemmed arrow head or spear, and the bowls plain. In the Tremper mound effigies, the stem was always plain and the bowls made into the forms of animals and birds. Nos. 3 and 4 of Fig. 54 show a type of pipe frequently met with in the village, all of which were made of the dark red pipestone.

Fig. 55 shows six specimens of the L-shaped pipe, made of the waverly sandstone so abundant in the immediate vicinity of the village site. All these show use in smoking, No. 1 in particular, which is half filled with the charred tobacco. After smoking, the owner doubtless misplaced the pipe on the floor of his tepee, where it became covered with debris and in due time with the fresh soil carried in.

This is the only record as far as we know, of the finding in our Ohio mounds and village sites of a pipe filled with the charred tobacco. No. 2 of Fig. 55 is a fine example of this type of pipe although it has a longer stem and a larger bowl than is usual. Nos. 3, 4 and 6 show the usual size of the pipes of this type. The angle of the bowl to the stem varies slightly in different specimens from the right angle. No. 5, shows an extreme variation in the angle of the bowl to the stem. Fig. 56 shows six more pipes of the same type as shown in Fig. 55. Nos. 1, 3 and 5 are made of red pipestone. No. 1 is unfinished, lacking the perforation in the bowl and stem. Nos. 3 and 5

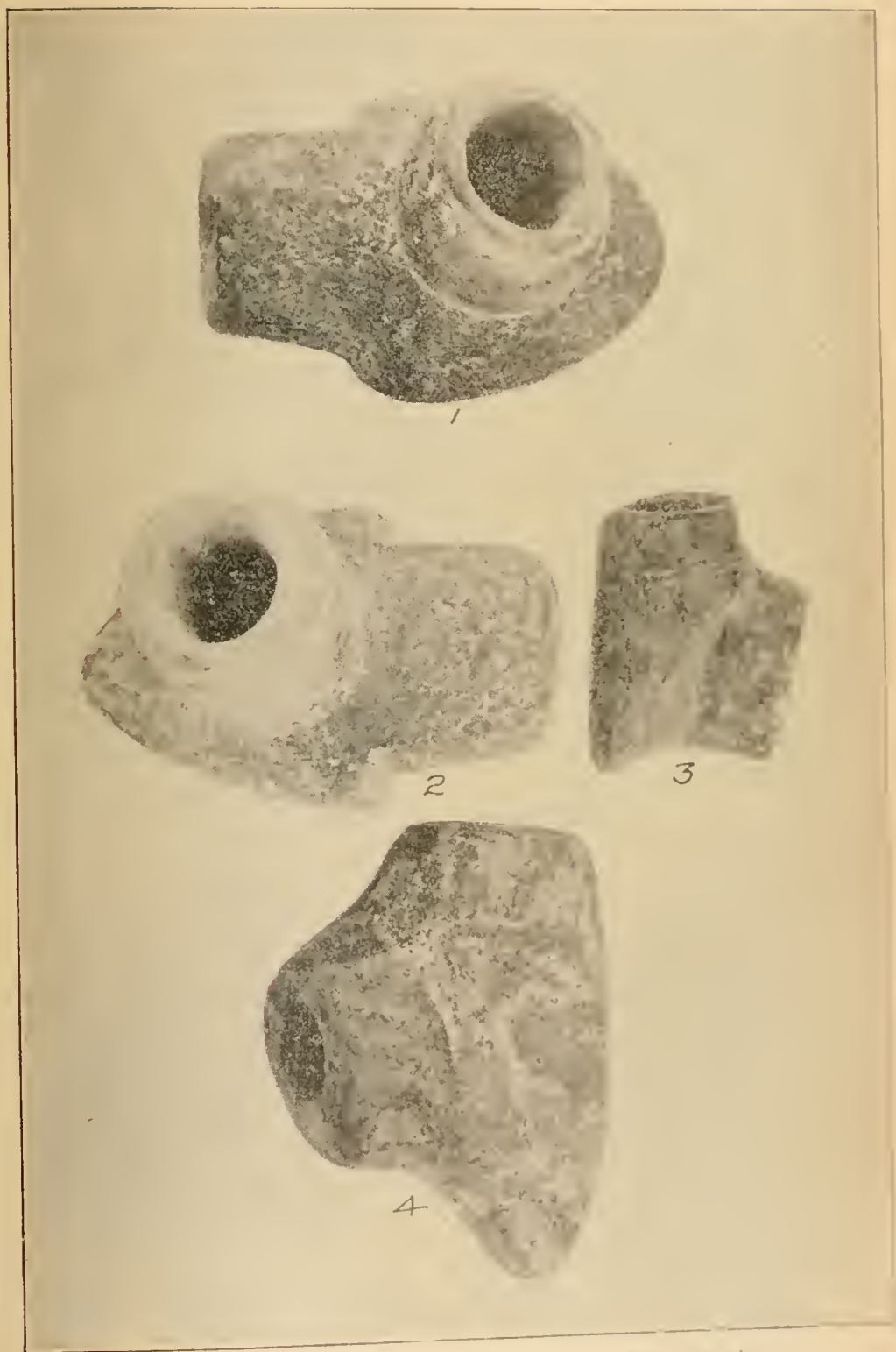


FIG. 54. Pipes made of red Ohio pipestone: 7/8 size.



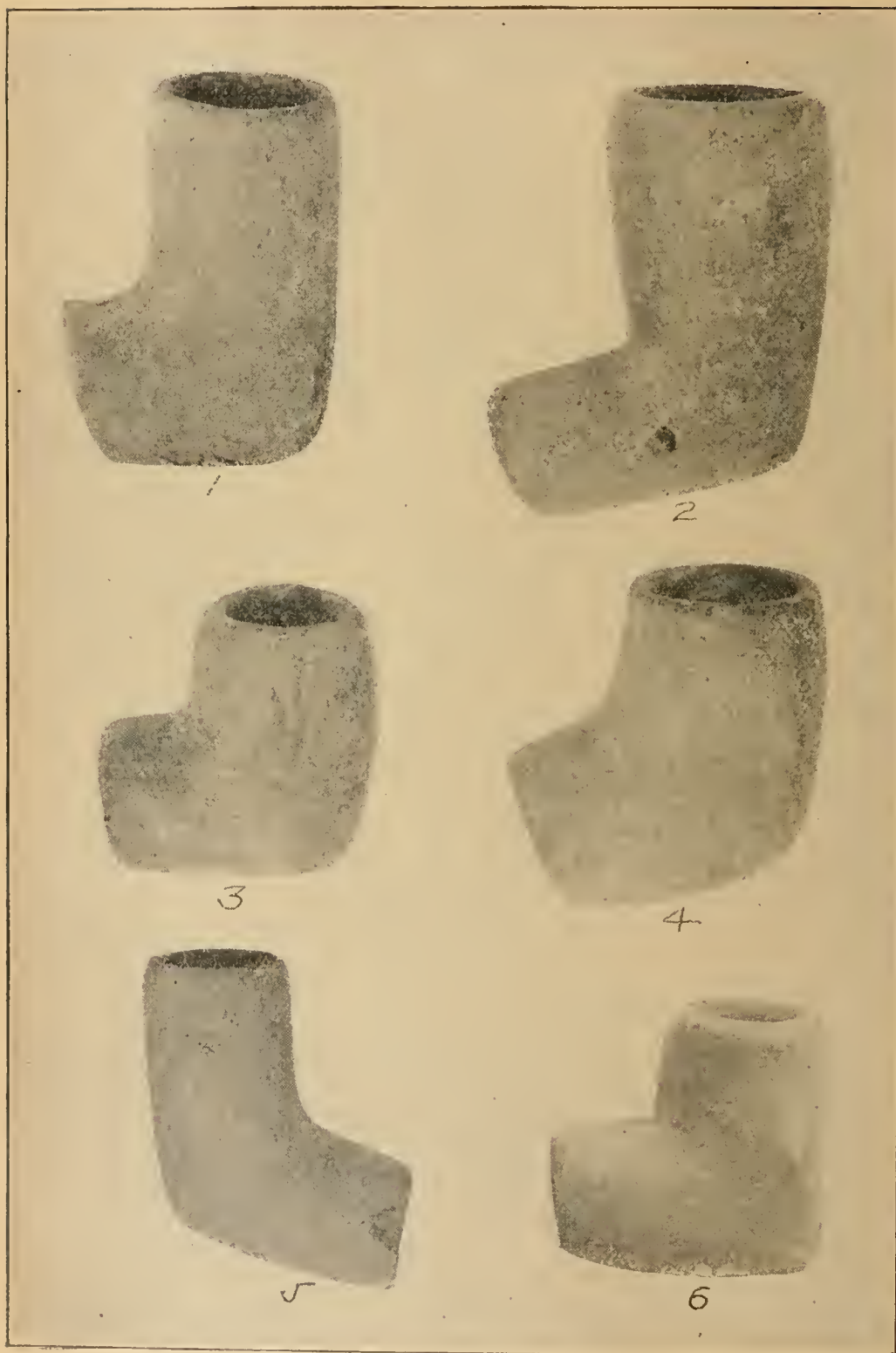


FIG. 55. Pipes made of waverly sandstone;  $\frac{7}{8}$  size.

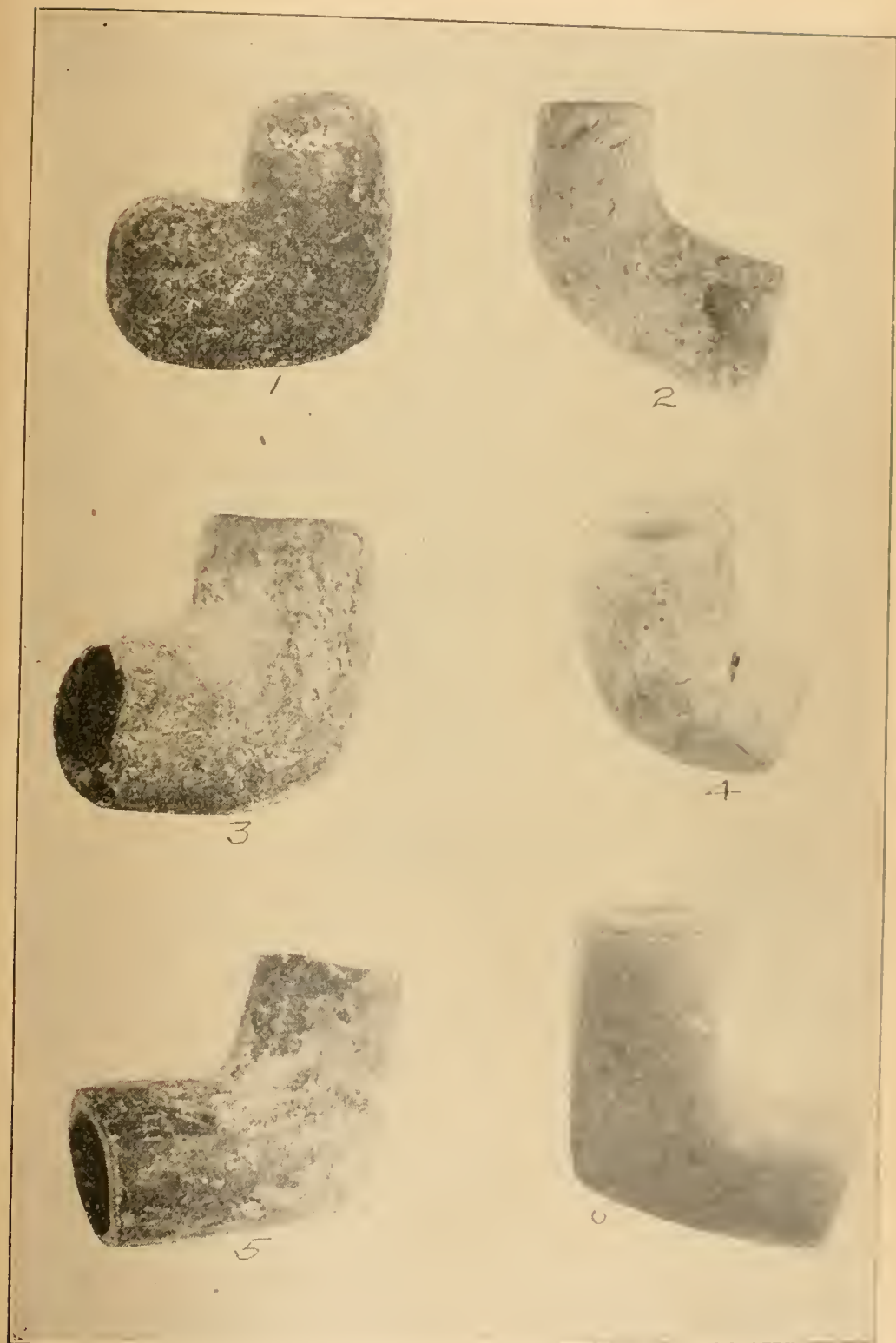


FIG. 56. Pipes finished and unfinished;  $\frac{3}{4}$  size.

are fine examples of the perfectly finished pipestone pipe. No. 2 is a pipe made of pottery clay, tempered with pieces of broken mussel shell. This pipe is the only one of its kind found in the village. No. 4 is made of limestone, and No. 6 is of waverly sandstone. The pipe is decorated with an incised line near the top of the bowl.

Another type of pipe found in the village by Mr. Wertz and not by our survey, is shown in Fig. 57, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6. No. 1 is made of waverly sandstone; No. 2 of dark red pipestone; Nos. 4 and 5 of mottled dark gray pipestone, and No. 6 of light gray pipestone. Nos. 3, 7, 8 and 9 of Fig. 57 are very different from Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 of the same figure, although found associated with them. Nos. 3 and 7 are made of red pipestone; No. 8 of mottled red pipestone and No. 9 of waverly sandstone.

Fig. 58 shows nine very interesting pipes. No. 3 and No. 6 are square, instead of the round type so frequently met with, and Nos. 4 and 5 were repaired after having the stem broken and were no doubt used until lost. No. 8 is an unfinished pipe of limestone of unusually large size. No. 9 is a small platform pipe made of steatite.

Our survey did not find the tubular form of pipe, but Mr. Wertz was successful in finding this form. Fig. 59 shows two forms of the tubular type, both made of pipestone. No. 1 has a very large perforation extending almost its entire length, while in No. 2 the perforation is large but gradually tapers from almost the center to a small opening at the stem end. Fig. 60 is an unfinished platform pipe of unusual size found by Mr. Wertz. The pipe is made of limestone and shows that but little work other than pecking has been done upon it.

The pipes found in the village number perhaps fifty, including broken and perfect specimens, and the number accessible to us in Mr. Wertz's collection exceeds twenty specimens, making a total of seventy pipes from this site. To this number should be added the former collection of Mr. S. P. Adams, numbering over thirty specimens, representing all the types above described. The collection of Mr. Adams was well known to



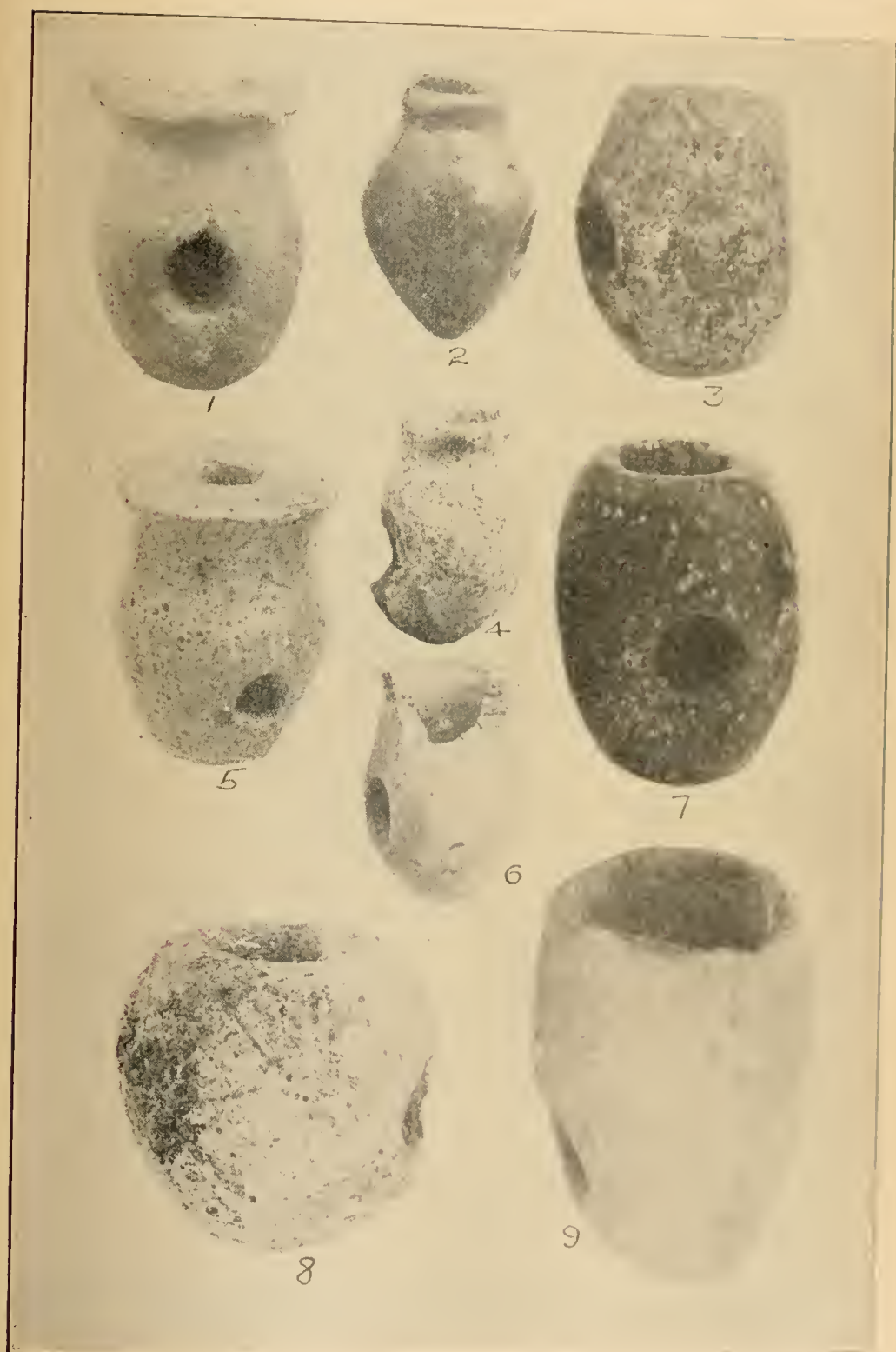


FIG. 57. Pipes made of Ohio pipestone and waverly sandstone;  $\frac{3}{4}$  size

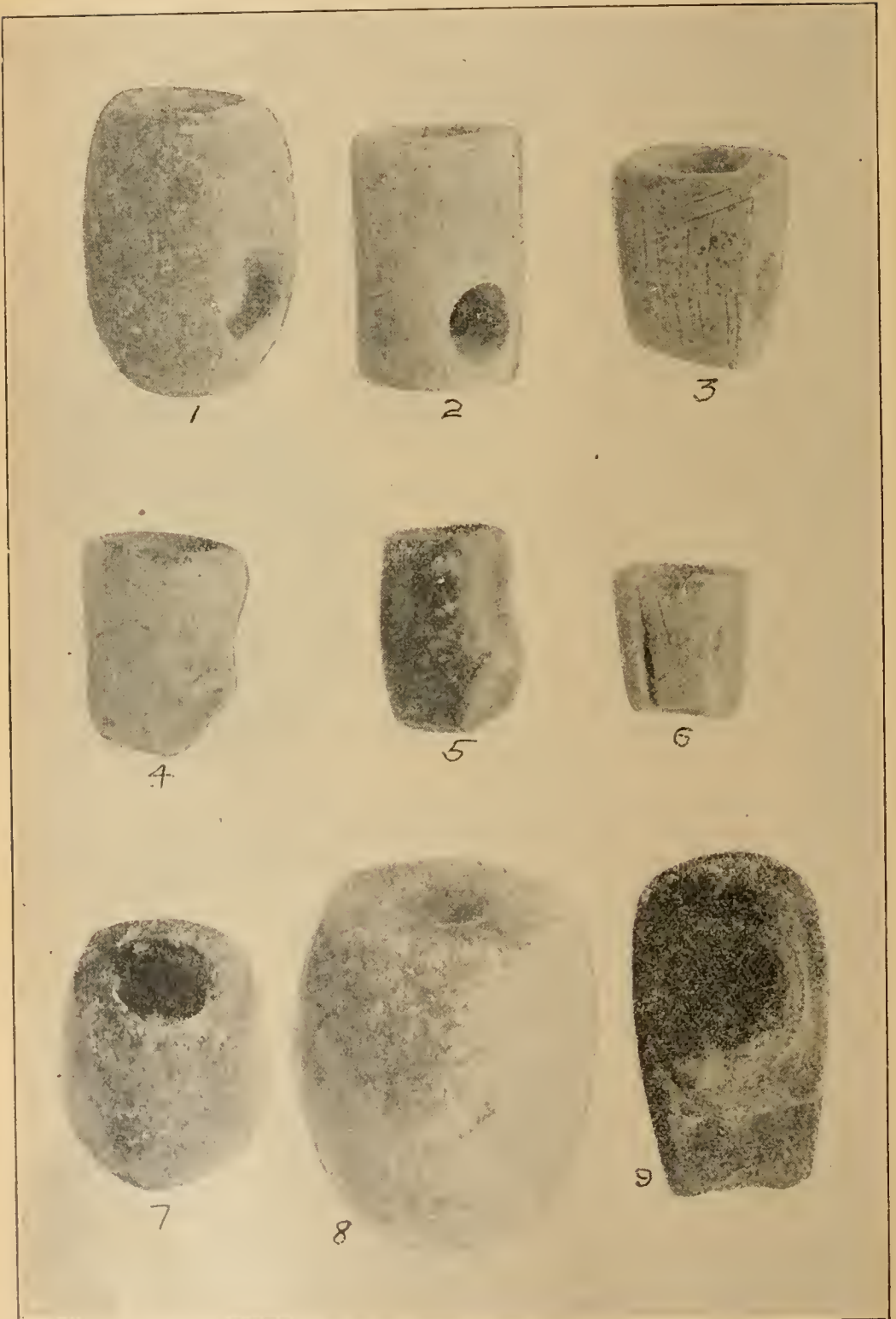


FIG. 58. Pipes made of Ohio pipestone, limestone and steatite;  $\frac{2}{3}$  size.

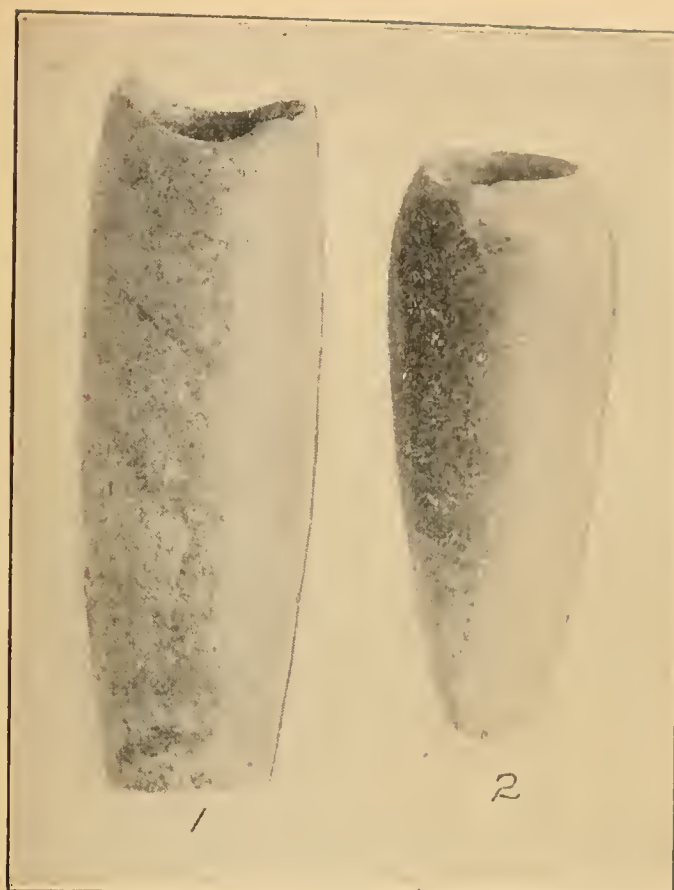


FIG. 59. Tubular pipes made of Ohio pipestone;  $\frac{3}{4}$  size.



FIG. 60. Unfinished platform pipe made of limestone;  $\frac{7}{8}$  size.



the writer, as it was on deposit for ten years in the Museum of the Society.

Mr. John Welty of Portsmouth also collected many pipes at the Feurt site, and I have a record in my note-book of twenty-five pipes, which I readily identified as coming from the Feurt site, and I suspect, from what Mr. Welty says, that twice that number would be short of the actual number he found at this village. Mr. Paul Esselborn, Mr. Morris Hicks, and I am told other collectors, have specimens of pipes from this village site.

The few specimens of pipes found at Baum's and Gartner's if placed with the Feurt pipes, could not be distinguished from them, and the same is true of the pipes found by Smith in the Kentucky site.

#### COPPER OBJECTS FOUND IN THE VILLAGE.

Copper objects were not found by our survey in the village site, but we were successful in securing copper in the form of ornaments in two graves already described, while Mr. Wertz found a small copper necklace with a burial. This necklace is shown in Fig. 61, No. 6. Mr. Wertz also found many pieces of copper in the village site proper, both upon the surface and along the steep bank, which from time to time would cave off and expose to view parts of the rich village site. Many of these pieces were ornaments that had been bent and hammered and their identity destroyed. One of these is shown in No. 3 of Fig. 61. This specimen represents a reel-shaped ornament similar to those found in the Tremper mound across the river from the Feurt site.

Mr. Wertz had at one time a large number of copper pieces from this site, all showing mutilation, but these unfortunately were lost in a fire that destroyed his residence. In this fire an excellent collection from this site was entirely lost, and the collection he now possesses has been gathered since that time. S. P. Adams, a local collector of Portsmouth, who several years ago disposed of his collection, made in the lower Scioto and along the Ohio in close proximity to Portsmouth, had three

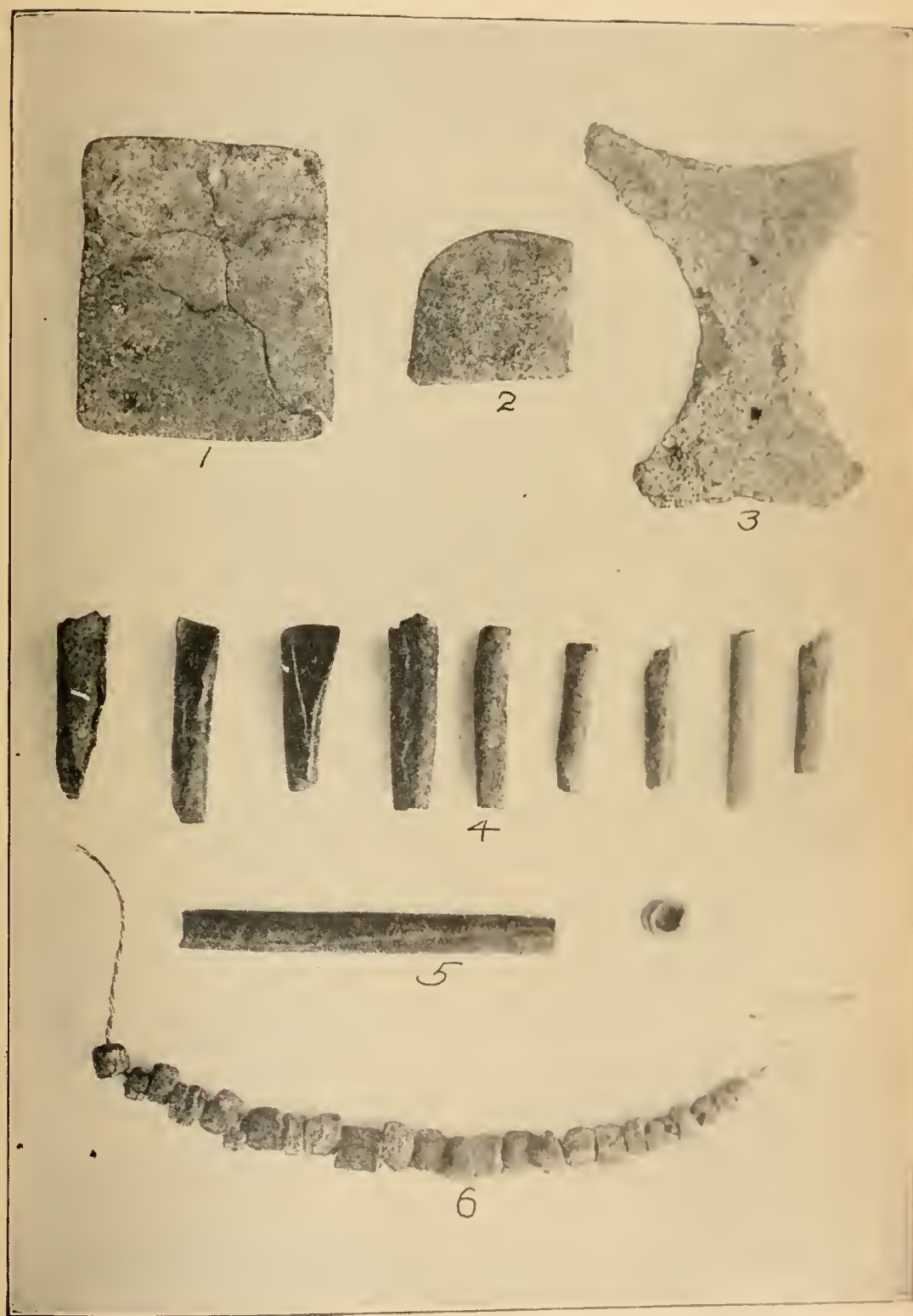


FIG. 61. Objects made of copper;  $\frac{3}{4}$  size.

specimens of copper, having their identity destroyed in the same way as those found by Mr. Wertz.

The finding of so many destroyed copper pieces, foreign to this culture, is almost positive evidence of unfriendly contact with their neighbors across the river. For a time perhaps the contact of the two cultures was friendly, as indicated by the objects of copper found in the graves of the burials in the mounds, but apparently later this contact was hostile and the objects captured from enemies were brought to the village, there to be battered into shapeless masses, and thrown into the refuse heaps. In some cases they may have been cached away in their village, as was the case with finds in a village of this same culture, just outside the walls at Fort Ancient.\* The examination of the Feurt site made with the express purpose of ascertaining the extent of this unfriendly contact, demonstrates that for a time they evidently lived in peace and had tribal trade between them.

At Baum's a few copper beads were found associated with shell beads on the same necklace, the only instance of copper being found during the entire exploration. At Gartner's no copper was found, nor did Smith find copper in the Kentucky site, showing that in these three important Fort Ancient culture sites, copper objects were practically unknown.

#### BONE IMPLEMENTS.

Bone implements of certain kinds were found promiscuously scattered throughout the village in the greatest profusion. The most prominent were the awls or perforators, and these were made of practically every bone having the proper length and adaptability. Some of the awls were mere splinters broken from the large leg bones of the deer, elk and bear and sharpened at one or both ends: others were made of the same bone, but handsomely decorated and polished; still others were made of the ulna of the deer and elk, of the larger animals, while the same bone of all the smaller animals was used for the same purpose. The tarso-metatarsus of the wild turkey was used for

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\*Described in *Explorations of the Tremper Mound* by Mills.



making awls, as were many of the wing bones of wading birds, like the blue heron.

Polishing stones and whetstones used in the manufacture of bone awls were frequently met with in the tepee sites. An

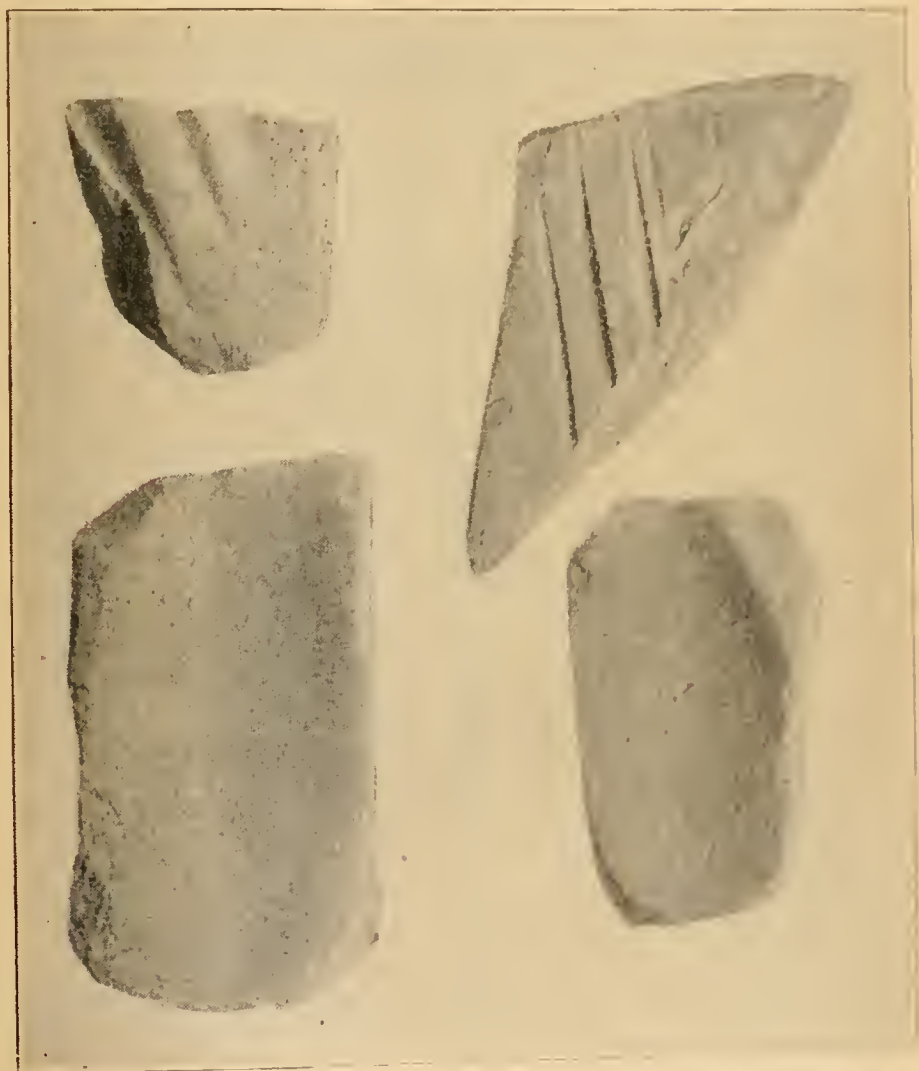


FIG. 62. Polishing stones made of waverly sandstone; 1 size.

excellent example of these polishing stones is shown in Fig 62. They are mere slabs of waverly sandstone, showing great use, some having grooves worn into their faces from use in sharpening the bone into the desired shape.

## BONE AWLS MADE OF THE ULNA OF THE DEER.

Fig. 63 shows a typical collection of the awls made from the ulna of the deer. Some are long, as shown in No. 1; some are short, as in No. 6; some are sharp and slender like that in No. 7 and others are blunt, as shown in No. 4. All four classes were duplicated many times in every part of the village. Some of these awls may have been used for making perforations through which thread or sinew was passed, when skins were used for making clothing and moccasins; some may have been used in the making of pottery or in weaving; others may have served as forks in eating, while the blunt and strong awls were perhaps used for opening the mussel shells found so abundantly in the village.

A very interesting double-pointed awl, frequently met with was made only from this bone. It is shown in Nos. 10 and 11. The two points of this class of awls are of unequal length, the longer point being the side opposite the joint. This form may have been used in weaving or in decorating pottery. A very useful awl was made from the ulna of the elk. Many of these were from six to eight inches in length, were very strong, and most of them bluntly made. Very good examples of this awl are shown in Fig. 64. These implements certainly were of importance about the home and may have been used for opening the large mussel shells in order to secure the mussel for food.

Very fine examples of awls made from ulnas and other bones of large and small animals are shown in Fig. 65. No. 1 is made of the metapodial bone of the deer. This specimen had formerly been made into a scraper used in dressing skins during the tanning process, as were practically all of these bones. The heavy use to which these implements were subjected caused many of them to break at the center, rendering the implement useless. The distal end of the broken scraper was frequently made into a blunt awl. The perfect scraper is shown in Fig. 73.

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 are made from the ulna of the gray fox, wild cat and gray wolf; No. 7 is made of the ulna of the black bear; Nos. 8, 9 and 10 are made of the penis bone of the black bear; Nos. 11 and 12 are made of the heavy leg bone

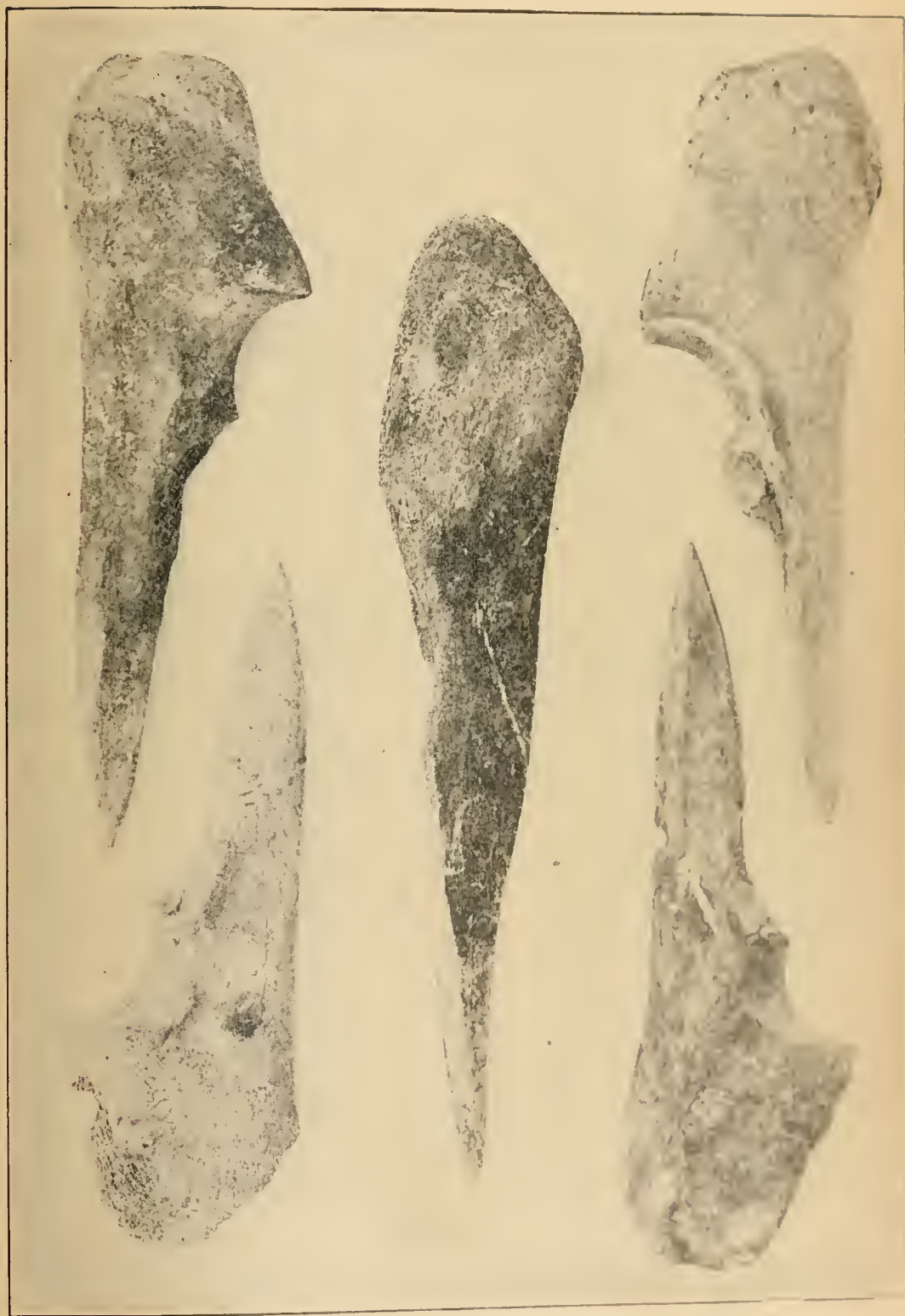


FIG. 63. Awls made of the ulna of the deer;  $\frac{1}{2}$  size.



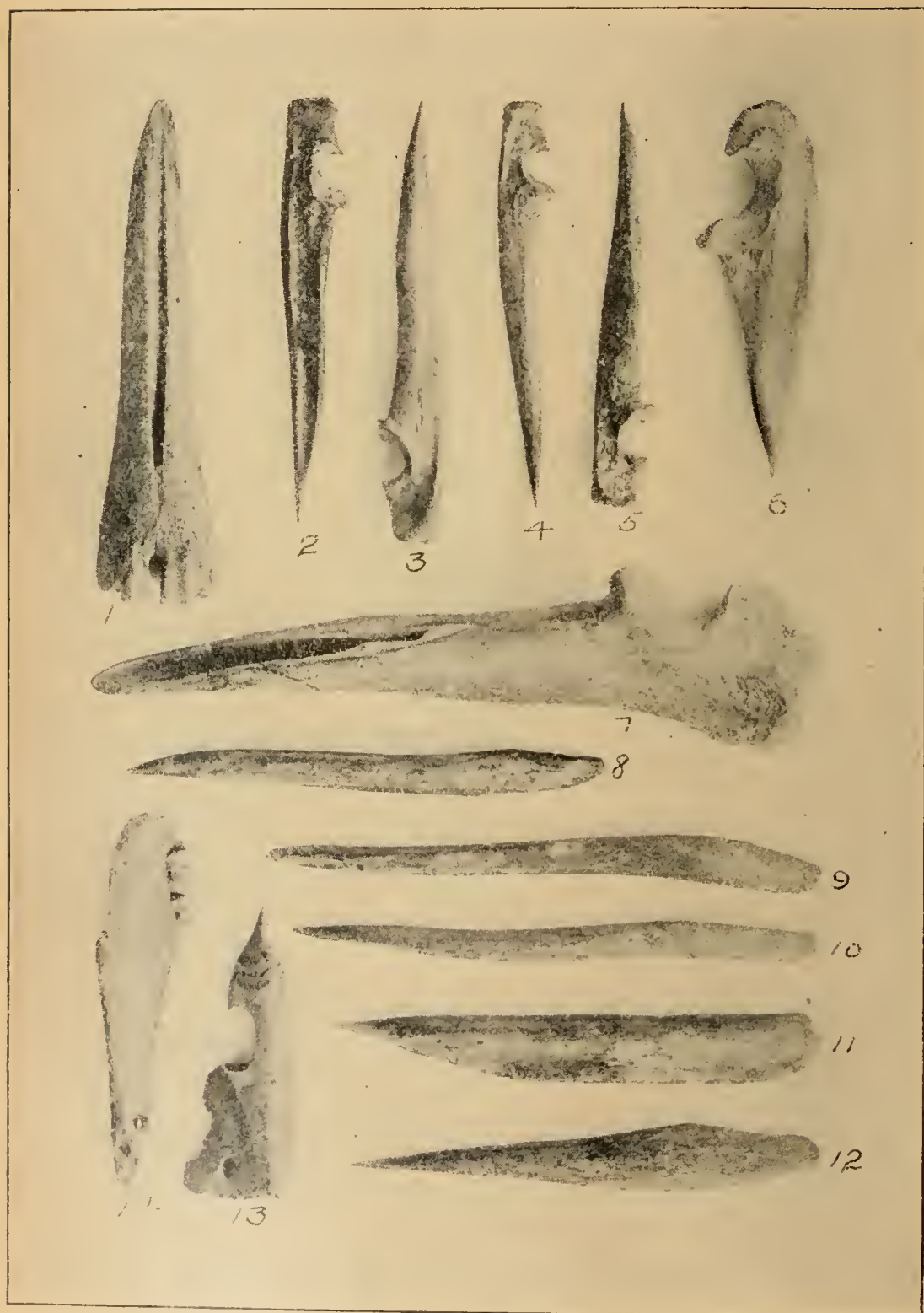


FIG. 64. Awls made from the ulna of the elk;  $\frac{1}{2}$  size.

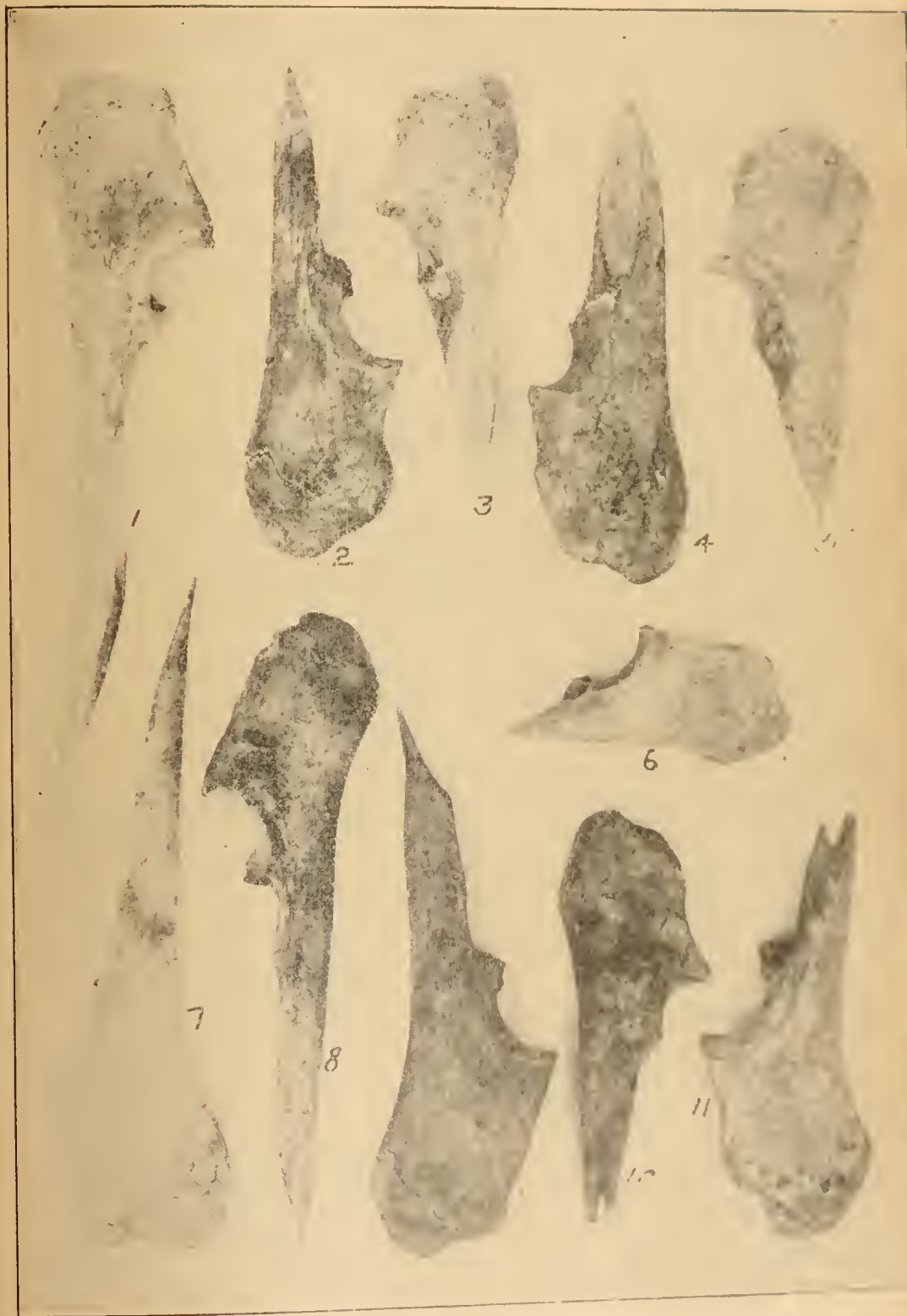


FIG. 65. Awls made from the bones of various animals: 12 are

of the elk; No. 13 is made from a part of the shoulder blade of the deer; and No. 14 is made of the lower jaw of the deer.

Fig. 66 shows twelve awls made from the tarso-metatarsus of the wild turkey, six of which are decorated with notches cut upon the sides, and the other six plain. Awls made of this bone were very abundant in the village and several hundred in perfect condition were found. In practically every village site of this culture the awl made from this bone is present and very frequently exceed in numbers all other classes of awls. Another class of awls so common to this culture, and found in such large numbers in the Feurt village, is shown in Fig. 67. A careful study of the specimens shown in this figure in comparison with those just described, is convincing proof that they may have been used as supports to feathers and other objects worn in the hair as ornaments. In support of this theory is the finding of several of those decorated awls placed under or at the side of the head of the skeleton. However, two of the largest and finest specimens shown in Fig. 67, Nos. 4 and 7, were found beneath the body of the skeleton. These measure nine and eight inches respectively. All specimens in this figure were made from the strong heavy leg bones of the elk and deer. Much time and patience were required in fashioning any one of these awls. Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 8 were found isolated in the village, and Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7 were found with burials. The eight specimens shown in Fig. 68 are similar to those shown in Fig. 67 and are made from similar bones. No. 1 has a decorated head, but no attempt toward making an effigy of a bird or animal, as was found at Gartner's. Nos. 2, 5 and 7 are awls having a spatula-like end; Nos. 3 and 8 have the point end decorated; No. 3 has an enlarged end and No. 8 has five indented lines circling the point.

Fig. 69 shows seven examples of large awls made from various bones of animals. Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 are made from bones of the bear; No 5 is round, and is made from the heavy leg bone of the deer; No. 6 is flat, with spatula-like end and enlarged head; No. 7 is made of a flat heavy bone of the deer.

Fig. 70 shows nine large awls made from various bird and animal bones. No. 1 is perhaps that of the radius of the blue heron; Nos. 2 and 3 are made of the bones of the bear; No. 4





FIG. 66. Awls made from the tarso-metatarsus of the wild turkey; 1/4 in.

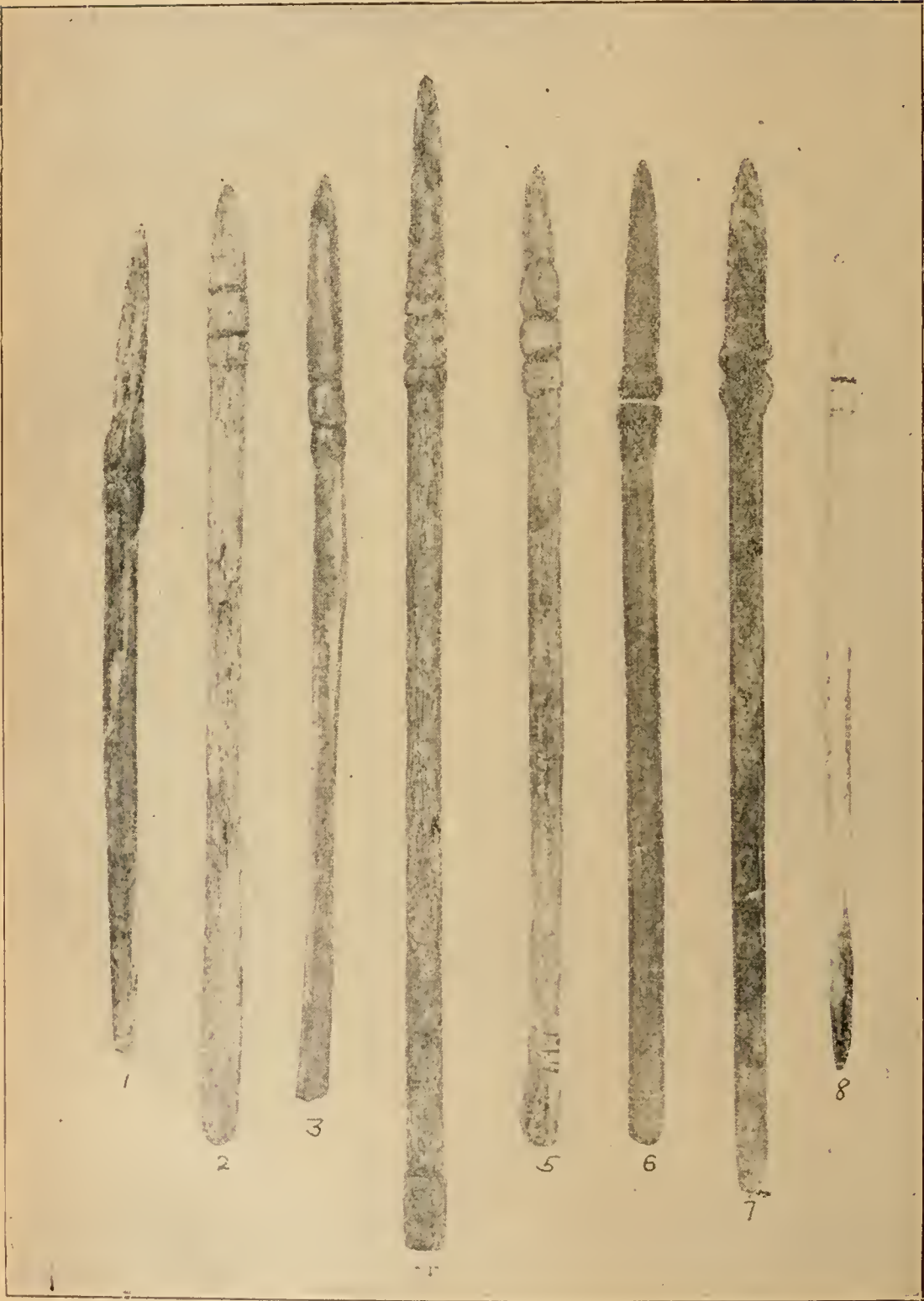
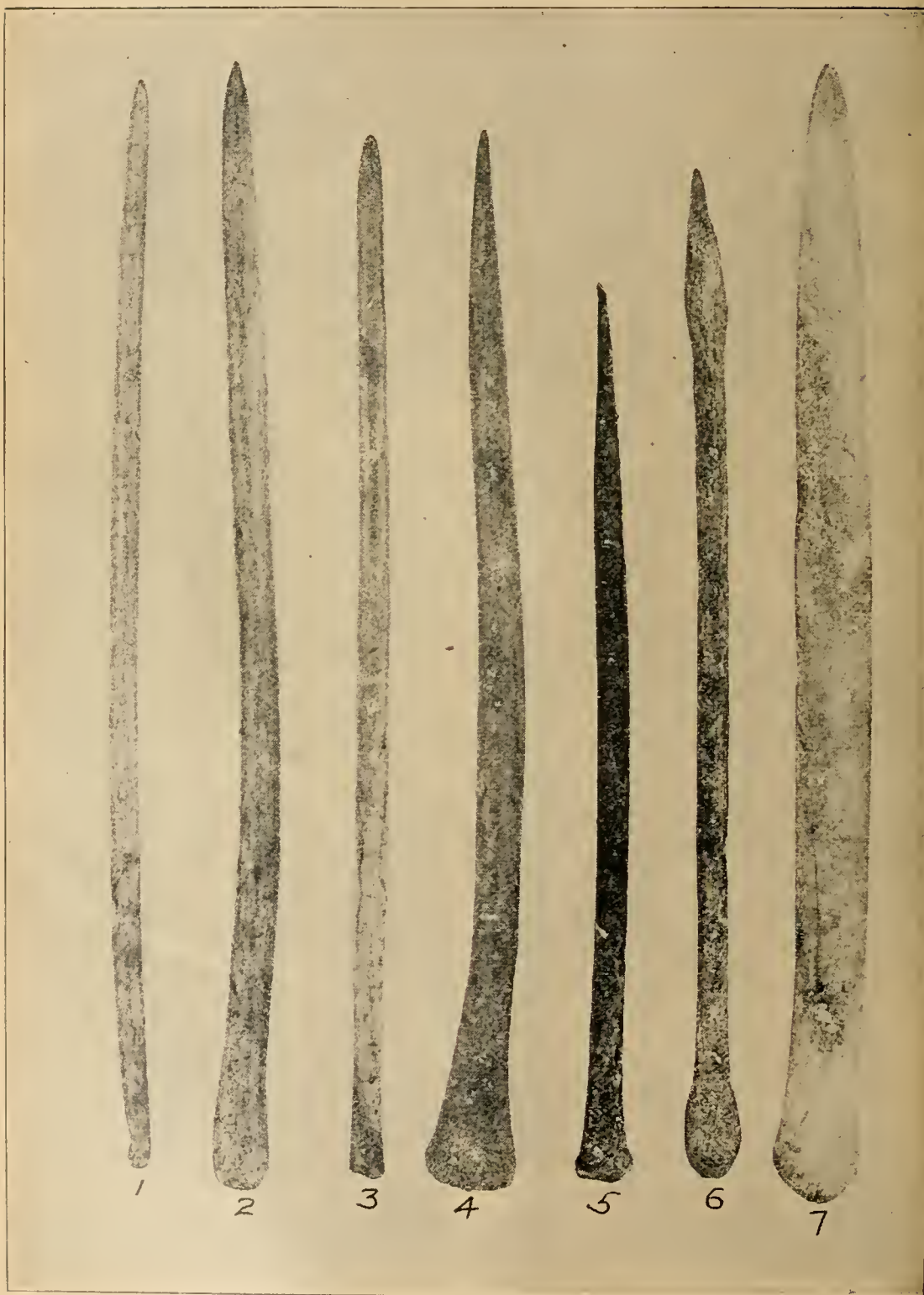


FIG. 67. Large decorated awl;  $\frac{2}{3}$  size.



FIG. 68. Large plain and decorated awls:  $\frac{2}{3}$  size.



FIG. 69. Plain awls;  $\frac{2}{3}$  size.

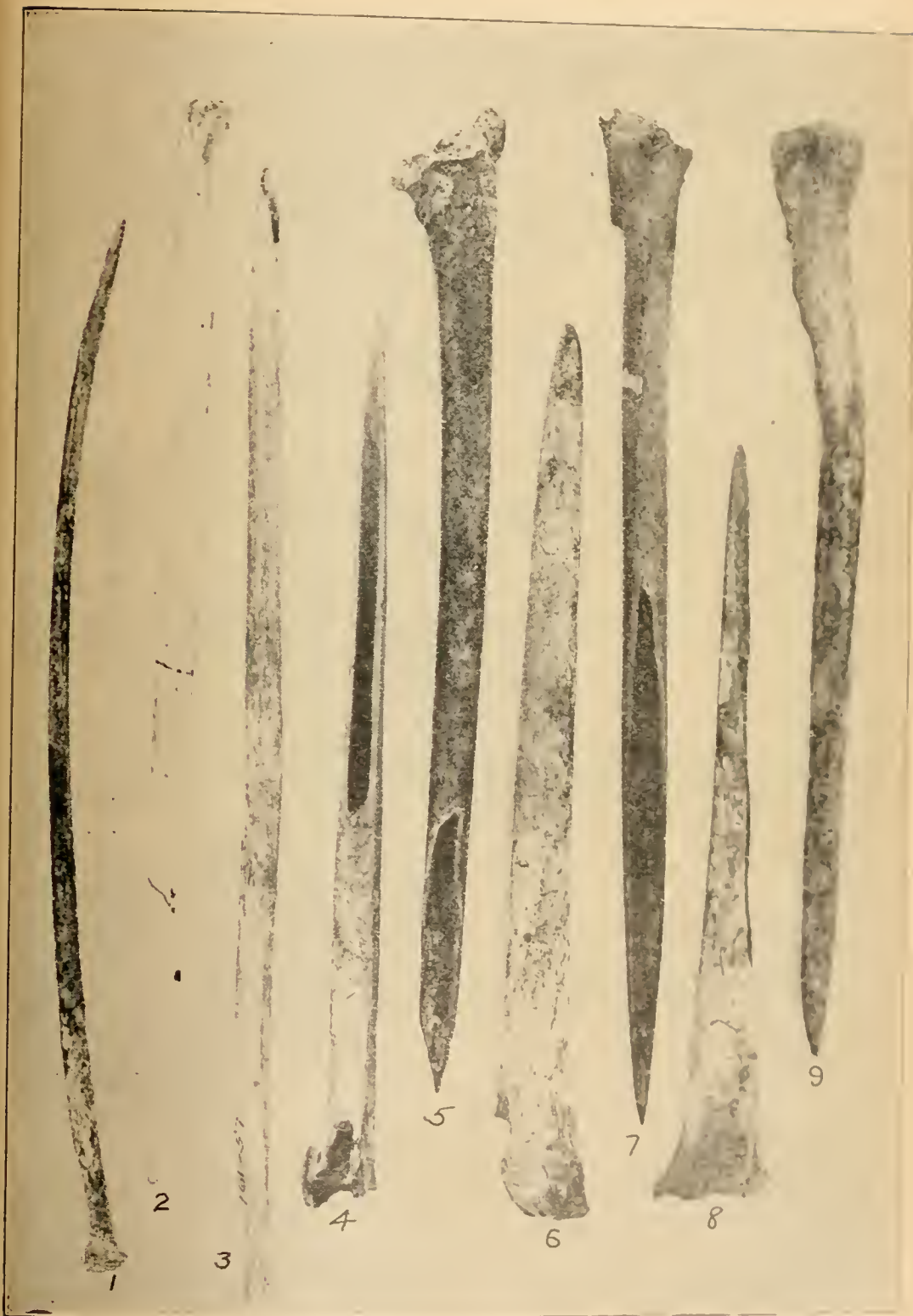


FIG. 70. Large awls;  $\frac{3}{8}$  size.

is from the tarso-metatarsus of the blue heron; No. 5 is made from the ulna of the blue heron; Nos. 6 and 8 are made from leg bones of perhaps the wild turkey and No. 9 from the radius of the gray wolf. Fig. 71 shows a number of awls of special interest. No. 1 is a broken flat awl showing much labor in its manufacture; No. 2 is the broken spatula-end of one of the finest awls found in the village; No. 3 is also a broken awl, but shows an unusual finish and an enlarged decorated end; No. 4 is made from a flat heavy bone with one end finely sharpened, and the other end brought almost to a point; No. 5 is one of the smallest awls found, and could not be classed as a pin, for these were not found in the village. No. 6 is one of the well-wrought double-pointed awls frequently met with; Nos. 7, 8 and 9 are very small thin awls requiring much patience and even skill to manufacture, as they were made from the thick heavy bone of the deer.

From the number of types of awls found by our survey, this village certainly must have been a great manufacturing center for bone implements. The small double-pointed bone awl, or pin, was very abundant at Baum's, but entirely absent at Feurt's and but few were found at the Kentucky site by Smith. The larger bone awls shown in Figs. 67 and 68 were not found by Smith at the Kentucky site, but were found sparingly at Baum's and at Gartner's in Ohio.

No. 6 of Fig. 69, the spatula-like awl, was duplicated by Smith in the Kentucky site. Practically all other awls made of the various bones of animals and birds found in such profusion at Feurt's were found both in the Ohio sites and at the Kentucky site.

#### BONE NEEDLES.

Bone needles having an eye are shown in Fig. 72 which exhibits the implement in the process of manufacture, and the perfect needle as well as those broken in use. As is well known the true needle with an eye is considered a very rare implement, because the awl would take its place for sewing. The bone needles shown in the figure were made for the most part of the rib bones of various animals and range in length from three to eight inches. Nos. 1, 4, 8 and 9 show practically all the forms



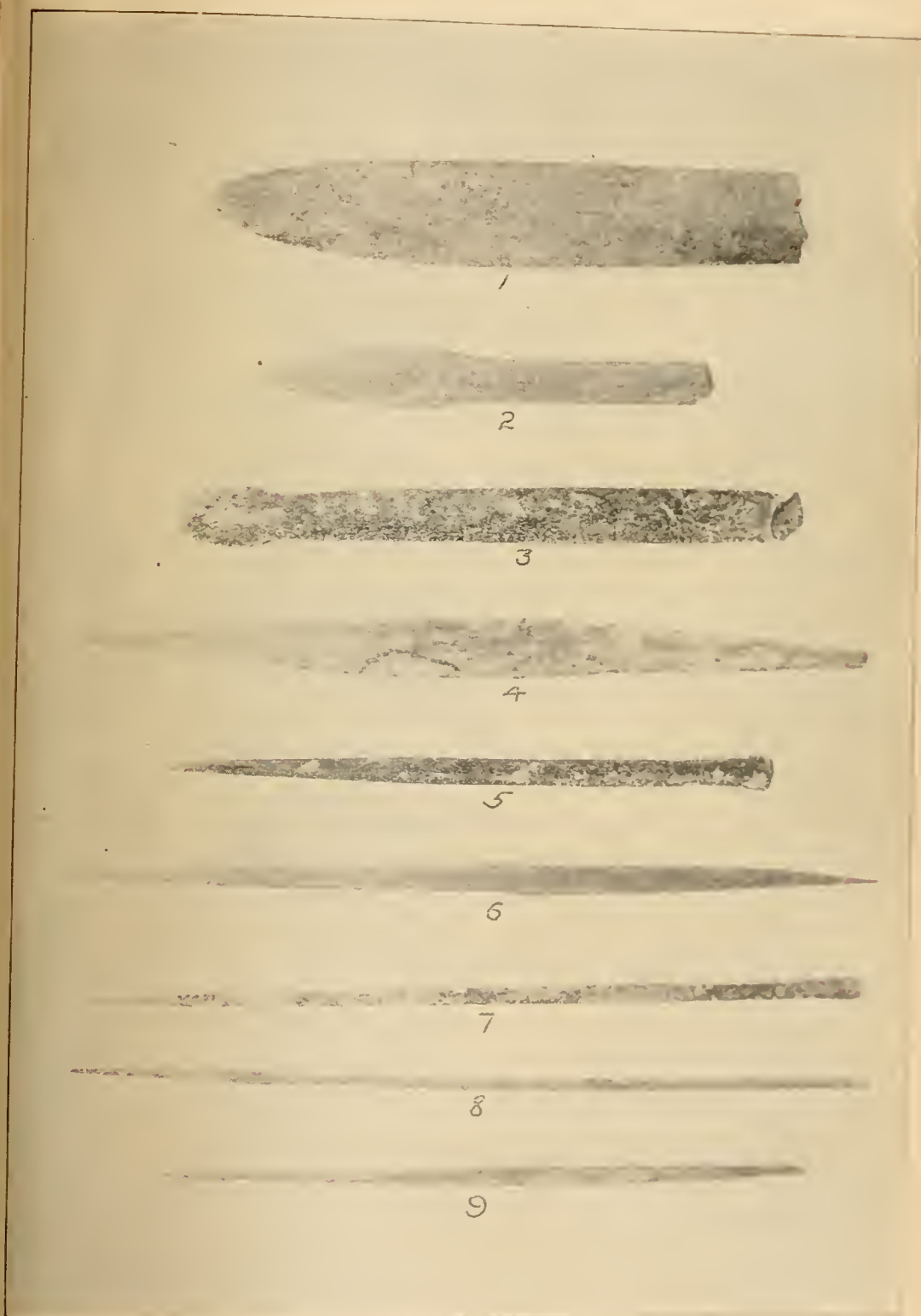


FIG. 71. Various forms of bone awls;  $\frac{1}{8}$  size.

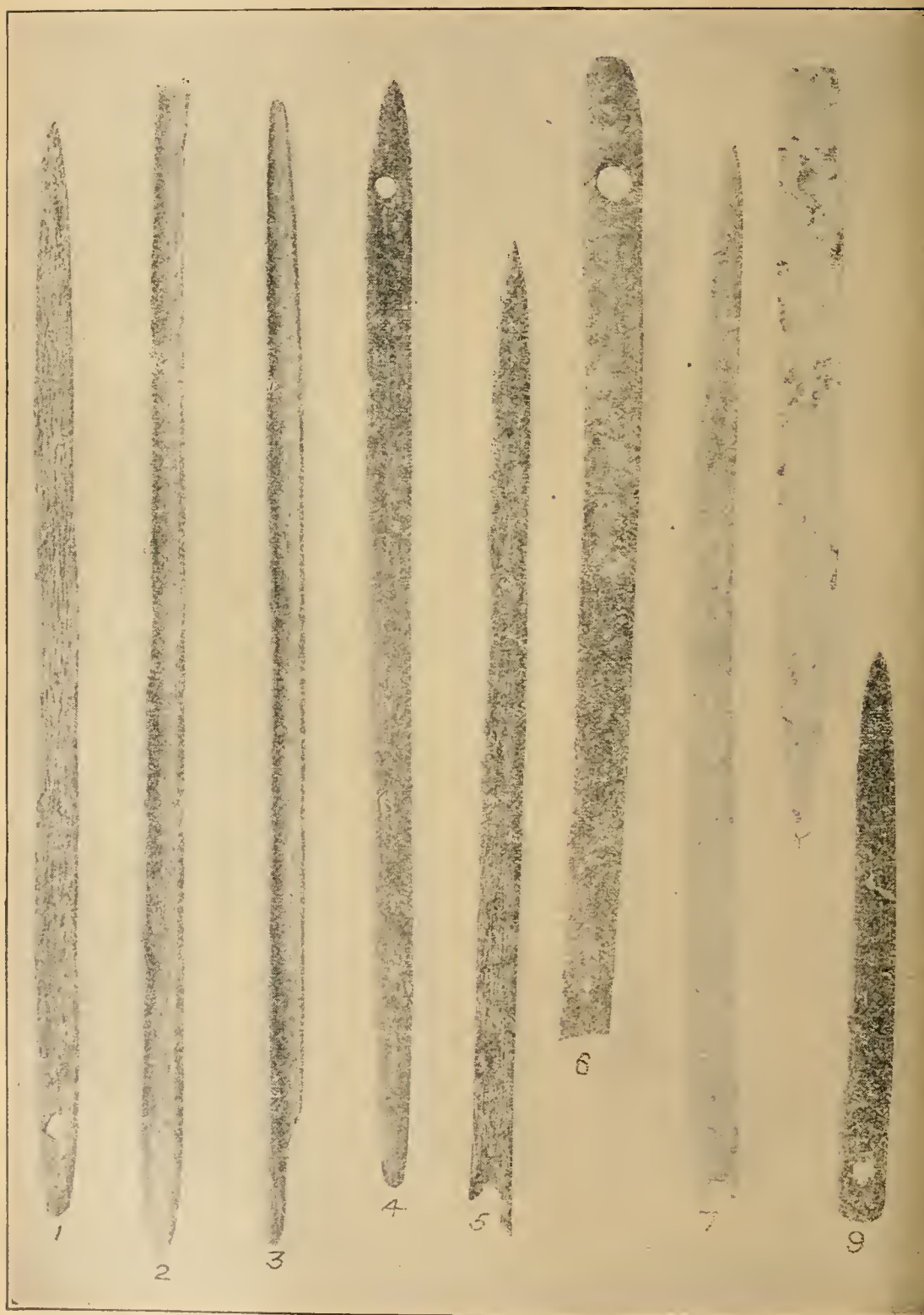


FIG. 72. Bone needles;  $\frac{7}{8}$  size.

of needles found in the village. Nos. 5 and 7 show the needles broken at the eye, the weakest part. A number have been found showing the repair of the needle when broken at the eye by boring a new hole for the same, this making the needle a trifle shorter. No. 6 shows the point broken off, which is very unusual; Nos. 2 and 3 are perhaps unfinished needles, made from the long leg bones of wading birds. This form of bone needle was found at Baum's and at Gartner's but not in such large numbers at Feurt's, and Smith found in the Kentucky site what he considers a needle with an eye. This needle is practically round, while in the Ohio sites of this culture the needles found are always flat.

#### BONE SCRAPERS.

Bone scrapers made of various bones of the legs of deer and elk were found in abundance in the village site. However, the scraper for the most part had been broken while in use and the broken pieces were evidence of the hard usage to which they were subjected in the preparation of skins. The broken pieces of the scrapers were sometimes reworked into awls, but for the most part they were discarded.

Fig. 73 shows a perfect scraper made from the lower leg bone of the elk. Practically all the metapodial bones of the elk had been worked into this kind of implement, as were the femurs of the elk. In Fig. 73 are shown three specimens of the lower leg bone of the deer. This bone was extensively used for this purpose, although many were found that had been broken to extract the marrow from the central cavity for food. The specimen adjoining the cut of the perfect scraper in Fig. 73 shows the first steps toward making it into this useful implement. The next specimen shows a little more work, the cutting being carried to the cavity of the bone, while the next shows that an accident happened, and that the bone was broken and then discarded. Perfect scrapers were not found in abundance at the Feurt site, but their use was general, as broken specimens were found sparingly in all parts of the village. At Baum's the scrapers were very abundant, all being made of the metapodial bone of the deer and elk, while at Feurt's the femurs very often were used.



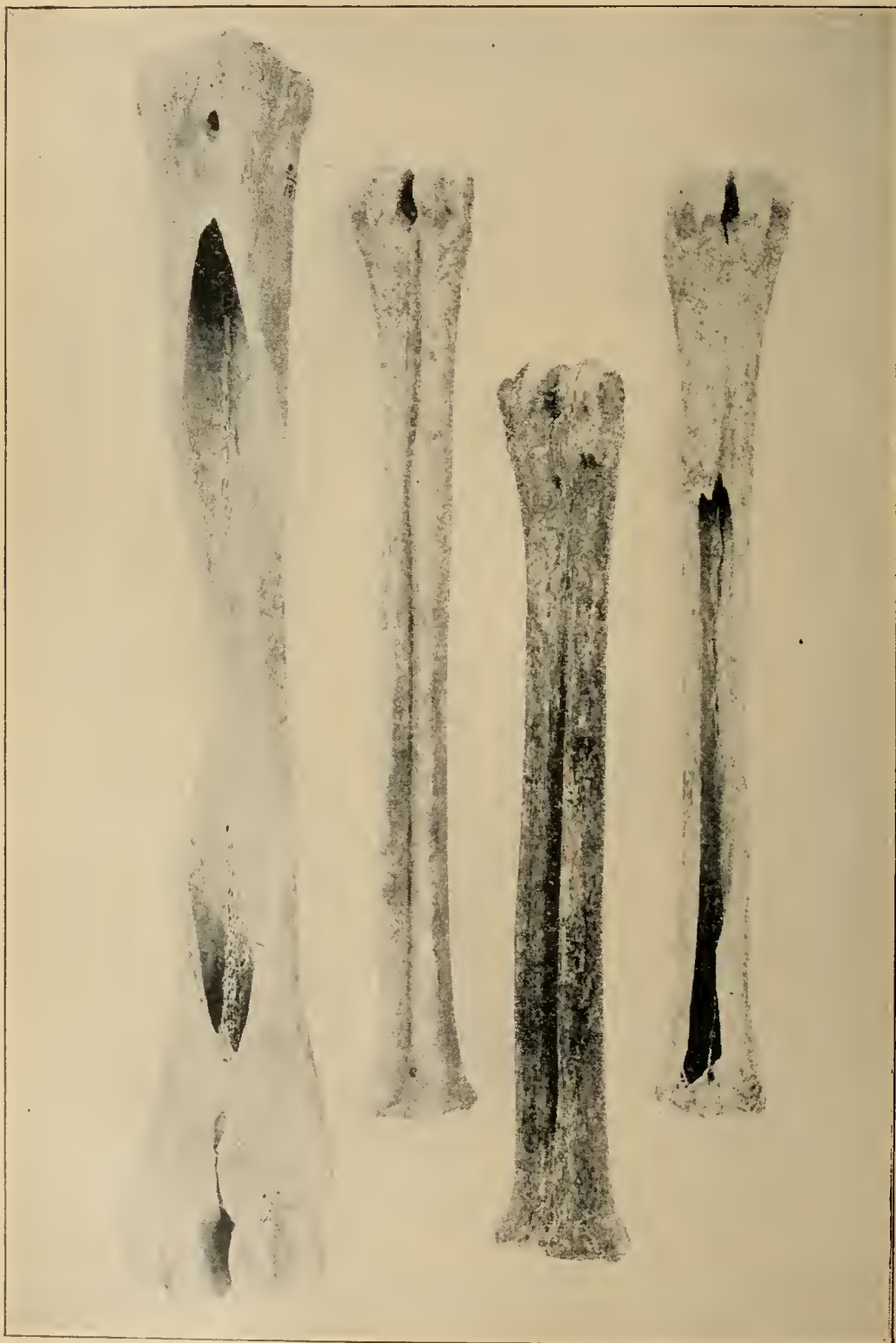


FIG. 73. Perfect and unfinished scrapers;  $\frac{3}{4}$  size.

At Gartner's also this implement was found in abundance. Smith found the scraper in the Kentucky site, but not abundantly.

#### CELT-LIKE SCRAPERS.

One of the interesting types of specimens found in the village is the celt-like scraper, made for the most part from heavy elk horn. The part usually selected was between the beztine and the trestine, and required much labor in manufacture, but when completed would meet the needs of a scraper perhaps better than those described above. A very good example of the scrapers made from horn and bone are shown in Fig. 74. Some were notched for attachment to a handle, others were plain. The scrapers made of bone, are shown to the right of Fig. 74. Fig. 75 shows a collection of narrow chisel-like scrapers, which were perhaps as abundant as the broader scrapers shown in Fig. 74. The celt-like scrapers found in goodly numbers at the Feurt village were also found at Baum's and Gartner's and by Smith at the Kentucky site. All are made in the same general way.

#### CUT AND WORKED BONE.

The finding of many hundreds of cut and worked bones in the Feurt site showed how generally bone implements were used. Many of these bones show merely an attempt to cut a hollow bone in the form of a cylinder, or into sections for beads. Bones showing practically every stage in the manufacture of implements were readily secured. Many bones, after much labor had been expended upon them, were found defective and were rejected, while others were broken after much grinding and polishing had been done. Figs. 76 and 77 are representative examples of cut and worked bone found in the Feurt site. At Baum's and at Gartner's worked and cut bone was found everywhere in the village. Smith found in the Kentucky site bones cut and worked in the same way. The manner of cutting and polishing the bone was practically the same in all of the Ohio sites as well as at the Kentucky site.

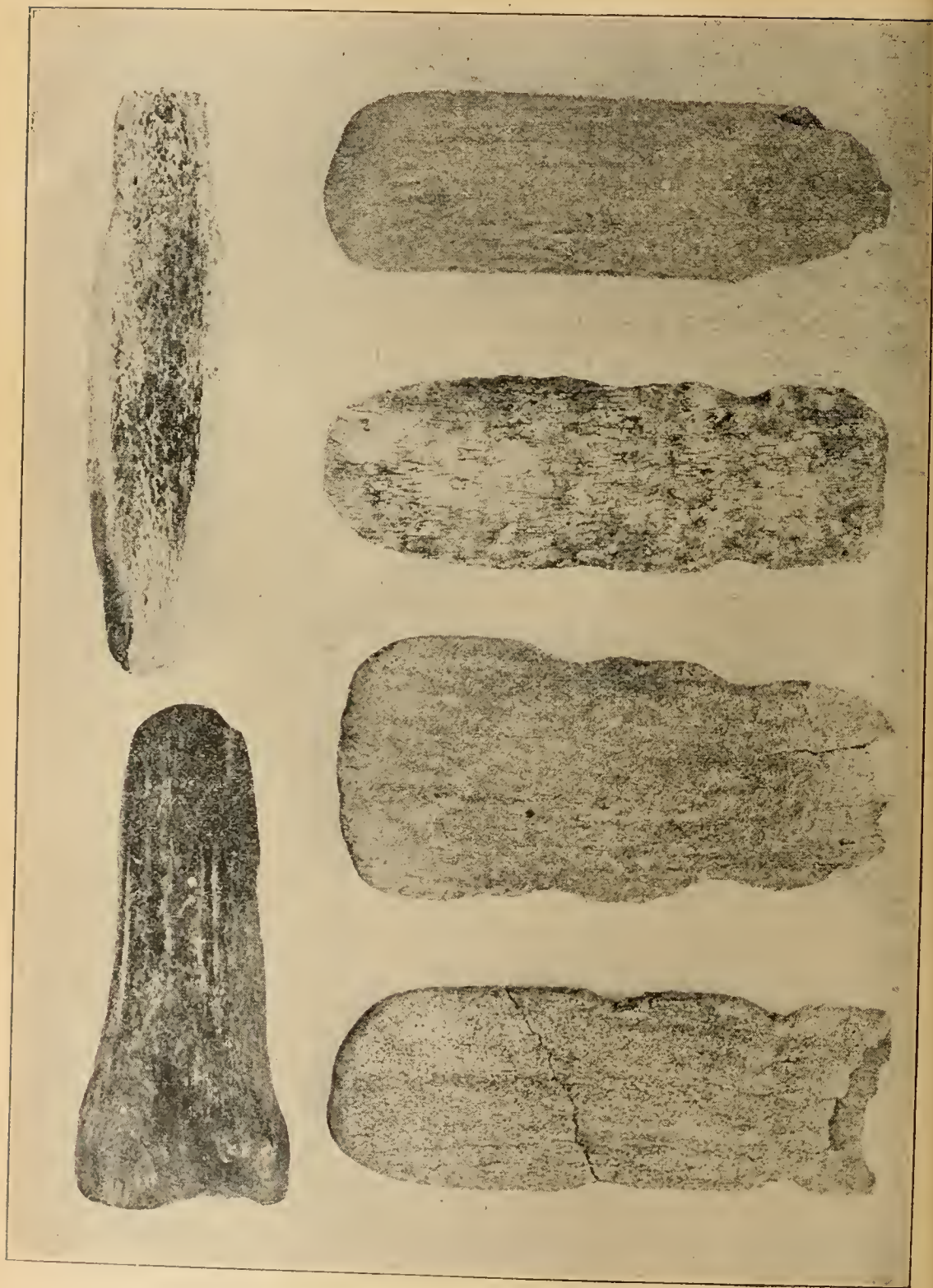


FIG. 74. Celt-like scrapers made of elk horn;  $\frac{2}{3}$  size.



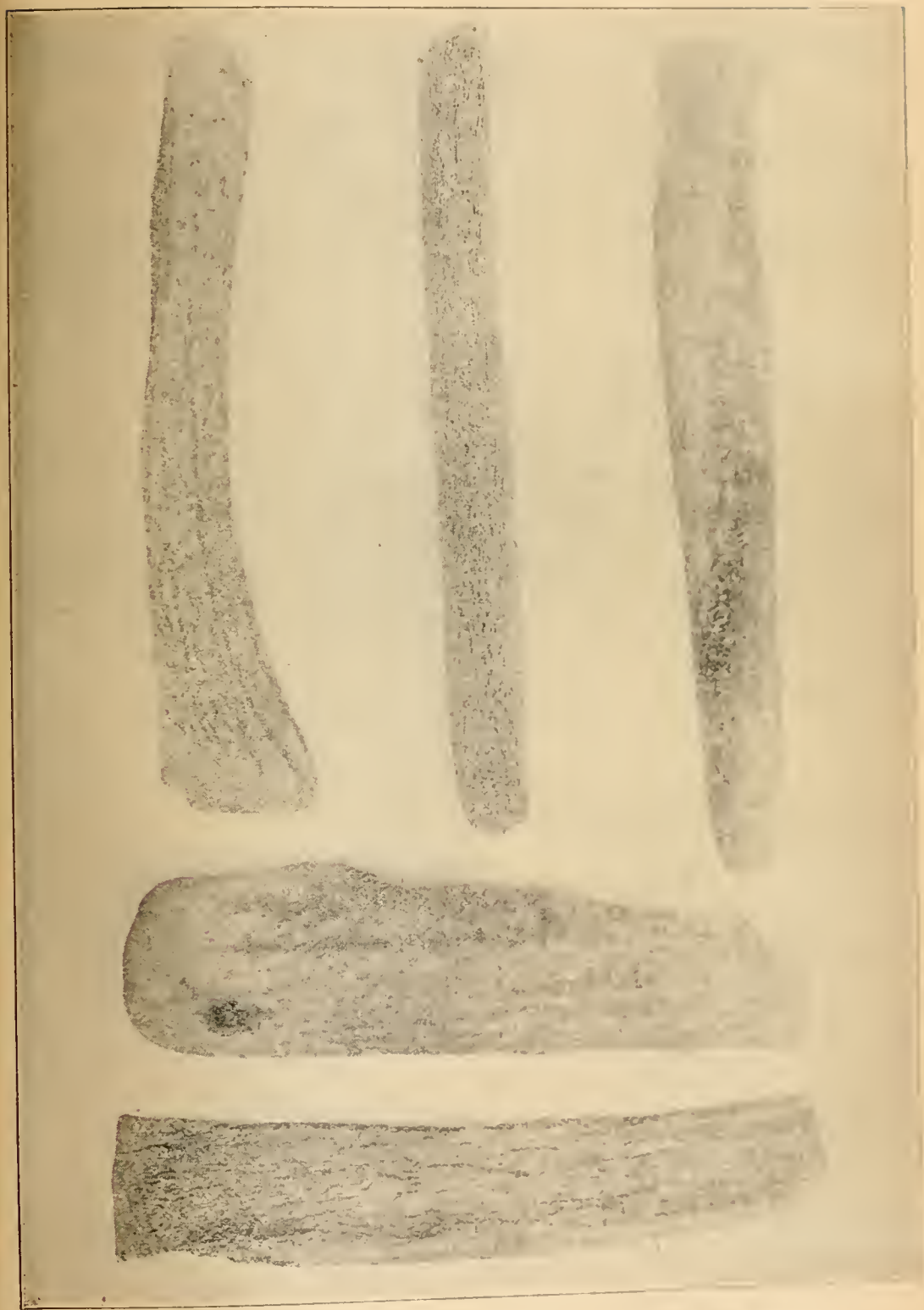


FIG. 75. Chisel-like scrapers made of elk horn.

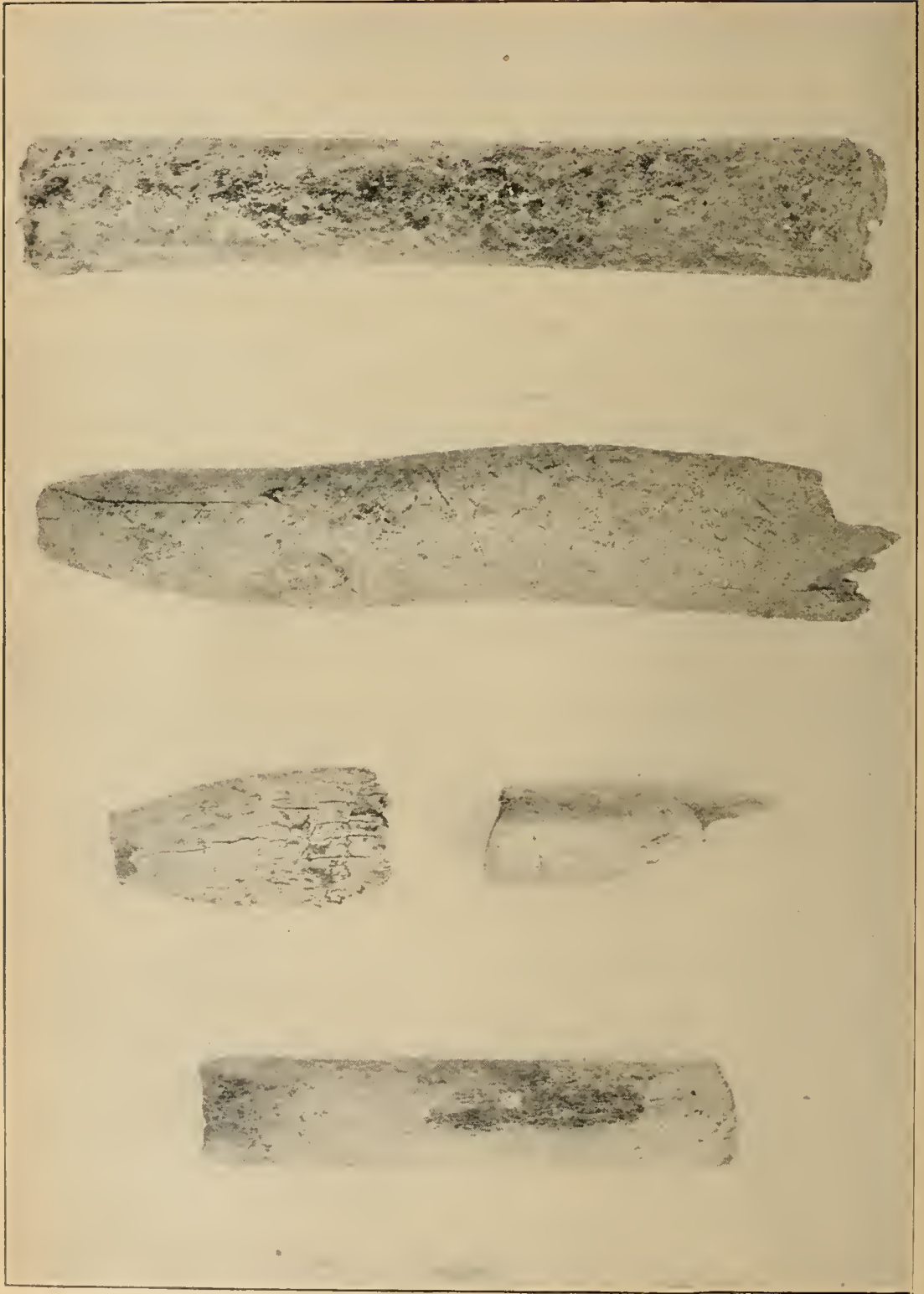


FIG. 76. Cut and worked bone;  $\frac{2}{3}$  size.

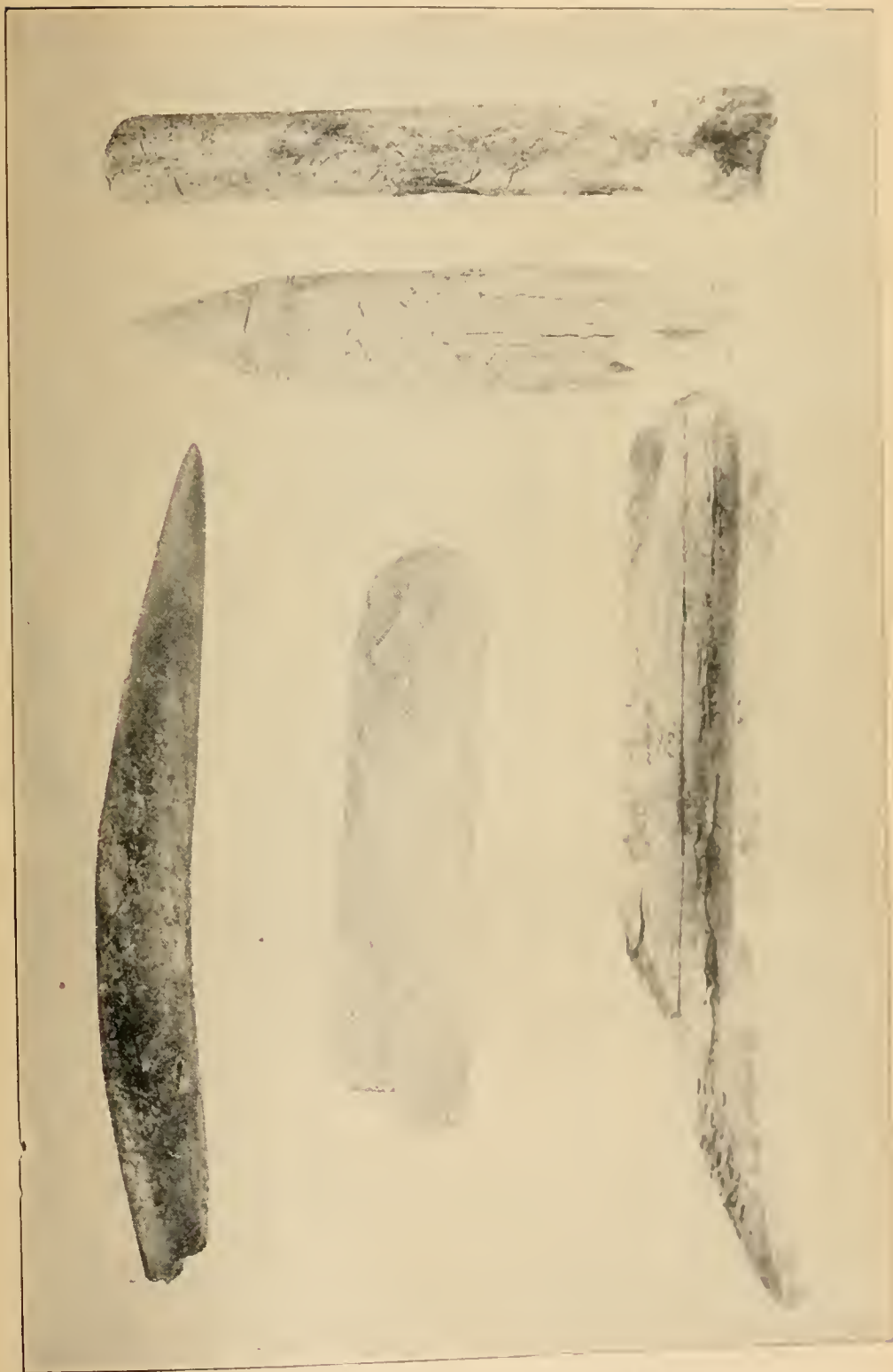


FIG. 77. Cut and worked bone;  $\frac{1}{4}$  size.



## ARROW AND SPEAR POINTS OF BONE.

Arrow and spear points made of bone were numerous in the village and were made for the most part of the tips of deer horns. The Feurt peoples not only excelled in chipping the arrow point from stone, but they made excellent points from the antler tips. Fig. 78 shows good examples of antler arrow and spear points. The arrow points are of two kinds, those pierced with a small hole for attachment to the shaft by the use of a string, and those unperforated. The perforated specimens are illustrated in the seven specimens shown at the left of Fig. 78. The second kind of arrow points were more numerous than the perforated type and are shown in the five specimens directly to the right of the perforated arrow points in Fig. 78. The three large specimens to the right in Fig. 78 were doubtless used for spear points.

At Baum's and at Gartner's bone arrow points and spear points were found in abundance, both in the perforated and plain types, the process of manufacture being exactly the same, as shown by the number of unfinished specimens found in the village. Caches of deer tines ready for making into points were found at Baum's and at Gartner's and many such caches were in evidence at Feurt's. At Baum's and at Gartner's deer toes were made into arrow points, but not a single specimen was found in the Feurt site made from this bone. Smith found arrow points made of the tips of deer horn in the Kentucky site, resembling those found in the Ohio sites.

## FLAKING TOOLS.

The flaking tools found at the Feurt site were of two kinds, both being found in great numbers, and for the most part all were made of deer and elk horn. Fine examples of one kind are shown in Fig. 79. All are cylindrical in form and vary in length from one and one-half inches to five and one-half inches. One end is usually cut at right angles, while the other end is made oval. Many of the specimens in Fig. 79 show use as flaking tools, one end being usually battered, from being struck by the stone hammer in making the large flakes, and in the manufac-

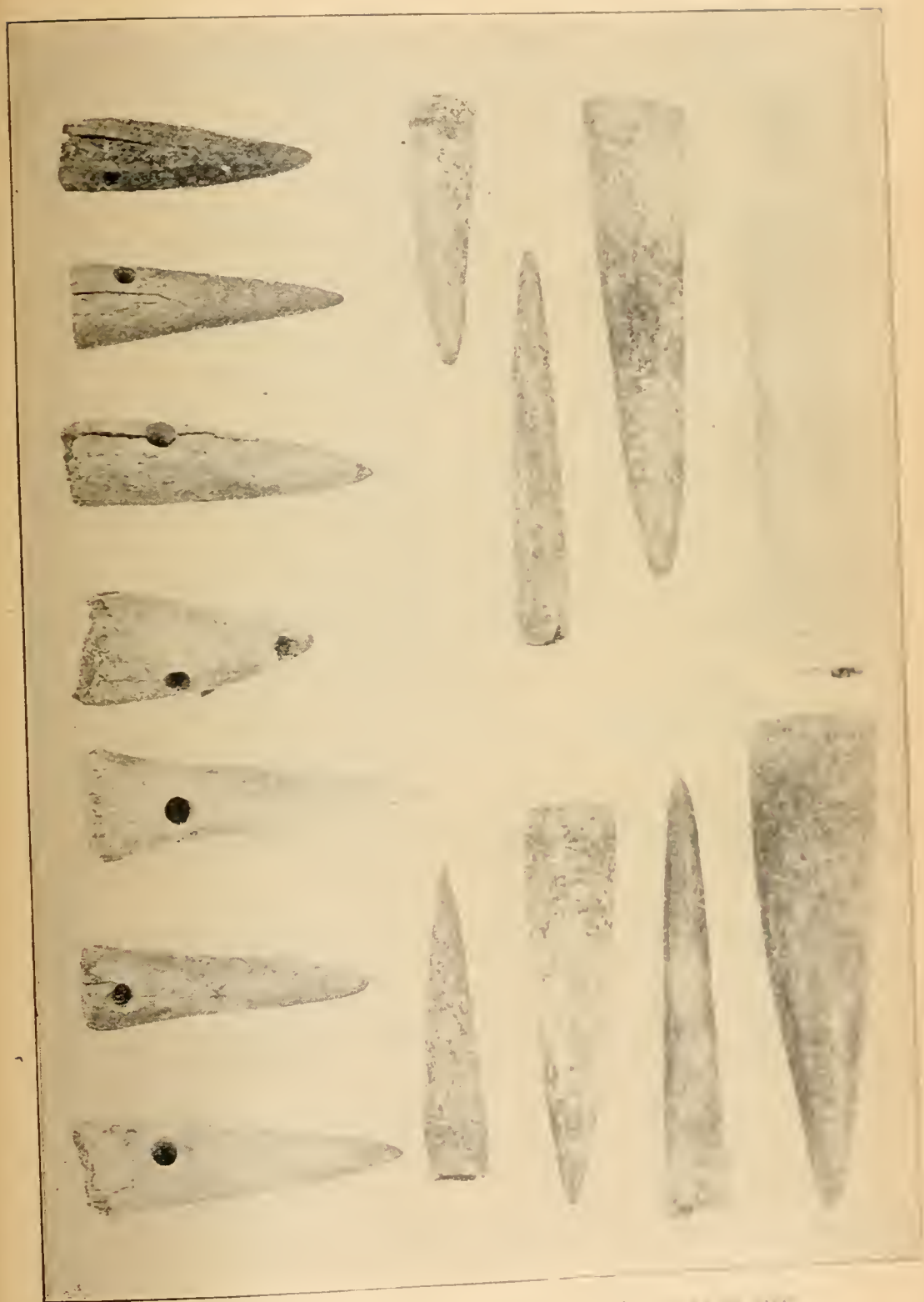


FIG. 78. Bone arrowpoints made of antler tips.

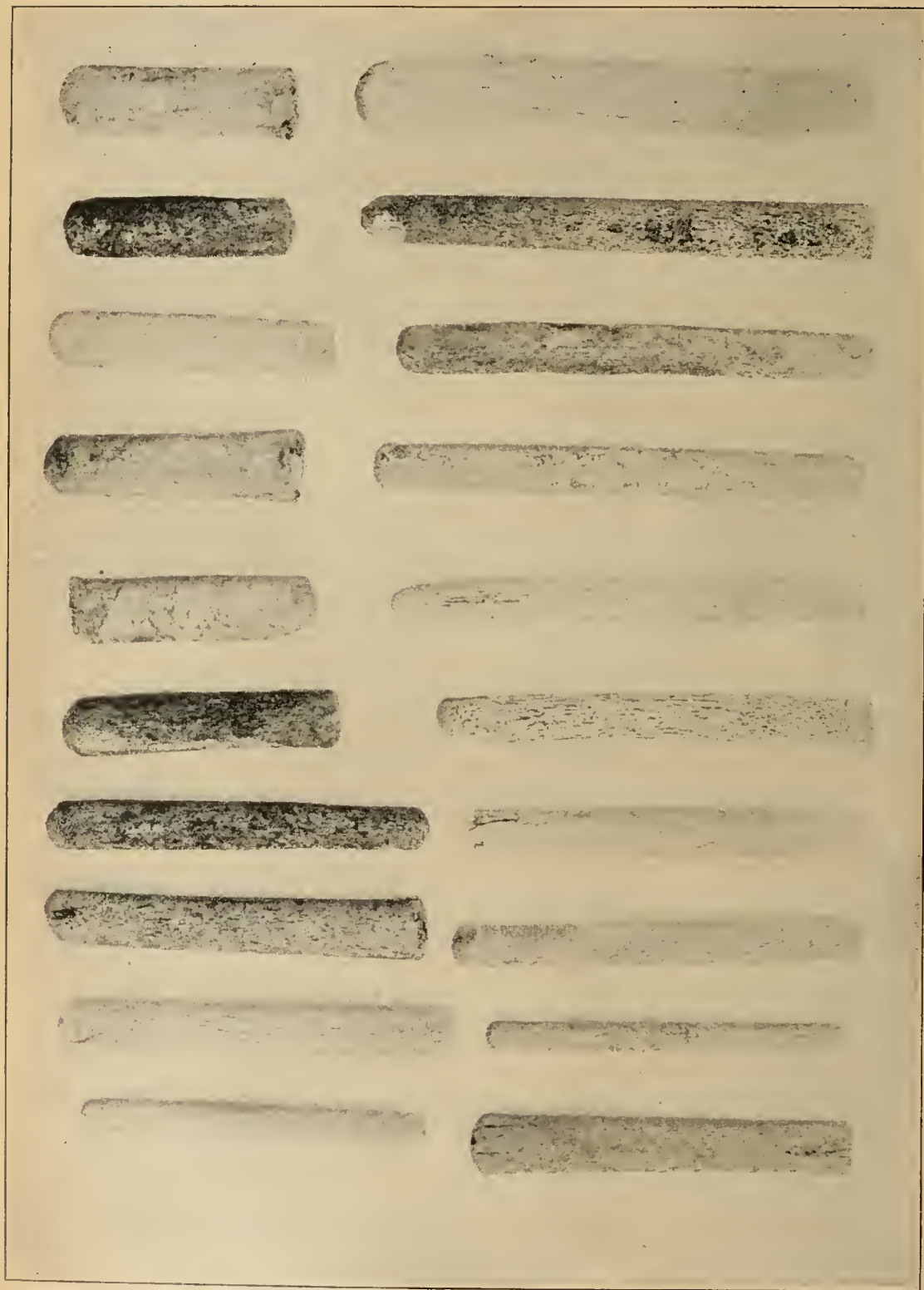


FIG. 79. Flaking tools made from deer and elk horn;  $\frac{3}{4}$  size.



ture of the long knives and spear points. The use of the flakers shown in Fig. 79 requires two persons. The process consists in holding the flint to be flaked in the palm of the hand, protected with a piece of buckskin and held firmly by the fingers of the same hand, while the other hand was used to hold the flaker in position. The second person then would strike the flaker with a stone hammer. The angle at which the flaker is held against the flint determines the length of the chip. The second kind of flaking tool, shown in Fig. 80 was perhaps used in the manufacture of small arrow points. The large implement in the center of the figure however, possibly was used as a digging tool. This implement is made of elk horn and is fourteen inches in length. All the other implements in Fig. 80 doubtless were used for flaking the small arrow point, and did not require the assistance of a second person. The process of manufacture of the arrow point is very simple, all that is required being the flint blocked cut into form with a stone hammer, a piece of buckskin to protect the hand, and a tine of deer horn slightly worked at the point into a suitable implement. The flint piece to be chipped into form is held in the left hand, protected by the buckskin, by the fingers which serve as a vise in holding the flint. The flaking-tool is then taken in the right hand and the point placed against the under edge of the flint at a point where the artificer wishes to remove a chip. A steady down and under pressure will produce the necessary conchoidal fracture. The angle at which the flaker is held will determine the length of the chip.

Fig. 81 shows the way deer horn is cut into suitable pieces to be made into flakers. The process is very laborious and requires much grinding and cutting. During the entire exploration in the Feurt site not a single perfect horn was found, all having been worked into implements or the cut pieces stored for future use.

#### FISH-HOOKS FOUND IN THE VILLAGE.

Fig. 82 shows several fish-hooks complete, several that were broken in use, and several showing the different stages in the manufacture of this very important implement. The hooks were

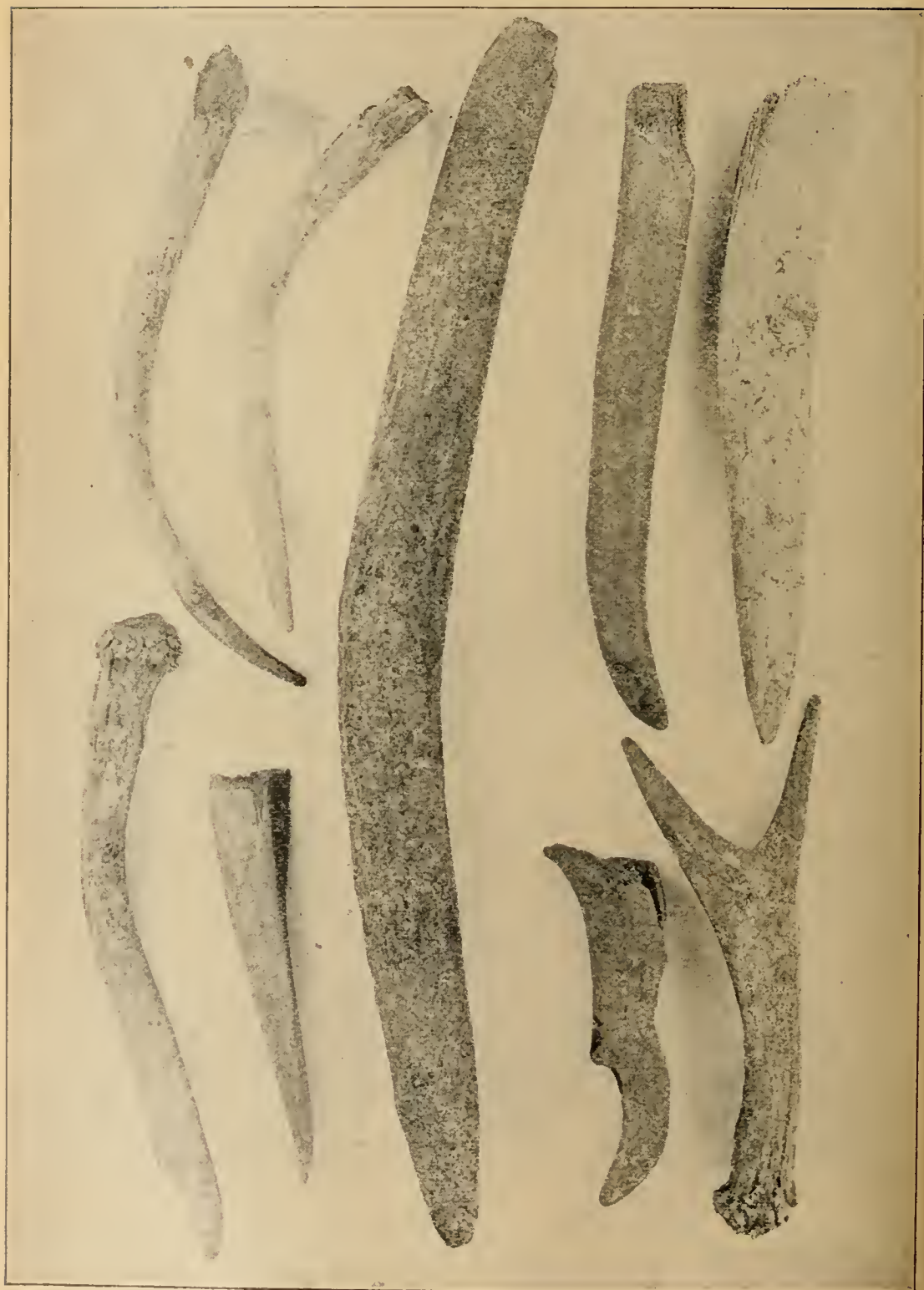


FIG. 80. Flaking tools made of deer and elk horn;  $\frac{1}{2}$  size.

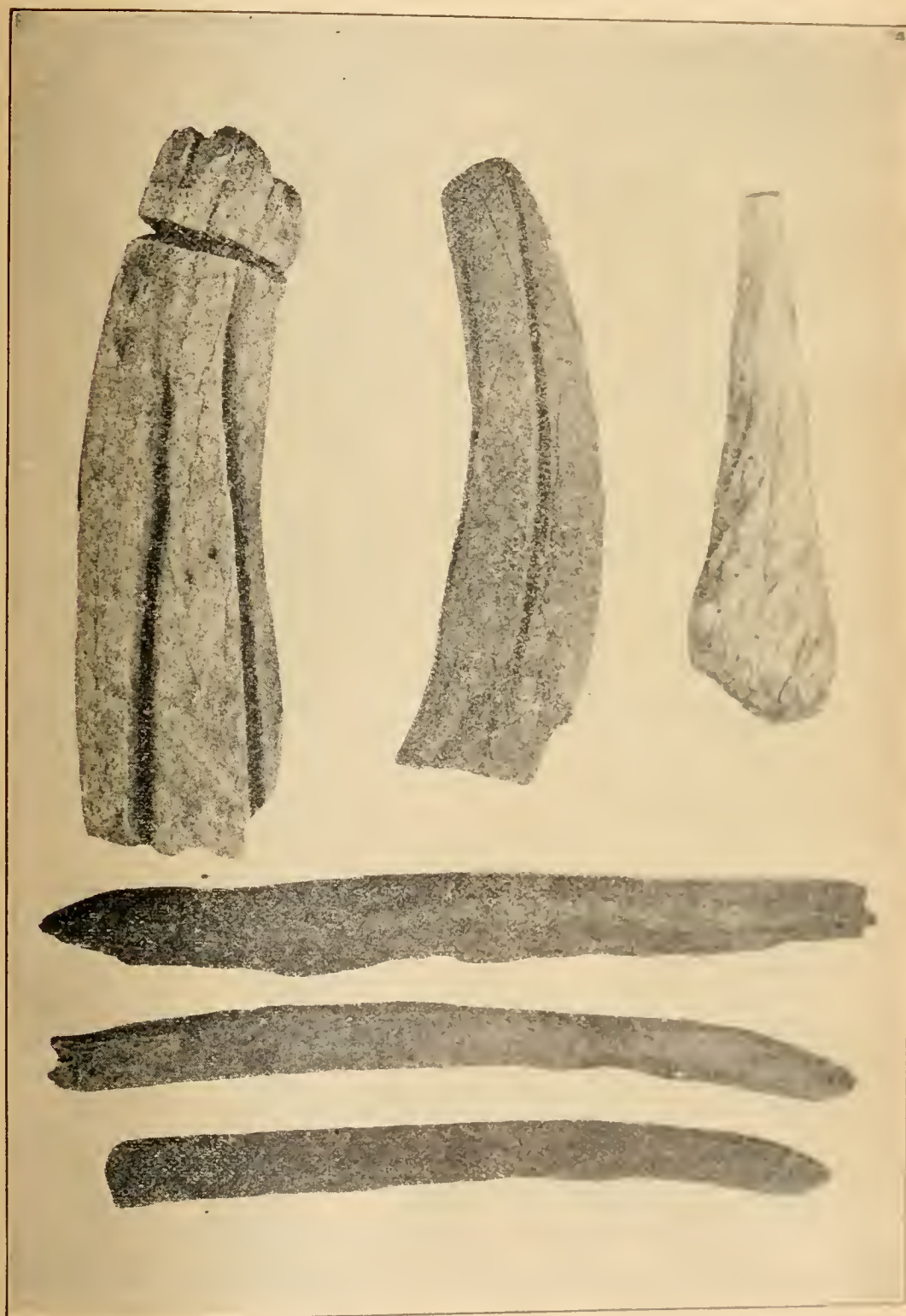


FIG. 81. Flaking tools in the process of manufacture; 1/200



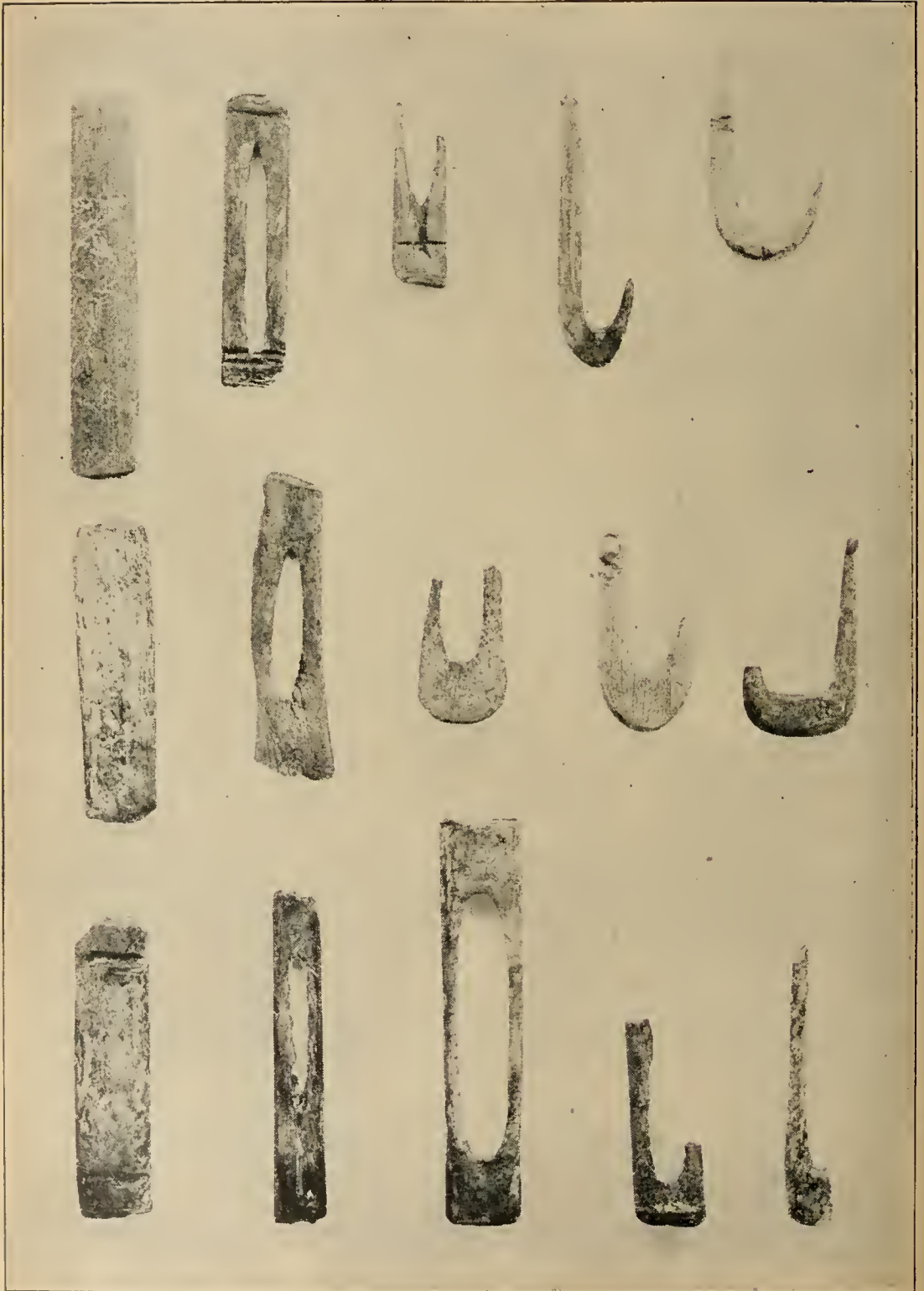


FIG. 82. Specimens showing stages in the manufacture of the fish hook;  $\frac{2}{3}$  size.

not so abundant as at Baum's and at Gartner's, but the mode of manufacture was exactly the same, for a minute description of which the reader is referred to the report upon the Baum village.\* Smith found in the Kentucky site fish-hooks similar to those found at the three Ohio sites, but evidently did not secure specimens showing the various stages in their manufacture. However, from the general appearance of the hook and the bone used in making the same, one must believe they were similarly fashioned.

#### WHISTLE-LIKE OBJECTS OF BONE.

Whistle-like objects shown in Fig. 83 are of special interest, since not a single specimen was found either at Gartner's or at Baum's, although these sites were of the same culture as Feurt's. Smith found the whistle in the Kentucky site and many examples have been found at various sites along the Ohio river. Smith suggests that perforated bones were perhaps used "in religious ceremonies rather than for animal calls." The whistle-like specimens shown in Fig. 83 were made of the radius of various large birds such as the eagle, hawk, wild turkey and others; by cutting off the ends, thus leaving a hollow straight cylinder, as shown in the first three specimens of Fig. 83. Many specimens similar to these were found and several show where they had been marked for drilling. The holes were drilled with a flint drill, and were usually three in number. Now and then one would be found with two holes, and occasionally one with four holes. The holes were usually round, but a number show an oblong hole. Frequently the oblong hole would show that it was enlarged from the round hole by burning. The holes for the most part were bored in a straight line, usually equidistant apart; however one specimen was found (shown in the center of the lower row in Fig. 83) where two holes were in line but the center hole was to one side. Smith found a specimen in the Kentucky site with seven holes, complete, and the eighth hole started, while others found by him varied as to number of holes and in irregularity as to distance from each other.

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\*Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio. Vol. 1.

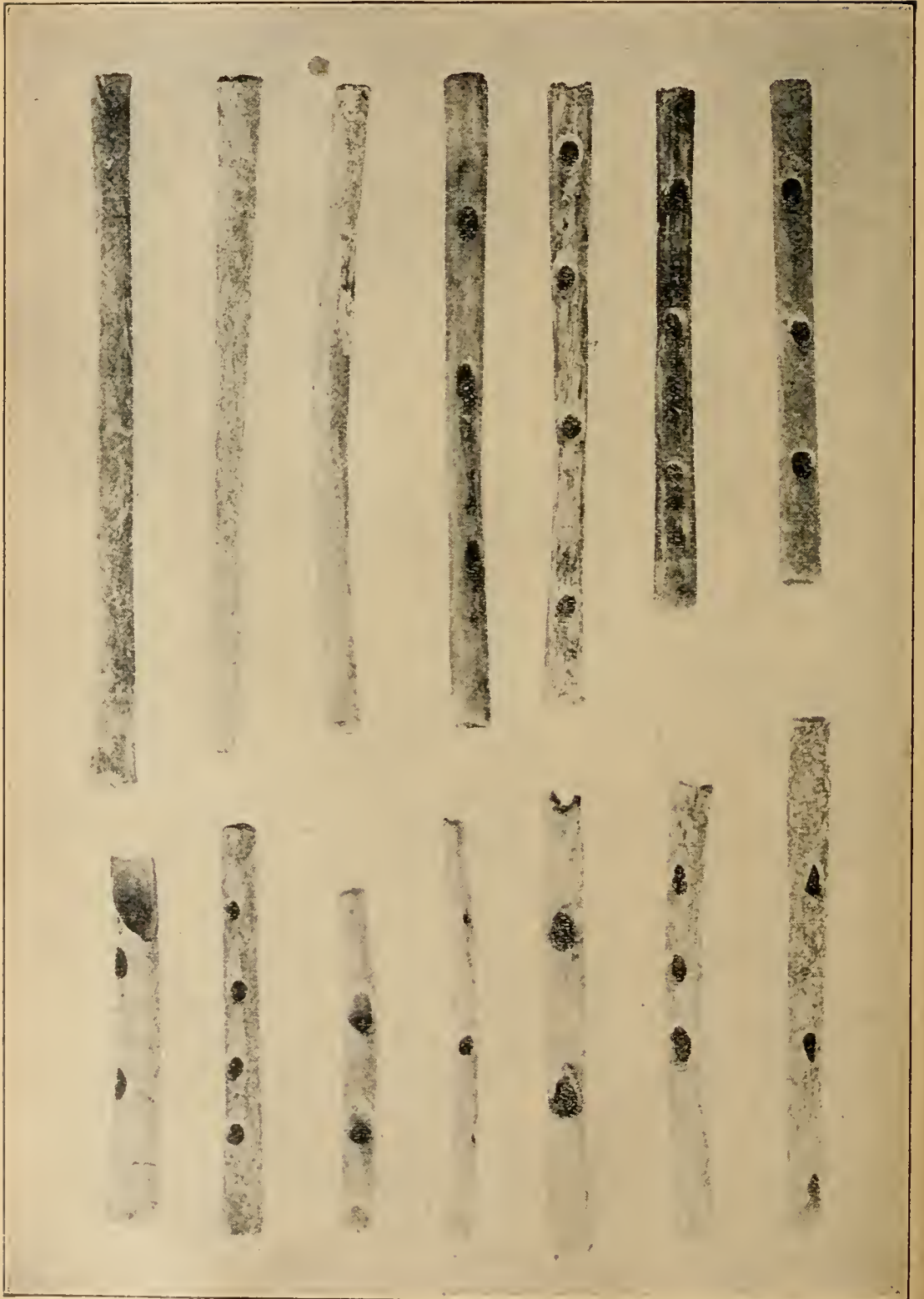


FIG. 83. Whistle-like objects of bone;  $\frac{2}{3}$  size.



CUT LOWER JAW OF THE DEER.

Fig. 84 shows the cut lower jaw of the deer, found in such abundance in the village, and certainly generally used, as several hundred were found.

No. 1 of Fig. 84 represents one-half of the lower jaw of a mature deer, having the posterior portions of the jaw broken away which is usual in all the jaws used. No. 2 shows a discarded jaw, the anterior part of which had been cut away and found defective. The Indian method of procedure was to cut a bone on each side slightly, and then break it off. Very often the bone would be so splintered as to render it useless. This happened with No. 2 and the jaw was discarded. No. 3 had a double use as it would serve the same purpose as No. 1, besides being used as an awl formed by sharpening the anterior part of the jaw. No. 4 of Fig. 84 has both the posterior and anterior part of the jaw cut away. However, the greater number of jaws found were like No. 1, the object no doubt being to use the teeth as a grater for green corn,\* for which purpose they would serve admirably. Cut deer jaws similar to those described above were found at Baum's and Gartner's, and Smith found the jaw cut in the same way in the Kentucky site.

ORNAMENTS MADE OF BONE.

Ornaments made of bone were found in great numbers over the entire site, especially in the form of beads. The beads were of different lengths ranging from one-half inch to three inches, and for the most part were made of the hollow wing bones of large birds. They were usually plain and undecorated, except that now and then one would be found having incised lines encircling it. Many of the beads show long use, being worn and highly polished.

Other very important ornaments found in the village were cut jaws of various animals, such as bear, mountain lion, gray wolf, gray fox and wildcat. No. 3 of Fig. 85 shows the posterior part of the upper jaw of the gray wolf. Nos. 4, 6 and 7 are parts of the lower jaw of the gray fox, and No. 5 of Fig.

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\*Archaeological Report of Canada. 1913.

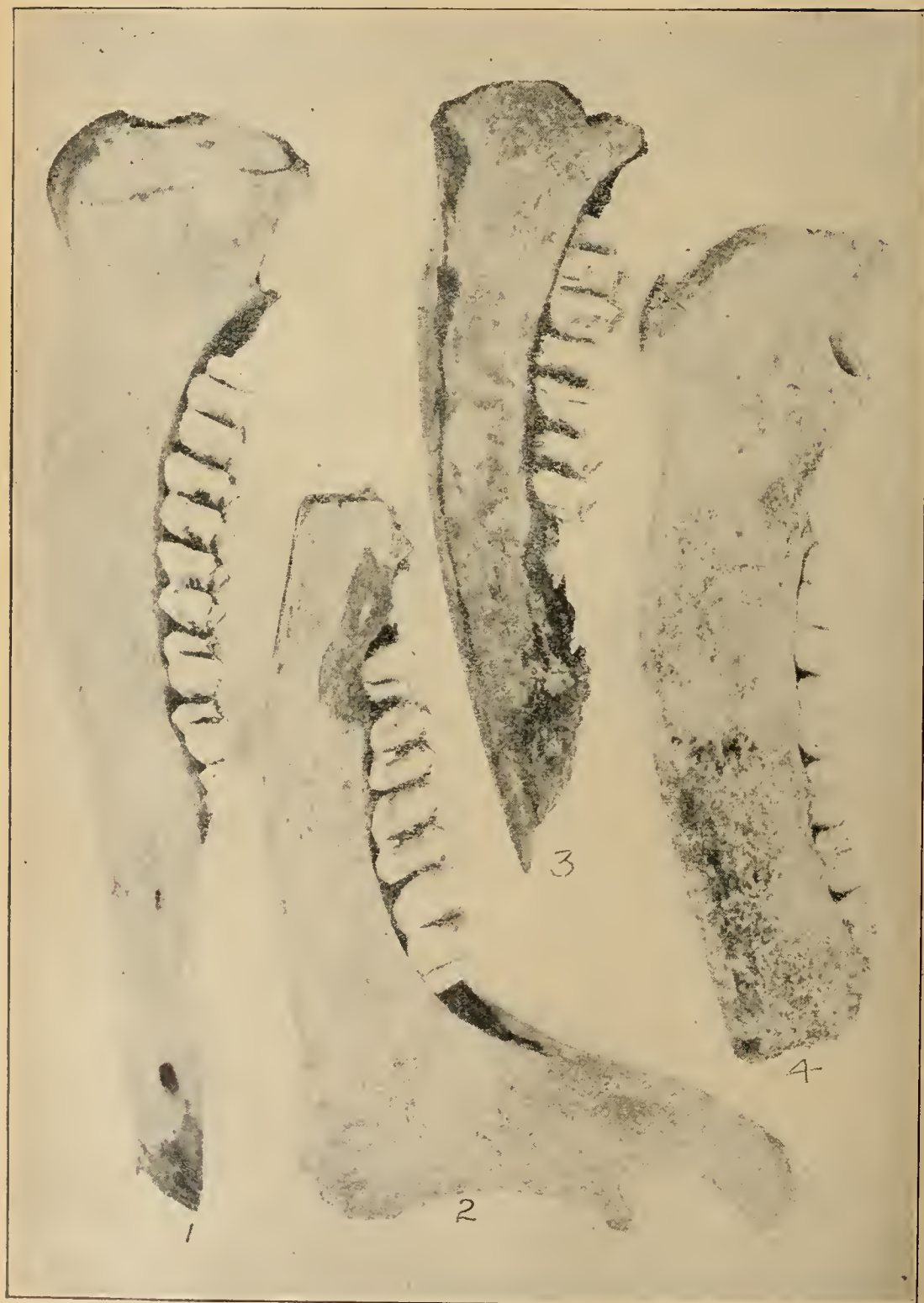


FIG. 84. Implements made of the lower jaw of the deer;  $\frac{2}{3}$  size.



FIG. 85. Objects made of bone and the jaws of animals:  $\frac{1}{2}$  size.



85 is the lower jaw of the wildcat, having the posterior part cut away. No. 8 of Fig. 85 shows a part of a triangular bone perforated with holes. Nos. 12 and 13 of Fig. 85 are bone pendants made from the shoulder blade of the deer. No. 12 is plain, and pierced with a counter-sunk hole for attachment, as shown in No. 13, which is decorated on the edges with notches. No. 14 of Fig. 85 is a bone pendant made in the form of an arrow head and pierced with a small hole for attachment.

#### ORNAMENTS MADE OF TEETH OF ANIMALS.

The black bear, and the gray wolf were animals highly prized by the people of the Feurt village, judging from the perforated canines found so abundantly in the village. Fig. 86 shows a collection of canines representing both the black bear and the gray wolf. They were found promiscuously in the village site, especially in the tepee sites, and were no doubt accidentally lost, as practically all of the specimens found were perfect. The teeth of the deer were never used for ornament, but practically all of the teeth of the elk were used. Fig. 87 shows the molars, canines and incisors of the elk, pierced with holes for attachment and perhaps used as ornaments. The other teeth shown in Fig. 87 are the canines of the gray fox, raccoon, opossum and wildcat. Likewise, all these teeth were abundantly found in the perfect state, and like those of the bear and wolf were accidentally lost.

Fig. 88 shows parts of broken fossil molar teeth of the mammoth and the mastodon. These specimens were found promiscuously scattered throughout the village. The perfect fossil teeth were no doubt found by the Feurt peoples and carried to their village and there worked into ornaments. The parts shown in the figure doubtless were rejected, being broken in such a manner as to be unfitted to their use. Nos. 2, 3 and 4 of Fig. 88 belong to the mastodon and are broken pieces of the V-shaped ridges covered with enamel.

Nos. 1 and 5 of Fig. 88 belong to the mammoth, a true elephant, the teeth of which are characterized by plates of enamel set upright in the body of the tooth. No. 1 shows one

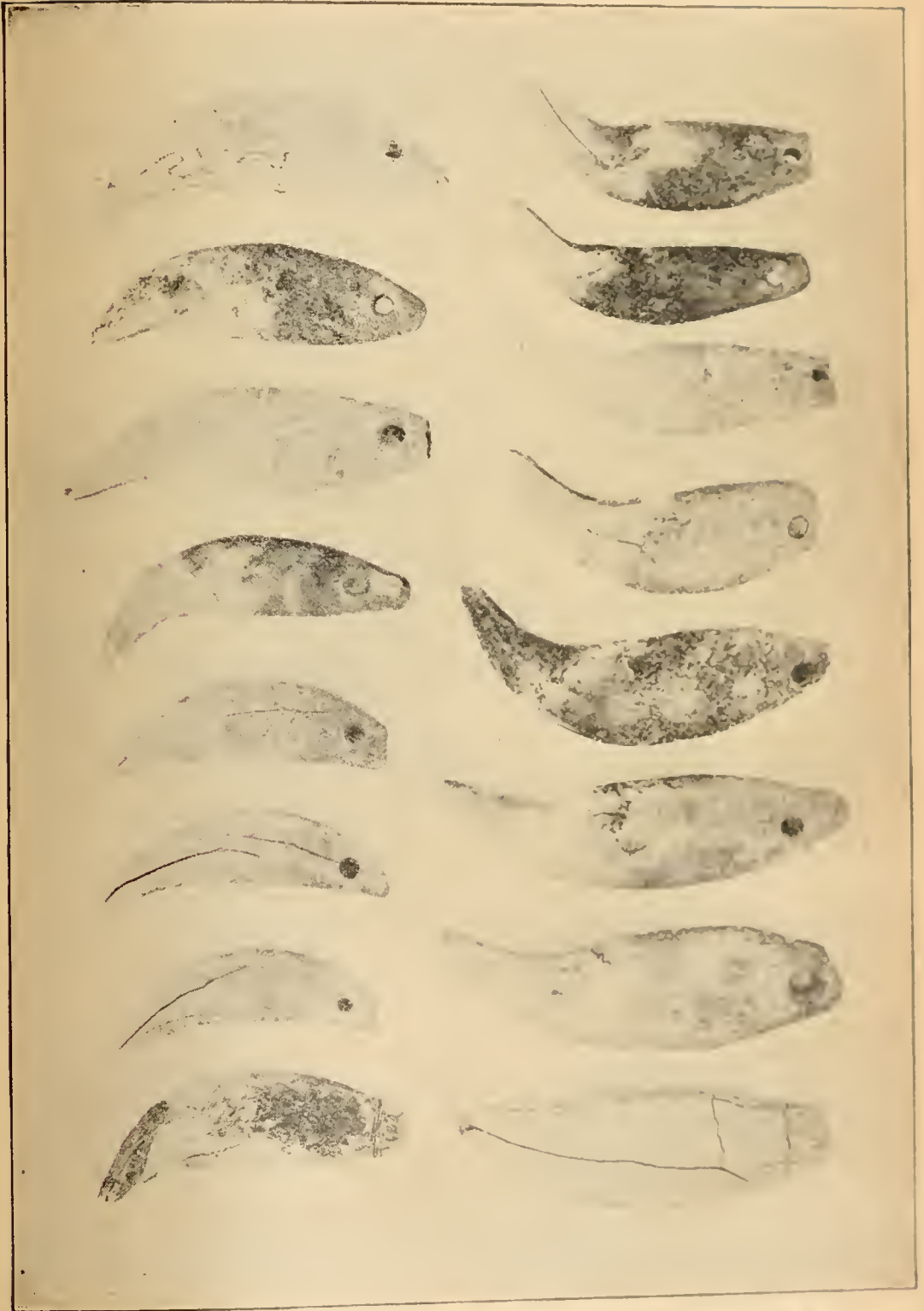


FIG. 86. Canine teeth of the black bear and gray wolf; see 820.

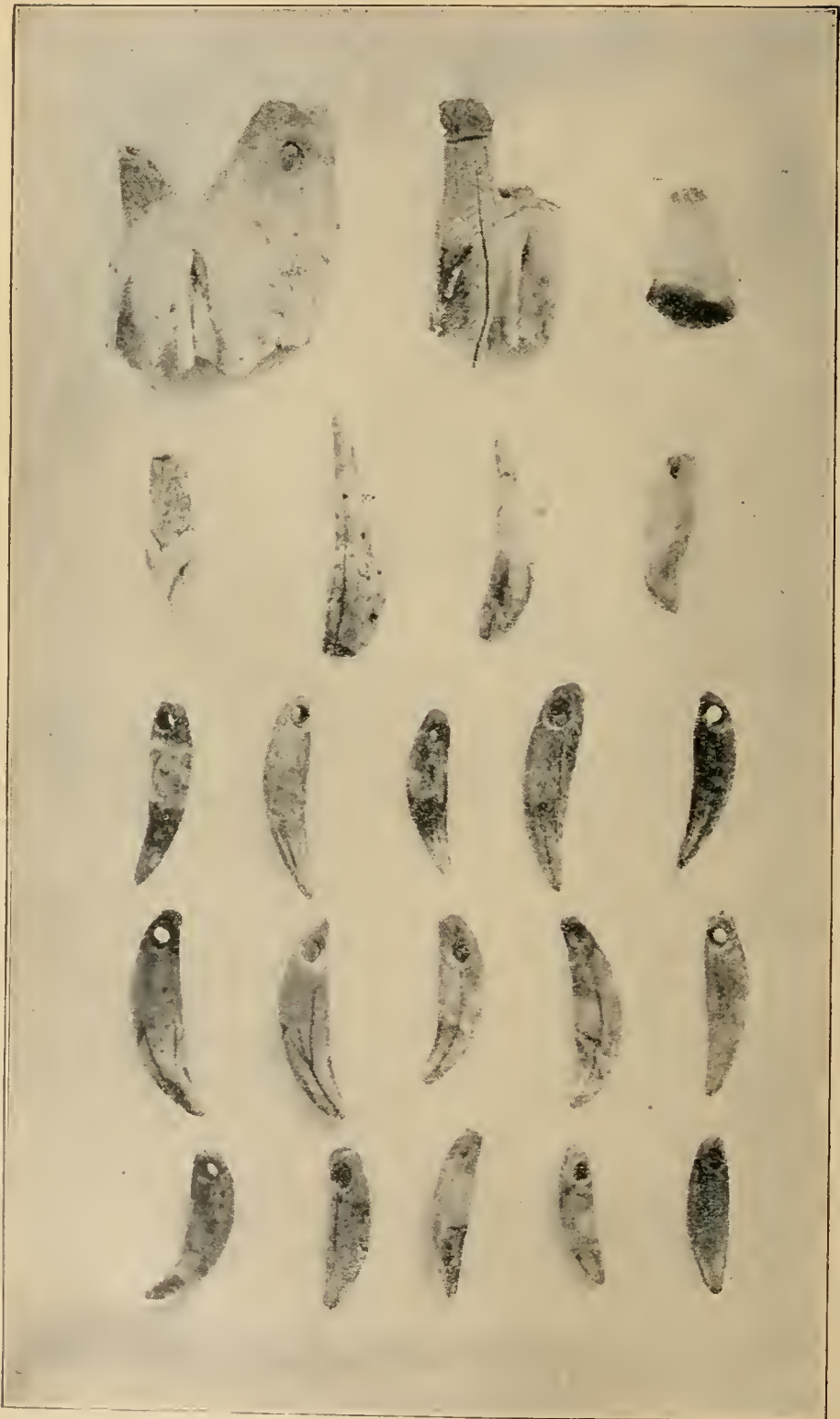


FIG. 87. Ornaments made of teeth of various animals  $\approx \frac{7}{8}$  size.



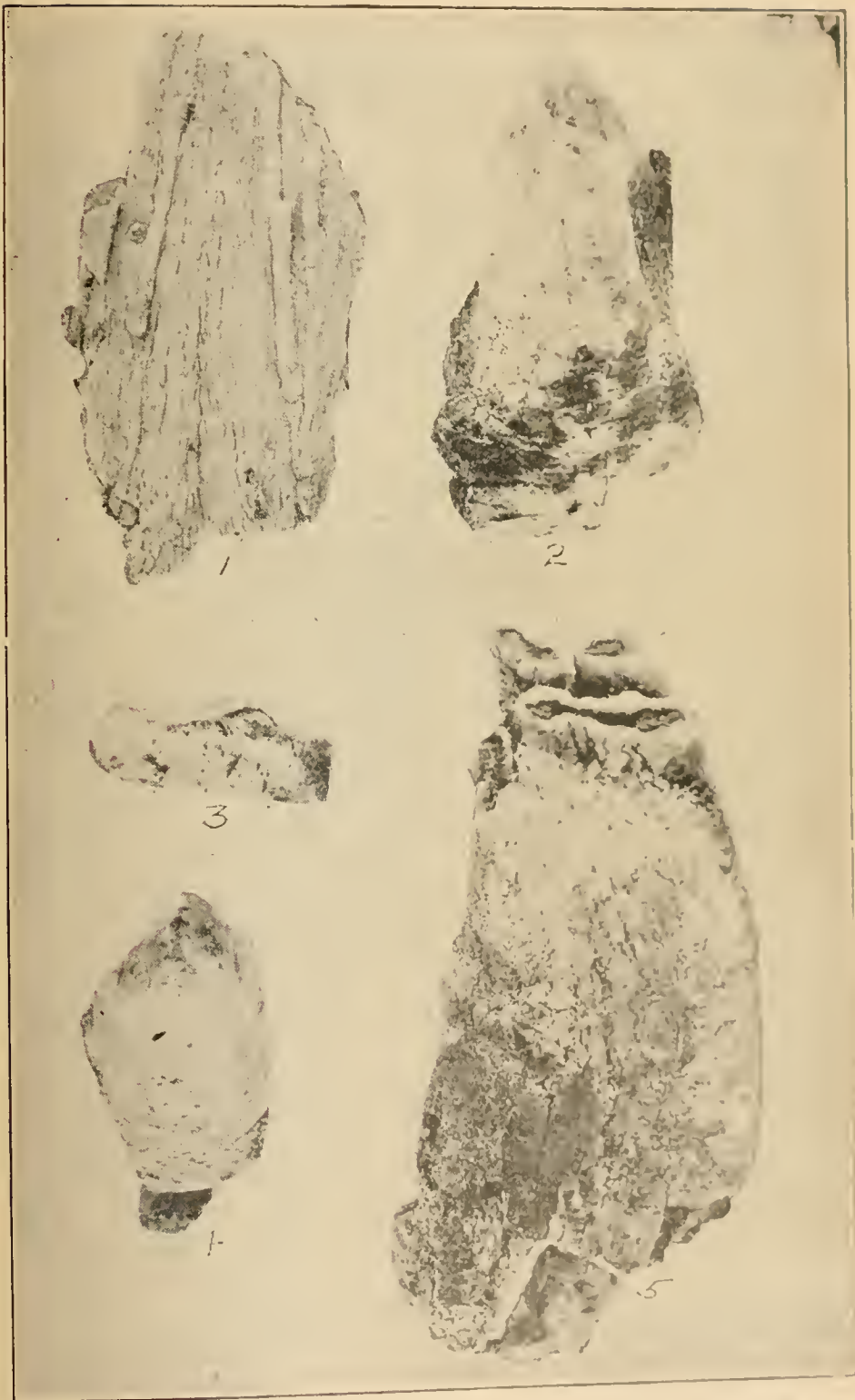


FIG. 88. Broken molars of the mastodon and the mammoth; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

of these plates ready to be worked into form. No. 5 shows two of these plates still attached. The top shows the grinding surface of the tooth. No ornaments fashioned from the teeth of the mastodon or mammoth were found in the village, but doubtless ornaments may be found at some future time. No evidence was found at Baum's or at Gartner's showing the use of fossil teeth, and Smith makes no record of finding mastodon or mammoth teeth at the Kentucky site. However, objects made of the fossil tusk of the mastodon or mammoth have been reported from various burials found in Ohio, and the Museum contains several specimens purporting to come from these burials.

#### ORNAMENTS OF SHELL.

Ornaments made of ocean shell as well as of the common mussel shell were found near the surface of the village. Our own survey was unable to find but few ornaments made of shell, but Mr. Wertz secured many examples of cut shells, both plain and ornamented, and perforated for attachment as pendants. Fig. 89 shows a number of cut and ornamented shell pendants and gorgets. Nos. 1, 2 and 3 are specimens made of mussel shells; No. 4 a gorget made of ocean shell, pierced with two holes; No. 5 is perhaps part of a large decorated gorget, which had been broken and reworked into form; Nos. 6 and 7 are pendants with enlarged ends, made from ocean shell; Nos. 8, 9, 10 and 11 are pendants made of ocean shell, decorated and provided with perforations or incised lines for attachment; No. 12 is similar to No. 5, and made from a broken decorated shell object; Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18 are shell pendants; Nos. 19, 20 and 21 are unfinished shell pendants; No. 22 is an unusual pendant with two perforations near the center for attachment. No. 23 is an effigy of an eagle claw, made of ocean shell.

Pendants made of the incisor of the elk, (No. 24) were frequently found, and all were perforated for attachment.

No. 25 is a pendant made of the canine tooth of the elk. Specimens of this kind were not met with in such numbers as were found at Baum's.

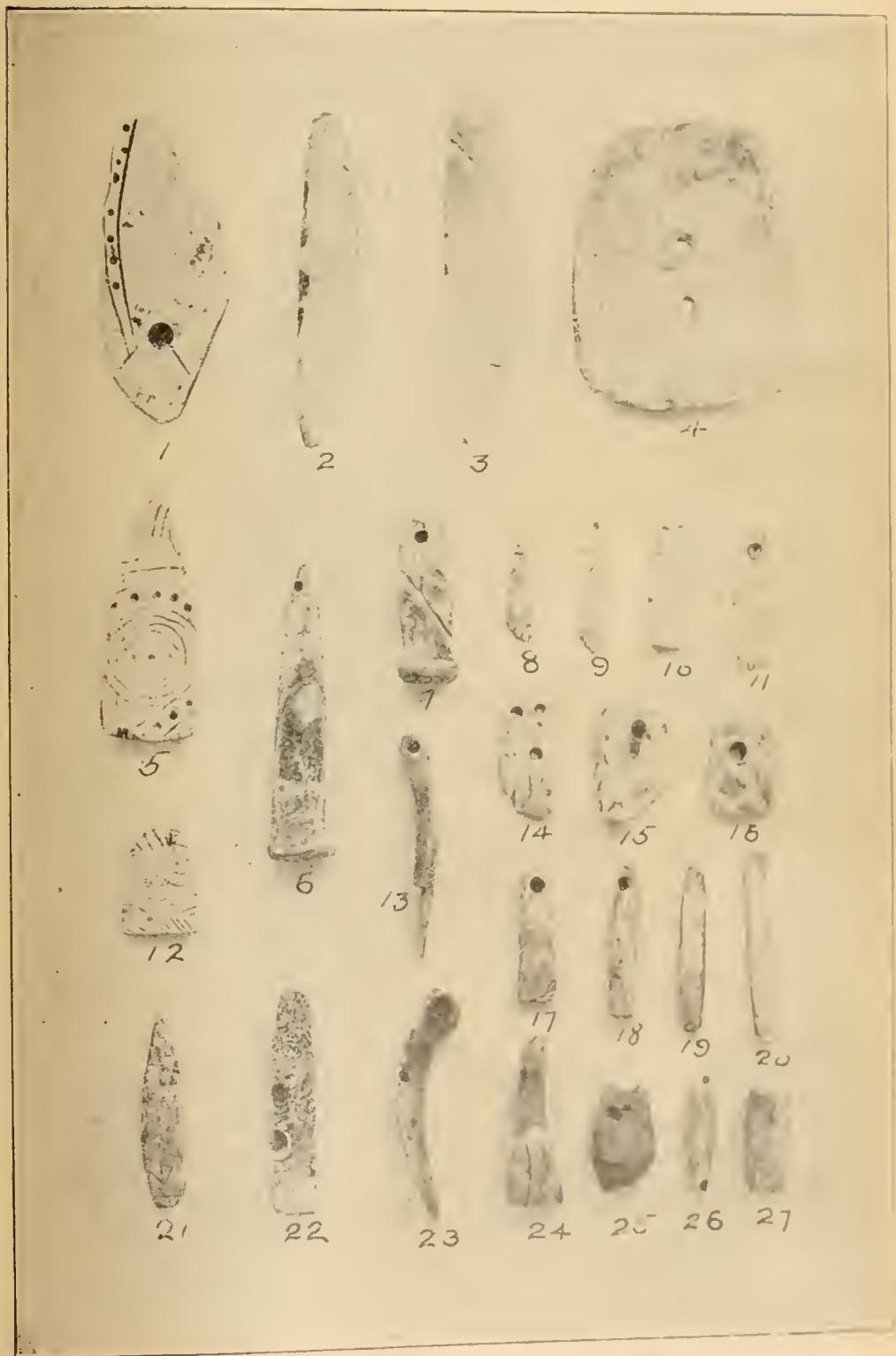


FIG. 89. Ornaments made of shell;  $\frac{1}{2}$  size.



No. 26 might be considered a bead of unusual make, being perforated at each end for attachment. No. 27 is a cylindrical bead made of ocean shell, and perforated lengthwise for attachment to a necklace.

#### HOES MADE OF SHELL.

Hoes made of shell were found in goodly numbers in the Feurt site. The hoes shown in Fig. 90 are representative specimens found in the site, and resemble both as to kind of shells used and in manner of manufacture, those found at Baum's and Gartner's. Smith found the perforated shells at the Kentucky site. On many sites along the Ohio and Scioto rivers, a different form of hoe is found. This hoe is made of a ferruginous sandstone, which outcrops along the Ohio river and occurs in thin layers, and when broken into the desired form and sharpened form a very desirable implement. Of these, however not a single specimen was found in the Feurt site.

#### SHELLS USED FOR SPOONS AND SCRAPERS.

The specimens shown in Fig. 91 were doubtless used as spoons and scrapers, or both. They were abundant and were no doubt a very useful implement. All show use and many are worn, as shown in the figure. The majority of the spoons or scrapers are plain, but many are perforated with a small hole for attachment to a handle or to clothing.

Shell spoons are frequently met with in the Ft. Ancient culture sites in Ohio. At Baum's shell spoons were found in the village site as well as the graves, but no specimens were found at Gartner's. Smith found shell spoons in the Kentucky site and they have been reported from many village sites along the Ohio river.

#### CONCLUSIONS.

The examination of the Tremper Mound, in 1915, very naturally led to the desire to know something of the inhabitants of the Feurt Mounds and Villagesite, lying just across the Scioto river to the eastward. The close proximity of the sites, as well as their relative size and importance, was sufficient to raise the question as to whether or not there might have been

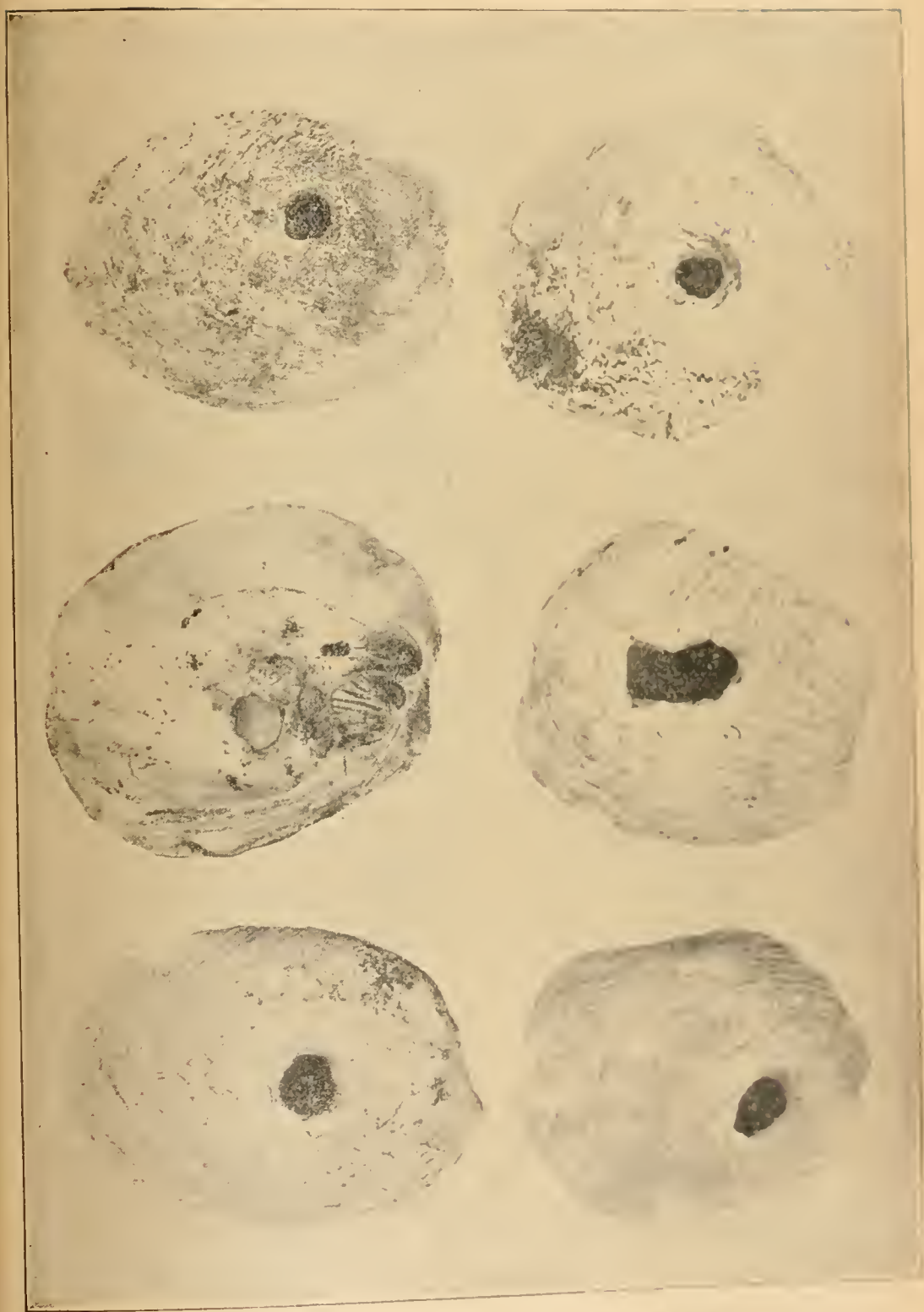


FIG. 90. Hoes made of mussel shell; 1 size.



FIG. 91. Shell spoons and scrapers made of mussel shell;  $\frac{2}{3}$  size.



some connection between the two. It was apparent without detailed examination that the cultural stages represented by the two sites were extremely different, and that if any connection were to be discovered it would be due entirely to contemporaneity of occupation and the consequent relationship which, amicable or hostile, is bound to exist where two peoples are co-resident in a vicinity.

In the examination of the Tremper mound, some objects were found which seemed pertinent to a culture other than that of the occupants and builders; not many, to be sure, for being of the most advanced type of peoples resident in prehistoric Ohio, they doubtless were mainly self-sufficient and found but little among the treasures of their lowlier neighbors which they would deign to possess. Still, there were a few things — some flint arrowpoints, an object or two of stone and bone — which apparently belonged to the so-called Fort Ancient peoples resident in most of southern Ohio.

And while not many objects having their origin with the latter people could be expected among the relics of the esthetic Hopewell culture, it was reasonable to suppose that the comparatively elegant ornaments and implements of copper and other materials possessed by these would be highly prized and sought for by those who lacked the skill to produce them.

It was therefore, an important consideration in the exploration of the Feurt site, readily attributable to the Fort Ancient culture, to determine the presence or absence thereof of objects pertaining to the nearby Tremper site, and from this, to prove or dispose of the already formed opinion that the occupants of the two sites were not unacquainted with one another.

If it should prove that they were contemporaneous in their residence in the vicinity, it was patent that their relations might be either friendly or unfriendly. If friendly, it was reasonable to hope that we might find in the Feurt site some few of the finely wrought and obviously desirable objects of the Tremper people, secured and prized by the less advanced culture. In this case, it would naturally be expected that such valued possessions would be found with burials.

If, on the other hand, the relationship was hostile, such objects might still be found, but under very different conditions. Observation has shown that the Fort Ancient peoples, while less advanced along esthetic lines, were numerous, practical and powerful, and instances are not lacking to show that they sometimes took indemnity from their aristocratic neighbors. In such case, the instinctive impulse, noted even among the historic Indian tribes, prevailed, and instead of appropriating the rich booty captured from the enemy for use as their own, their one thought seems to have been to mutilate, batter and destroy what pertained to the hated opponent. This is well illustrated in the find of copper, mica and other objects at Fort Ancient some years ago, which apparently had been captured by the residents from the higher culture, then broken, battered and mutilated and hidden away in the earth. In either event—whether evidence pointed to a hostile or a friendly acquaintance,—it would, if forthcoming, prove the contemporaneity of the two peoples in question.

As it has been shown in the text that objects of copper were found with burials—thus indicating a friendly barter or interchange of commodities—and that, further, objects of undoubted Tremper type were found discarded after having been destroyed or mutilated—pointing to hostile relation between the two—it seems reasonable to conclude that the inhabitants of the Feurt site and the Tremper site, for a time at least, were contemporaneous in their occupation of this section of the Scioto valley. Furthermore, the order of the changed contact is apparent, since the objects found with burials pertained to the earlier occupation of the villagesite, while those indicating hostile relations were identified with the later occupation.

A possible explanation of this later misunderstanding may be found in the deposit of Ohio pipestone, adjacent to the Feurt site. Exploration demonstrated that both the Feurt and the Tremper peoples drew heavily upon this material, the old quarries of which are within a very short distance of the Feurt village. The working of these quarries may have proved to be the *casus belli* between the two aboriginal settlements, and many

account for the apparent change in their relationship toward one another.

Aside from this phase of the investigation, the inhabitants of the Feurt Villagesite are shown to have belonged to the great Fort Ancient culture. They were very similar in practically every respect to the inhabitants of the Baum Village and the Gartner Village, in Ohio, and to those of the Kentucky site examined by Smith.



## EDITORIALANA.

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*E. O. Randall*

JUNE, 1917.

### COLONEL JOHN W. HARPER.

#### IN MEMORIAM.

In the death of John W. Harper, The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society lost a Trustee and loyal member of long standing, conspicuous for his fidelity and support of historical and archaeological research. He materially aided in the progress of the Society.

Colonel Harper was born February 11, 1830, in Indianapolis, the son of an old English family distinguished for its patriotism and loyalty to this country. Colonel Harper always proved himself worthy of this ancestry. At the time of the Civil War, he served in defense of the city of Cincinnati against Gen. Kirby Smith. He was appointed on Governor Hoadly's staff and received the commission of Colonel.

In Cincinnati Colonel Harper first entered the employ of A. & J. Thounstine Co., wholesale clothiers, later becoming a member of the firm, with which he was identified until 1885. He was interested in the advanced industrial movements of Cincinnati, being a supporter of the gas interests and the promotion of the Southern Railway. At the time of his death he was associated with the insurance firm of Magly, Straehley & Company.

Political and social progress claimed his interest as well. He was a member of the board of managers of the State Hospital for the Insane at Columbus during the administrations of Governors Foraker, Campbell, and McKinley. In March, 1903, he was appointed Trustee of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society by Governor Nash, and served in that position by successive gubernatorial reappointments until his death. He was a life member of the Society. In 1906 and 1908 he was elected to the Ohio State Senate, and rendered conspicuous service to his state. He was an active member of the Society of Sons of the American Revolution, serving for one year as President of the State Society. He was identified fraternally with the Masonic Order.

He was an intense American, devoutly attached to his country and its institutions.

Colonel Harper was a man of the highest honor and integrity; possessed of a most tender and sympathetic nature; frank and open hearted, always the friend and helper of the afflicted and unfortunate; fond of his family and friends; emotional and enthusiastic in disposition he entered heartily and unreservedly into the joy and interest of life; he liked to mingle with men and share their sorrows and suc-

cesses. He was the old style gentleman in manner and affability; always considerate of the feelings and circumstances of others. The writer of this all too brief notice can testify to the unwavering loyalty of his friendship. It will never be forgotten. Colonel Harper died in Cincinnati, December 27, 1915. His remains were cremated, according to his wishes, and his ashes were taken to his native state, Indiana, where they were interred.

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## BOOK REVIEWS.

LITTLE TURTLE, THE GREAT CHIEF OF THE MIAMI INDIAN NATION, by Calvin M. Young, Greenville, Ohio.

Most of the available material on the life and exploits of the noted Indian chieftain, Little Turtle, has been previously collected and published. Mr. Young is well fitted to perform the task of gathering up and arranging in good order much of this previous data for he is familiar with the country which was once the land of the Miamis, and has had the opportunity of securing valuable first-hand information and receiving personal impressions concerning those days. His work is a collection of source material concerning the early days of Ohio history.

Little Turtle ranks with Pontiac and Tecumseh in the history of the American Indian, but his life is not so well known as theirs. As Parkman and Drake wrote of them, so has Mr. Young written of the Miami chieftain. Little Turtle was the opponent of General Arthur St. Clair and his expedition in 1791, when he administered a crushing defeat to the whites. The Indian's fine generalship, his skill in organizing the largest force of Indians ever gathered against the whites, his statesmanship and diplomacy, are sympathetically recorded by Mr. Young. It is one of the best single monographs on the great chief yet published.

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HISTORY OF THE CENTRAL OHIO CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 1856-1913. Historians: Rev. Elias D. Whitlock, D. D., Rev. Nathaniel B. C. Love, D. D., Rev. Elwood O. Crist, D. D. Press of the Methodist Book Concern, Cincinnati, Ohio. \$1.50.

This monumental and beautifully published work deserves attention from all those interested in the preservation of early Ohio history. It records the first work of the Methodist Church among the Wyandots of Upper Sandusky, when John Stewart, the mulatto missionary, came to Ohio in 1816. It perpetuates the hardships and the faithfulness of those itinerant preachers who laid the foundation of a Christian social consciousness among the scattered pioneers in the rich country of northwest Ohio.

The Central Ohio Conference was organized in 1856. It accomplished important educational and philanthropic work until it was merged with the Cincinnati Conference in 1913 under the name of the West Ohio Annual Conference, which now embraces the entire western half of the State. Two important universities, Ohio Wesleyan at Delaware and Ohio Northern at Ada, owe their being to the Central Ohio Conference.

Bishop William F. Anderson writes the preface to the book, and various articles on special phases have been contributed by those best fitted to do so, as Bishop David H. Moore, Rev. J. C. Arbuckle, Mrs. E. D. Whitlock, and Mrs. Delia Williams. The volume is a labor of love, and particular credit is due Dr. Nathaniel B. C. Love, who carried on the work alone after the death of his co-worker, Dr. Elias D. Whitlock, until Dr. E. O. Crist was appointed. Dr. Love is a life member of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, and was a Trustee for thirteen years. He has written other valuable histories of the Maumee and Sandusky Valleys from original sources.

The book is a volume of four hundred pages, with three hundred fine illustrations. It may be procured postpaid from the publishers, from Dr. E. O. Crist, Defiance, Ohio, or Dr. E. O. McCammon, Nasby Block Methodist Federation Rooms, Toledo, Ohio.

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FIFTY STORIES FROM OHIO HISTORY, by Clement L. Martzloff, Head of the Department of History, Ohio University. Published by the Ohio Teacher Publishing Co., Columbus.

A widespread demand has been filled by Professor Martzloff in a most satisfactory way in this juvenile history. He has given a picture of Ohio life from the glacial age to the Civil War which will hold the interest of the child as well as instill in him the meaning of this great State and arouse in him pride and loyalty for it. The book relates adventures and anecdotes of pioneer life, and describes the manner of living of that time. La Salle, Celoron, Crawford, Logan, Zeisberger, the Zanes, Blennerhassett, Johnny Appleseed, Harrison, Perry, Tecumseh, Sheridan, and McGahan, are some of the important figures who are here made known to the children. The book may well be used in the schools as an intermediate reader or an introductory history. It is hoped that Professor Martzloff's example will be followed by historians in other states.

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LOURELL, *THE INDIAN MAID*, by John Milburn Harding. Deveny and McCahon, Lorain, Ohio.

This narrative poem recites a picturesque chapter of Ohio history connected with the Moravian missions. It is the romantic love story of a Christian Indian couple, and the historical background is formed by the first town, the first church, the first school, the first burial ground of civilized man in Ohio, the first fort built in the Northwest Territory by the Colonial Government, and the first armed expedition sent into the region by Colonial authority. Many of the characters, both Indian and white, are drawn from history, which has been carefully followed in their delineation. The poem relates the founding of the missionary villages on the Tuscarawas, the activities of Zeisberger, Edwards, and Heckewelder, the massacre of Indian converts at Gnadenhutten, the flight of the Moravians to Canada, their later return to Ohio, and the final settlement of the Indians in Kansas in 1838.

Mr. Harding is an attorney and former school teacher of Lorain, Ohio. His book was recently adopted as a textbook for supplementary reading for eighth grade work by the Ohio Teachers' Reading Circle.



REVERIES OF A SCHOOLMASTER, by Francis B. Pearson, State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Ohio. Charles Scribner's Sons \$1.00 net.

This is a collection of real reveries, written in an informal and most readable style. They disclose the writer as a school teacher who has the humility of real wisdom, and is rich in experience and full of homely philosophy and kindly humor. The illustrations from his early farm life and his present gardening strike a sympathetic note in these days of war gardens, when every backyard farmer can rest, if not cheer, his aching back with such reveries. The book is valuable for all men and women who want to broaden their sympathetic relationships with the boys and girls, and for the teachers it will be a more real inspiration and help than all the high-sounding scientific books on "pedagogical efficiency."

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THE MYTHOLOGY OF ALL RACES, in thirteen volumes. Louis Herbert Gray, A. M., Ph. D., Editor. George Foot Moore, A. M., D. D., LL. D., Consulting Editor. Marshall Jones Company, Boston. Volume VI. Indian, by A. Berriedale Keith, D. C. L., D. Litt. Iranian, by Albert J. Carnoy, Ph. D., Litt. D.

The sixth volume of the collected series of "The Mythology of All Races" has appeared and is devoted to Indian and Iranian myths. This volume is in every way up to the high standard set by this monumental series, and adds valuable information to this first English storehouse of primitive religious data. Here material is gathered together for the English reader which was hitherto inaccessible to any but the scholar bent on research. An exhaustive bibliography gives the French, German, English, American, Danish, Dutch, Russian, Austrian, Spanish, Swedish, and Indian sources used in this work which comprises them all in a very readable and interesting form.

The first part of the volume is devoted to the Indian mythology and is the work of A. Berriedale Keith, D. C. L., D. Litt., Regius Professor of Sanscrit and Comparative Philology in Edinburgh University. Dr. Keith summarizes a huge body of myths beginning with those of the Rigveda, which he dates about 1200-800 B. C., and including those of the Brahmanas, of the great epics which show the beliefs of the warriors and the people, of the Puranas, the Buddhist, the Jains, and the Modern Hinduism. Interest is added by the parallelism traced in European mythology and religion.

Iranian Mythology occupies the second part, and is written by Albert J. Carnoy, Ph. D., Litt. D., Professor of Linguistics and of Iranian Philology, University of Louvain, and Research Professor, University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Carnoy speaks of the difficulties in his work brought about by the destruction of his library at Louvain. He has occupied himself entirely with the mythical traditions of Iran, and has traced the development of the historical legend from the primitive natural myth.

The book is abundantly illustrated, due to the courtesy of numerous private collectors, as well as to such organizations as the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the Peabody Museum, Salem; the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and the Library of the Indian Office, London. Particularly beautiful and valuable are the reproductions in color of the Ajanta Frescoes and illustration from a Persian manuscript of the Shahnamah.

THE NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY, April, 1917, Vol. VI., No. 1.

This magazine is published quarterly by the National Genealogical Society, the headquarters of which are at Washington, D. C. The current number is devoted chiefly to the unpublished Revolutionary records of Maryland, as well as other valuable and historical information relative to Pennsylvania and Kentucky. The magazine performs an important function by publishing and preserving the records of the various states before and during the Revolutionary period. The subscription is \$2 per annum; Dr. G. M. Brumbaugh, editor.

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STUDIES IN ENGLISH DRAMA—First Series. Volume XIV in the Series in Philology and Literature. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. D. Appleton and Co.

Valuable and inaccessible material on the early English drama has been collected in this volume. Dr. Allison Gaw, Head of the Department of English Language and Literature, University of Southern California, has selected and edited various essays on the subject from those theses which have been presented to the University of Pennsylvania for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy during the past ten years.

The theses of broadest scope and of greatest usefulness is that on the "Function and Content of the Prologue, Chorus, and Other Non-Organic Elements in English Drama, from the Beginnings to 1642," by Martha Gause McCaulley, Dean of Women, Washington University, St. Louis. She has accumulated much valuable and hitherto unnoticed evidence as to the cause and development of this phase of the drama, from the earliest religious plays up to the time of the Puritan regime and the consequent closing of the English theaters.

Tuke's "Adventures of Five Hours," by Doctor Gaw, gives a scholarly and systematic resume of this Restoration play. "Los Empeños de Seis Horas," a comedy by Antonio Coello, became in the English of Samuel Tuke, "The Adventures of Five Hours." It was first presented in 1663 soon after the reopening of the theaters on the restoration of the Stuarts. It was the first of the popular Spanish adaptations and the forerunner of the heroic play. The effect of this play on John Dryden and the contemporary school of dramatists is clearly demonstrated. It is important in the study of the technical development of the drama as it is the first Restoration play to observe the unities of time and place.

Elizabethan drama is represented by Thomas Heywood's "The Fair Maid of the West," by Ross Jewell, Associate Professor of English and Registrar, Syracuse University, and "The Valiant Scot," by John Linton Carver, Head of the Friends' School, Brooklyn, N. Y. These essays were taken from introductions to critical editions of the plays, as was "Sir Ralph Freeman's Imperiale," by Charles Clayton Gumm, Professor of English, Polytechnic College, Fort Worth, Texas.

"The Cenci Story in Literature and in Fact," by Clarence Stratton, of the Department of English, St. Louis Central High School, gives a most interesting summary of the actual tragedy and the various versions of the story, including the plays by Shelley and Massinger.

An exhaustive bibliography concludes the work.

## MAG-O-CHEE VALLEY.

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BY MISS KEREN JANE GAUMER, URBANA.

As the American people rush along in their hurried life, often observing only the big things of the world, they sometimes forget the pleasure and value which may be derived from the smaller ones. Let us consider the importance and significance of the lesser. May we go into a very little valley which has been prominent in our country's history?

When one scans the broad Ohio, which affords so many commercial advantages, he thinks of the business world and fails to look backward to some of its rivers' picturesque tributaries — not the broad, courageous Miami river, nor the rushing Mad river, but a still smaller stream of water known as Mac-o-chee Creek.

This little stream takes its source from two small springs in Monroe Township, Logan County, Ohio, and flows for some seven miles, finally emptying into Mad river in a meadow just south of West Liberty. Time has changed the channel of this creek, so that today there are two Mac-o-chees having their mouths in the same river and only a few miles apart.

Why is it this little body of water has so much charm? Why in early times did the red-man place his village on its bank? Was it because of the soil's great fertility for raising corn? Was it for the game which its forests afforded or was it the beauty and solitude of this secluded place that attracted the Indians? Yes, it was for all these reasons, and probably for many more, which the white man of today fails to perceive.

In those days stood the grand, old forest, the smoothly rounded hills and the broad stretch of land, through all of which flowed the bright sparkling water. The white man as well as the Indian recognizes advantages of this locality and at the close of the Revolutionary War, we find him encroaching upon the red-man's territory.

The first inhabitants of this valley were indians from the



tribes of Wyandotes, Delawares, Mingos and Shawnees — the Mac-o-chee Indians belonging to the last. As civilization moved westward, these Indians were loath to leave their homes in "Smiling Valley", which is the meaning of the Indian word Mac-o-chee and so they fought many battles in defense of their lands.

Previous to the coming of the white man, the Shawnees had established several villages along the creek and these were known as the Mac-o-chee towns. They were by name: Mac-o-chee near West Liberty on the Judge Benjamin Piatt farm; Pigeon town, three miles northwest on the George T. Dun farm and Wappotomica below Zanesfield. Authorities differ as to the spelling of these names and also as to their exact location. They probably had no permanent site, but according to Indian custom, they moved up and down the valley in pursuit of game. Yet, we do know that such towns did exist.

After the destruction of the principal Indian towns on the Muskingum river in 1781, the tribe of the Delawares retreated from that river and took up their abode among the Shawnees and the Wyandotes — the village chief Buckongehelas locating in one of the Mac-o-chee towns. In 1782, these three tribes were in close alliance.

It was at this time Col. Wm. Crawford started upon his ill-fated expedition to subdue the Indians living in this part of Ohio. Throughout his entire campaign, the fighting was terrific, with incidents of the worst possible cruelty enacted by both races. After a two days' fight at Upper Sandusky, Crawford with his men was compelled to retreat. When the Indians realized this, they began such a furious attack that the troops were compelled to disband, scattering in small groups. In one of these groups was a party of six men guided by John Slover, who when a boy, had been captured and adopted by the Shawnees. In Wayne County, the band was ambuscaded by a number of Shawnees. Two of the six men were shot, one escaped, while Slover and two others were taken prisoners. These three men were brought to one of the Mac-o-chee villages, Wappotomica, just below what is now Zanesfield. At first, the captured were treated with great kindness, but upon their arrival at the village, they were made to suffer great torture.

The three captives were made to run the gauntlet. One of the trio was persecuted until relieved by death, another sent to a distant town, while Slover was retained. The same evening of their arrival in the village, the Indians assembled in the council house to examine Slover. They tried to learn from him the real conditions of the country and the proximity of their foe. Slover explained all and told them they need not fear any approaching danger. On the following day, however, Captain Matthew Elliot with James Girty, who also had been adopted by the Shawnees, came into the camp and suspicious of Slover changed from their attitude of kindness to one of extreme cruelty. A lengthy council of war was called at Wappotomica, which resulted in Slover being sentenced to death. A party of forty warriors accompanied by George Girty, an adopted Delaware and brother of Simon and James Girty, placed a rope around Slover's neck; they tied his arms behind him and after having stripped him, they painted his body black, which was a sign of death. They, then, set out with him to Mac-o-chiee where he was to be burned. This journey was most arduous for the white man. As he passed through one of the villages he was beaten with clubs, and pipe ends of tomahawks, and for a time was kept tied before one of the huts.

At Mac-o-chiee, a part of the council house was unroofed. Here, Slover was tied to a stake. Fuel was placed around it and a fire was kindled. As this began to blaze, there came a heavy rain, which extinguished the flames and saved Slover's life. To the superstitious Indians, this was a bad omen, and after much consideration, they released their prisoner from the stake, having decided to burn him on the following day. That night, however, Slover made his escape and reached home in safety.

The Indians continued to fight for their lands, even after the coming of the white man. In 1785 a treaty of peace was made with several of the tribes, but the Shawnees refused to enter into any compact with the white man. In 1786 Col. Benjamin Logan was commissioned by Gen. George Rogers Clark to attack the Mac-o-chiee towns on Mad river. With Col. Logan on this expedition, there were several well known Indian fighters among

these were Col. Daniel Boone, General Simon Kenton and Gen. Wm. Lytle. It is the last, who has given an account of the campaign. The party proceeded towards the Mac-o-chiee towns on Mad river—one on the west bank and the other about a half mile northeast. The latter town was situated on a high commanding point of land and here resided the great chief of the tribe. The commander, Col. Benjamin Logan, cautioned his officers not to kill anyone, whom they supposed to be prisoners. As the advance was made, the savages retreated in all directions, while the whites pursued. After having fought desperately for sometime, one of the Indian warriors surrendered. In reviewing the skirmish, one of the prisoners, who had been taken was no other than Moluntha, the great chief of the Mac-o-chiee tribe belonging to the Shawnee nations. With Moluntha, were captured twelve other Indians, the most of whom were children.

When Moluntha was taken into the town, a crowd of curious men pressed around to see the great Indian chief. The whites were suspicious of Moluntha and both races showed signs of fighting, but the more conservative of each side held all in check. The impetuous Colonel McGary, however, rushed up to Moluntha; and thinking that the Indian had fought against him at Blue Licks, he seized an ax from the hand of the grenadier squaw and with this McGary dealt the blow which ended the life of the great chief. The murderer then sought refuge in the woods and was never seen afterwards. Colonel Logan ordered another detachment of soldiers to proceed to a town which lay several miles north of here. They burned the town, which included a large block house, that had been built by the English. On this expedition, Colonel Lytle tells that a certain Indian youth was taken captive with some prisoners. All were sent to Kentucky, where Colonel Logan made the boy a member of his own family. Later the Indian was permitted to return to the land of his childhood, and was afterwards known by the name, Logan. He proved himself to be an unwavering friend of the white man.

The Indians of Mac-o-chiee valley had been warned of the approach of General Logan, by one of his own men, who was a deserter. Yet, his arrival occurred much sooner than had



been expected. In one of these towns lived Jonathan Alder. When a youth, he had been captured by the Indians, and brought to this settlement which was located on the present Alfred Johnson farm in Salem Township, Champaign County, Ohio. It was Mr. Alder who gave the evidence that the Indians had been warned of the coming danger of the white man. At the time the attack was made, most of the Indians were hunting so the conquest was an easy one. Upon the destruction of the village of Mac-o-chee, Alder with the women and children fled. The following spring, the Shawnees returned to their burned city; but, after a short stay, they left this locality forever, establishing their new settlements at Blanchard Fork.

There is a pretty legend, which has been connected with the Indian history of this famous valley. The authenticity of it is denied by some authorities, by others it is confirmed. At any rate, the story shows that love was a dominant factor in the red race, as well as it is in the white. On the General A. S. Piatt farm is a certain rock, which since the story, has been known as "Squaw Rock." While the white people were burning the village, an Indian squaw with her young baby was lurking behind the large rock. Why she was there we do not know, but one of the invaders, mistaking her for a warrior, shot and killed the mother. As the white man approached the body of his victim, he saw his mistake. By the side of the dead Indian, lay her bright faced son. When the slayer saw the child, he was filled with remorse. He buried the mother at the foot of the rock and took the baby boy to his own home. Years passed and these the Indian spent in playing with the pretty little daughter of the household. When both reached maturity the old-timed friendship grew into love. Unfortunately, for the Indian, a white lover sought the hand of the young woman. The girl had much difficulty in deciding between the two woers. Since public sentiment condemned a marriage with the red-man, pride caused her to choose the boy of her own race. The night following the wedding, the young bride and groom were found murdered and the Indian foster-brother had disappeared never to return.

Tom Corwin has well described this valley. "If there is

a line," said he, "Where Mac-o-chee ends and Heaven begins, it is imperceptible — the easiest place to live and die in, I ever saw." It has witnessed many thrilling deeds among the first settlers. Here in 1778, the great Indian fighter Simon Kenton was forced to run the gauntlet. He was then a youth full of great daring. The Indians had been stealing horses from the white people in southern Ohio for sometime. So Kenton, together with several other companions, decided to retaliate, and they set out for Chillicothe. They had roamed around the southern part of the state for some time and had taken a great many horses from the Indians, when Kenton was separated from his party. Later he was pursued and captured by the Indians. For a suitable punishment, there were many delays and much debating among the Indians, but their final decision was a death sentence for the captive. The place of execution was to be at Wappotomica, one of the Mac-o-chee towns. On the way to this town, it was necessary to pass through the villages, Mac-o-chee and Pickaway. At both these places, Kenton was forced to run the gauntlet. At Mac-o-chee — now known as the Nash farm, Kenton attempted to escape and broke through the line, but he was soon captured by an Indian on horse-back and was again returned to the village. He was then taken to Wappotomica, where his torture was intensified to the enjoyment of the Indians who crowded around him.

One of these in the crowd was no other than the wild Simon Girty, who was known throughout the land for his cruelties. Kenton and Girty had been together at Fort Pitt and in the campaign against Lord Dunmore. When the latter recognized Kenton, his cruel heart was moved and at the risk of his own life, he saved that of Kenton.

For several years following this, Kenton roamed about through the country. He did not care to return to his home in Fauquier County, Virginia. He thought himself a fugitive from justice, because since in his youth, he and one of his friends, William Veach, had loved the same girl. Veach married the young woman. Some time after the wedding, Kenton and Veach fought a duel. Kenton succeeded in throwing his opponent to the ground and after kicking him on the breast and

stomach for some time Veach ceased to resist. Apparently life was extinct. With a dreadful feeling of guilt and shame, Kenton fled from his home country. Veach, however, recovered from the wounds. This free life in Ohio was not to be enjoyed by Kenton for any great length of time. After Kenton and Girty had roamed about for some time, they met a defeated war party of Indians. These were determined to reap revenge and had decided to kill any white persons, who might come within their grasp. They seized Kenton to pay the penalty and ordered Girty to bring him to the grand council, which was to be held at Wappotomica. When they arrived there, the council house was crowded as they entered, Girty was greeted cordially, while Kenton was received with contempt. Kenton understood well the meaning of such a greeting. After the war chief had addressed the council Girty arose, and urged the Indians to spare Kenton's life, if for no other reason, than his (Girty's) sake; but the council decided by an overwhelming majority, for death. Girty was still persistent and through his intervention, the council resolved to convey their prisoner to Upper Sandusky for execution. It was this delay in time that saved Kenton's life, for on the way, the Indians stopped at a village where the great Indian chief, Logan, interceded in behalf of the white man, which act ultimately resulted in Kenton's freedom. Many years later, Kenton returned to the vicinity of Mac-o-chee to the site of old Wappotomica and there spent his closing days.

After the Indians in this valley were virtually subdued the white men began to look beyond the protection of their little settlements. In the War of 1812, this valley was crossed, at Captain Black's farm, by General Hull and his army during their ill-fated expedition from Urbana to Detroit. The army, encamped also, for a short time just south of West Liberty.

The water of Mac-o-chee creek offered excellent power for the water wheel of the old fashioned mills, many of which were built along the banks of the stream in the early part of the nineteenth century. Some of these were the James Stanoge mill, which was erected in 1813 for weaving woollen materials and the Piatt mills which were especially important as one was a flour mill, while the other was a saw mill. The mill that



probably was the oldest as it was found by the first settlers was known as the Judge Smith mill and while it was primarily a saw mill, it did some carding. Another mill, known as the Dickinson mill, was at first a distillery, but, later, having been purchased by William Enoch, it was converted into a flour mill. About five miles east of West Liberty was another flour mill, belonging to Isaac James.

Today as one enters West Liberty from the south, he may still hear the roar of a water wheel, for here near the junction of Mac-o-chee Creek and Mad River, but fed by the latter, stands a busy flour mill. It was built by John Enoch in 1812, and has been in operation almost constantly since that time. Thus, the original building has been used these many long years. At the present time, the mill is owned by David Hartzler, and is the only mill in Mac-o-chee valley, that is in operation.

In 1784 when Virginia ceded her lands in the northwest Territory to the Confederation, she reserved the tract of land lying between the Scioto and the little Miami rivers. This was to be distributed to her soldiers, who had fought during the Revolutionary War. North of the Virginia Military Lands lay the Congress Lands. At that time, the exact dividing line, was not known, as the relation of the sources of the two rivers had never been ascertained. In 1804 Israel Ludlow was employed to survey the land from the source of the Little Miami to the supposed source of the Scioto. Ludlow failed, however, to be accurate in his calculations and his measurements were found to run some miles east of the source of the Scioto. This line passes through the Mac-o-chee Valley about one-half mile east of General A. S. Piatt's home. Some years later, another surveyor was secured to run the line correctly between the sources of the two rivers, and this has been known as the Rovers's line. Later, however, the Ludlow line was decided to be the legal limit of the Virginia Military Land.

Such a historical valley could bring forth only the best of mankind and here among her pioneers were those who stood forth for integrity and strong characters. A great many of these came from Kentucky, among whom were Captain Alexander Black and Moses McIlvain. Two families, the Piatts and the

Enochs that have always been prominent in the life of the community, came from Cincinnati. The latter of these, whose first representative was John Enoch owned several sections of land in the valley. During the War of 1812, John Enoch entered into an agreement with John Piatt of Cincinnati to furnish and to deliver in Detroit a certain number of cattle to be used for food for the soldiers in the army. Owing to great floods in the spring of the year, Mr. Enoch was unable to keep the contract and in settlement for the same, he deeded to Mr. Piatt a portion of his land in this famous valley. A part of the Enoch land is still owned by members of the Enoch family.

The Piatt family came to the banks of this little creek from the busy whirl of Cincinnati in order that they might find a quiet home — one which would be better suited to literary pursuits. The Piatts were of pure Huguenot blood, and had emigrated from France to America in order that they might escape religious persecutions. The first of this family who came into prominence was John Piatt. He had five sons. Of these Jacob is the ancestor from whom Colonel Donn Piatt and General A. S. Piatt descended.

Jacob Piatt established his home on the Ohio river, opposite the mouth of the Miami, later known as Federal Hall. The selection of this spot for his home shows the taste of an old soldier. Here, long before Cincinnati had an existence, this Piatt lived the strenuous life of a frontier settler. He served his county for thirteen years as judge of the common pleas court. The simple epitaph inscribed on his tombstone in the old cemetery near his home best describes the real man "A soldier of the Revolution and a soldier of the Cross." This also gives the keynote to the characters of the later Piatts, who settled in Mac-o-chee Valley.

Benjamin M. Piatt, the eldest son of Jacob Piatt, early in life devoted himself to the mastery of law and in this profession he became widely known. After his marriage he moved to Cincinnati, where for a time he was the law partner of Nicholas Longworth. As Judge Piatt grew older, he desired a quiet life, so he moved to the farm inherited from his brother John H. Piatt in Mac-o-chee Valley. Here with his family he

spent the remainder of his life on the homestead, which he named, "Mac-o-cheek." While Judge Piatt was very prominent in the business and the political world his wife was no less influential. Her strength of character was shown when she began her rural life. At that time, there were no churches of her denomination in the community, and as she desired a place to worship at Mac-o-cheek, she urged that a church should be built. The building of this was postponed from time to time, Judge Piatt being then engaged in urgent business. One time while her husband was away from home, she took advantage of his absence and personally superintended the building of her little Catholic Church. With her own hands she decorated the interior. This building was used for many years as a house of worship and still stands ivy-covered in the family cemetery a short distance south of the Piatt homestead.

The home of Judge and Mrs. Piatt was known for its great culture. Many guests of fame were entertained at Mac-o-cheek among whom were Henry Clay, Tom Corwin, Salmon P. Chase, Edwin M. Stanton and Richard M. Johnson. Of the visits of the last to Mr. Piatt's home, an interesting anecdote has been told. As Mr. Johnson was a very large man Mrs. Piatt had a chair built especially for him. This the Piatt children called the "Dick Johnson" chair, and it is still used by the great grandchildren of Mr. Piatt.

Other historic pieces of furniture in the Piatt family are a bedstead, upon which President Madison slept while serving as chief executive of the United States, and a camp table used by John C. Fremont in the West Virginia Campaign during the Civil War. The home of Mr. Piatt contained, also, the first piano ever carried across the Alleghany Mountains. This brought entertainment to the family and amazement to all the settlers in the community. In this home, there was a large and carefully selected library, which stood for intellectual training.

To Judge and Mrs. Piatt were born a family of ten children. Two sons, Donn and Abram Saunders spent practically their entire lives in the valley, as they each established homes near that of their parents. While youths, these two boys were al-



most inseparable, and were always the best of friends throughout life.

The younger brother, Abram Saunders Piatt, was born in 1821. After receiving a thorough education at the Athenium, subsequently called St. Xavier, in Cincinnati, resided at Mac-o-chee, having built a beautiful stone home of French architecture a short distance north of his boyhood home. When "The War of the Rebellion" came upon the country, he entered earnestly into the strife and was a true soldier, not only in character, but even in stature. His career was short but it was brilliant. He was among the first to answer to Lincoln's call for volunteers. On April 30, 1861, Mr. Piatt was commissioned Colonel of the Thirteenth Ohio Infantry, then organized in Camp Jackson, near Columbus. After three months' service, he solicited and received authority from Mr. Lincoln to enlist a brigade. This he did at his own expense, and organized the first Zouave regiment, probably so-called because they wore a fancy red-legged uniform, which they were soon forced to discard. This regiment was designated the Thirty-Fourth. The great cost of this undertaking brought financial embarrassment upon General Piatt, from which he never fully recovered. With permission from the state authorities Mr. Piatt continued recruiting and a second regiment was organized and designated the Fifty-Fourth. Unfortunately, however, just as this regiment was being rapidly filled up, General Piatt was ordered to report with the Thirty-Fourth to General Rosecrans, who was then commanding in West Virginia.

On the way to join General Rosecrans' forces, Mr. Piatt met, attacked and put to rout an organized band of confederates, under the command of Colonel J. W. Davis, near Chapmansville, West Virginia. In March, 1862, General Piatt took sick with typhoid fever and was forced to return to his home at Mac-o-chee. During his absence he was commissioned Brigadier-General, having regained his health and was ordered to report to General Fremont, the Mac-o-chee soldier, with his brigade was ordered to Winchester. While commanding and fortifying this post his work was inspected and approved by General Sigel. In

recognition of this service the citizens of West Liberty, sent General Piatt a saddle horse. Later Mr. Piatt played a gallant part in the battle of Manassas Junction, and a short time after he took a prominent part in the battle of Fredericksburg. When the War closed, Mr. Piatt returned home and lived the retired life of a farmer, enlivened by books and literary pursuits. His contributions to magazines, notably the "North American Review" reveal him as a clear thinker, whose style was vigorous and incisive. In his literary work, he was an essayist and a poet; in politics a Democrat. He always regarded the Greenback party, as the true Jeffersonian Democracy. On this party ticket, he once led as a candidate for Governor of Ohio. From the time Cleveland was president and his great message to Congress in 1887, placing the Democratic party firmly upon a platform of tariff reduction, General Piatt always supported this party.

The older brother, Donn Piatt was born in Cincinnati in 1819 and with his parents came to Mac-o-chee, when only a lad of twelve years. As a youth, the child showed the traits of unusual ability. When he was about thirteen years old, an Atheist came to West Liberty, and challenged the ministers of the village to a joint debate. The clergy refused such an offer, but the Atheist received a notice that if he still cared for a debate, he would be accommodated by an orator, named Piatt. Every one supposed this to be Judge Piatt's son, Donn. The debate was begun, but as the child finished his opening sentence, which was very eloquent, the box upon which he was standing gave way, thus causing the young speaker suddenly to disappear from view. A tremendous applause followed, after which the boy confused and stammering appealed to the judges for their decision, which was promptly given in favor of the lad. Such courage as this, was shown all through his life, with the result, that at the close of it, he was known as a statesman, poet, novelist, soldier, diplomat, and journalist. Like his brother, Donn Piatt received his education partly at Urbana, and partly at St. Xavier College, Cincinnati.

He studied law under his father and for a time, he was a pupil of Tom Corwin. In spite of the fact that Mr. Piatt had

a great dislike for the profession, he had an excellent practice which yielded him a good income. He was associated with the law firm of his brother, Wykoff and his brother-in-law N. C. Read in Cincinnati.

Donn Piatt was truly a literary man for at the age of twenty, he wrote much which was published in the leading newspapers of the land. As his interests grew in politics, he used his literary talents for the cause of the Democratic party, of which he was an ardent supporter. In 1840 he edited his first newspaper known as the "Democratic Club", in which he attacked the Whigs most boldly. As a journalist, his record is hard to follow. Several years after the close of the Civil War, Mr. Piatt in partnership with Alfred Townsend, became the editor of a Sunday newspaper "The Washington Capital." Mr. Townsend was connected with paper only a short time. This paper became very popular, for while maintaining a high literary standard, it also gave its readers the happenings of Congress, and commented sometimes favorably, sometimes, unfavorably upon the measures before the national legislature. Thus Mr. Piatt often aroused the anger of his opponents and was called upon to explain his criticisms. Mr. Piatt probably did the most conservative writing of his life, while editor of "Bedford's Magazine", but his opinions were always original and his expressions forceful.

In 1847 Colonel Piatt married Louise Kirby of Cincinnati. The following three years were spent at Mac-o-chee, where Colonel and Mrs. Piatt engaged in literary work. They both were constant contributors to the "Cincinnati Commercial", the "Louisville Journal", and the "Home Journal" of New York. This correspondence was continued by Mrs. Piatt for many years, while she was in France. These letters were later published in book form under the title "Belle Smith Abroad." For this, she became widely known.

In 1851, Colonel Piatt was appointed Judge of the Common Pleas Court of Hamilton County. Again, he took up his residence in Cincinnati, but owing to Mrs. Piatt's ill health, the Colonel and Mrs. Piatt in company with the latter's sister, Miss Ella Kirby went to France. Here during the administra-



tions of Pierce and Buchanan, Colonel Piatt was made Secretary of the Legation at Paris, under Honorable John Y. Mason. Later when the minister died, Mr. Piatt served for nearly a year as charge d'affaires.

Upon his return home, Colonel Piatt actively engaged in the presidential campaign, giving his support to Lincoln. When the Civil War came upon the United States Mr. Piatt along with his brother, enlisted the older brother, and served as staff officer for General Schenck. While Colonel Piatt was temporarily serving as chief of the staff at Boston, he issued an order to General William G. Buney to recruit a brigade of negro soldiers—to enlist none but slaves. Such an order was contrary to the policy of the administration and for the time being greatly embarrassed Lincoln and his cabinet. Secretary Stanton, however, interceded with President Lincoln in behalf of Piatt. Colonel Piatt was permitted to hold his rank in the army, but was denied further promotion. His consolation was that he had made Maryland a free state.

After his retirement from service Colonel and Mrs. Piatt returned to Mac-o-chee Valley, where they built the beautiful cottage which was to be their home. Scarcely had this work been completed until Mrs. Piatt passed away. Colonel Piatt continued living on the farm and devoting much of his time to writing. In 1865, as a Republican in Logan County, he was elected to the Ohio House of Representatives. The following year, he married Miss Ella Kirby, who possessed the qualities of a truly cultured gentlewoman. These she still retains although she is now in frail health. The home life of Colonel and Mrs. Piatt was beautiful. In 1884, they too, built a magnificent stone home of Flemish architecture near the site of their former home. For many years this house has been known not alone for its beauty, but for its great hospitality, such as had been offered in the home of Colonel Piatt's parents, Judge and Mrs. Benjamin Piatt, many years before. Among the many renowned friends of Colonel Piatt were Thackeray and Dickens. The former of whom Colonel Piatt entertained at a notable dinner held in Cincinnati. Another friend was James Whitcomb Riley, who was a guest at Mac-o-chee Castle during the summer

of 1884. There is a popular tradition that Mr. Riley wrote "When the Frost is on the Pumpkin", while at Mac-o-chee enjoying the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Piatt. This is a mistake, which Mr. Edmund H. Eitel, a nephew and biographer of Mr. Riley, has corrected many times. The poet did no writing, while in the Mac-o-chee valley, although undoubtedly at a later time he used material which he secured while being a guest at the famous home. After Colonel Piatt's death, Mrs. Piatt no longer cared to live in the mansion, so she built for herself a quaint bungalow in West Liberty, where now she lives a retired life.

In the beauty of the natural setting, in the history of its varied Indian life and intense pioneer struggles, in its unique contribution to the literature of our state, Mac-o-chee Valley will never cease to rank with the most favored of Ohio's historic grounds.



## JOHNSON'S ISLAND.

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BY HEWSON L. PEEKE.

This island lies three miles north of Sandusky in the bay. It is nearly a mile long, half a mile wide, and contains about three hundred acres rising gradually in the center to a height of fifty feet. It was originally covered with heavy timber and was a favorite resort of the Indians who came there to fish, feast and torture their captives.

Its first owner was E. W. Bull and it was originally called Bull's Island until 1852 when it was called Johnson's Island after its purchase by L. B. Johnson. In 1811 an effort was made to found a town on the island and to plat a village, and the custom house was located there but the attempt was abandoned. Some time later the island was sold under an execution levied on a jackass and the island itself and it is amusing to note that the donkey brought the most money.

The first historical mention of Johnson's Island is by Joshua R. Giddings who enlisted in the war of 1812 when only sixteen years old and on October first, 1812, wrote his parents a letter describing the landing on Johnson's Island (then called Bull's Island) from which the following quotation is taken:

OCTOBER 1, 1812.

HONORED PARENTS,

Having got a little refreshed I take my pen in hand to inform you of the past battle that has taken place in our troops in which some of our countrymen have lost their lives to maintain the freedom of our country. One week ago 150 of our men volunteered to go to Sandusky to fetch some property away from there. They accordingly arrived there on Friday. On Saturday four boats set sail from there loaded with salt fish and apples. On Sunday night they landed on Bull's Island near the middle of Sandusky Bay, etc."

The *Register* of August 8, 1884, described a visit of Joshua R. Giddings to Sandusky in 1853. He was nearly seven feet



high, and in order to honor him Capt. Orr's Island Queen was chartered, and Eleutheros Cooke, Henry D. Cooke, Earl Bill and Toby Green and other prominent citizens formed a party and Mr. Giddings pointed out to them on Johnson's Island the spot where Gen. Harrison's army party encamped; after their return from the disastrous sortie at Fort Meigs in the war of 1812.

In 1861 the property was leased by the government as a depot for rebel prisoners. The necessary buildings having been erected, the first prisoners were installed in their quarters in April, 1862, under the charge of Company A, Hoff battalion which was subsequently increased to a full regiment, the 128th O. V. I. The number of prisoners was constantly varying, the largest number at any one time being over three thousand; but from its beginning till the close of the war over fifteen thousand rebels were confined there, mostly rebel officers.

In a letter published in the *Register*, August 20, 1891, Wm. T. West says that he bought the lumber for Johnson's Island prison from R. B. Hubbard at \$8.00 a thousand, and used 1,500,000 feet of lumber. He states that he took the contract November 12, 1861, and gave bond in \$40,000 to have the buildings ready for occupancy January 31, 1862, and that he was favored by the weather and completed the buildings on time.

The buildings were frame buildings neither ceiled nor plastered, 100 feet long and two stories high, each story divided into two rooms, box style and built of drop lumber full of knot holes. The winter of 1862, 1863 and 1864 were all severe, and many of the prisoners had never seen snow or ice, and when they were conducted to Johnson's Island on the ice and came to a smooth place they would fall down on their hands and knees which was very amusing to the guards.

Among the prisoners on Johnson's Island was H. H. Lurton who was afterward Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, and later Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

At the conclusion of the war on April 12, 1866, the buildings on Johnson's Island were sold by the government and most of them bought in by L. B. Johnson. Nothing now remains of them except one or two guard posts used as a pig sty.

The *Register* of June 11th, 1862, quotes a letter from a rebel prisoner on Johnson's Island, published in the *Memphis Appeal*:

"After a week at Camp Chase I was sent to Johnson's Island in Sandusky Bay. This is purely a military prison. It is designed for company officers; the buildings are large, new and commodious, and the grounds extensive. \* \* \* The prison covers about fifteen acres of ground enclosed by a fence similar to that at Camp Chase. The grounds slope to the east where they border upon the lake. Upon the west the trees of a dense forest reach to and within the enclosure, and furnish abundant shade, while a carpet of fine grass covers the ground everywhere. Altogether Sandusky is the least disagreeable prison I ever saw or heard of. The officers in command are civil and courteous—the lake breeze robs the summer sun of his heat, the view of the city, lake and neighboring islands is fine, the restrictions upon the prisoners are few, and altogether it is a salubrious pleasant place."

The following shows the view point of the soldiers guarding the rebel prisoners on Johnson's Island and is quoted in the *Register* of January 19th, 1863, from the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* of January 14th.

"Visit our barracks and take a look at things as they really are. Opening the door you see before you a vast army of bunks in three tiers, one above the other, each bunk supposed to contain two men. Immediately after breakfast you will find all bunks made up, floor swept, benches and tables piled up, arms and accoutrements in their respective places, and everything in good order. One table being left in the center of the room is occupied the prinicple part of the day by groups at their honest little games of seven-up and poker—merely to pass the time—as the paymaster has not yet been seen. In another corner of the room is a musical soiree composed of two one-horse fiddlers, trying to squeeze out 'The Girl I Left Behind Me' in a manner to set a fellow's teeth on edge and to cause the blood to run cold. Another group seated around the stove are conversing on politics. At another end of the room a corporal is drilling new recruits (called the Awkward Squad) in the manual of arms in which they take every position but the right one.

"We have between 300 and 400 rebellious individuals in our pen. The principal part of them were captured in Kentucky. They are mostly bush-whackers, and not a very intelligent looking set, I assure you. They somewhat resemble the 'Last Rose of Summer' run over by a small wagon. We have 46 men detailed for guard every day, so we make out to keep things straight in the prison yard. Everything is

satisfactory to the 'rebs' with the exception of the cold weather which keeps them in the buildings most of the time. We have good living as there is considerable variety about it. For breakfast fried beef, bread and coffee; dinner, boiled ditto, potatoes, bread and water; supper, bread, molasses and tea. Sometimes for a change, beef soup or rice."

The *Register* of May 16, 1863, contains a two column account of the execution of two rebel prisoners William Corbin and T. P. McGraw convicted of recruiting for the Confederate army within the lines of the U. S. forces, and of carrying mail and information to the rebels.

The *Register* of January 4th, 1866, contains the following article:

"When the rebel prisoners all officers and many of them high in rank were confined on Johnson's Island opposite this city, they exhibited a far greater amount of ingenuity than they were ever willing to acknowledge previous to their undertaking the task of rearing a southern confederacy. Previous to that event they considered it degrading and beneath the dignity of a gentleman to perform manual labor of any kind. Be that as it may, we know they manufactured many little articles such as chairs, tables, bedsteads, etc., with which to render prison life comfortable. Many of the articles were very fair specimens of southern furniture and mechanism and not totally devoid of rustic beauty. In the line of chairs they manufactured hundreds of the old split bottom variety, bottomed with the leather of old boots, cut into strings and neatly interwoven together. Owing to a scarcity of tools the wooden frames were made with only the use of the jackknife and auger, and were really a very staunch made chair. On the release of the prisoners hundreds of these chairs were sold at public auction. \* \* \* Every chair was marked with the name of the owner on the top slat of the back, together with the number of his regiment, and the state from which he came. They were not marked, we suppose, because they suspected the honesty of their fellow prisoners, but simply that they might be able to tell their own and be able to reclaim their property should it stray from their quarters. It is not an uncommon thing now to see a chair sitting around once owned by Colonel Sawyer of the 14th Mississippi or of Brigadier Generals Johnson, Marmaduke or other notables of the once rebel bull pen. Fifty years hence such articles will be looked upon as greater curiosities than many that grace our public museums and cost hundreds of dollars."



The *Register* of October 19th, 1876, contains the following extract from the report of Jake Thompson the Canadian agent of Jeff Davis to the Confederate Government which report was made in 1864 from Toronto:

"It had been previously ascertained that an organization existed among the prisoners on the island for the purpose of surprising the guard and capturing the island; the presence of the steamer Michigan which carried fourteen guns being the only obstacle. Secret communications were had by which they were advised that on the night of the 19th of September an attempt to seize the steamer would be made. On that night Captain Cole who had established the friendliest relations with officers of the steamer was to have a wine drunk with them on board and at a given hour Acting Master Beall was to appear on the boat to be obtained for that purpose, with a sufficient number of soldiers to board and take the steamer. Should they capture the steamer a cannon shot was to announce to the prisoners that the hour for their release had come. Should they take the island boats were to be improvised and Sandusky was to be attacked. If taken the prisoners were to be mounted and taken to Cleveland, the boats co-operating, and from Cleveland the prisoners were to make for Wheeling and thence to Virginia. The key to the whole movement was the capture of the Michigan. On the evening of the twelfth by some treachery Cole was arrested and the messenger who was to reach Acting Master Beall at Kelley's Island did not reach him. Disappointed but nothing daunted Acting Master Beall having possession of the Philo Parsons passenger steamer from Detroit to Sandusky went on his way to Johnson's Island. Having landed at Middle Bass to procure a supply of wood the Steamer Island Queen with a large number of passengers and thirty-two soldiers came up alongside and lashed herself to the Parsons. An attack was at once resolved on. The passengers and soldiers were soon made prisoners and the boat delivered up to our men. The soldiers were regularly paroled, the passengers were left on the Island having given their promise not to attempt to leave for twenty-four hours; and the boat was taken out into the lake and sunk. The Parsons was then steered directly for the Bay of Sandusky. Here the men for certain reasons not altogether satisfactory refused to make an attack on the Michigan. Beall returned, landed at Sandwich Canada West and the men scattered through the country. Most of them have returned to the Confederate States. But a few days since Acting Master Bennett C. Burley was arrested and his trial is now going on under the extradition treaty. If we had Cole's, Beall's or his own commission I should not fear the result; as it is they will have to prove they acted under my order, and that will in all probability secure his release but it may lead to my expulsion from the provinces, at least I have it from a

reliable source that this last proposition has been pressed on the Canadian authorities and they have considered it. Should the course of events take this direction, unadvised by you I shall consider it my duty, to remain where I am and abide the issue. I should prefer if possible to have your views on the subject. Captain Cole is still a prisoner on Johnson's Island."

The following is a copy of the order releasing four Sandusky citizens arrested for conspiracy to release the rebel prisoners on Johnson's Island, and now in the possession of Fred Frey.

#### HEADQUARTERS U. S. FORCES.

At Johnson's Island and Sandusky.

Johnson's Island, Ohio, Sept. 21st, 1864.

Special Orders 227.

2. John H. Williams, Dr. E. Stanley, John M. Brown, and Abraham Strain, citizens of Sandusky, having been arrested by Captain J. Steiner, Pro. Marshal, 9th district of Ohio, and awaited at this post further investigation upon allegations understood to implicate them with others, in a conspiracy to capture the U. S. Steamer Michigan, and rescue the rebel prisoners at this port, or to aid and assist them and the facts having been more fully inquired into, and they failing to make out a case against the said Williams, Stanley, Brown and Strain, they are hereby released from further detention.

By command of Col. Chas. W. Hill.

JOHN M. BROWN, *Citizen*,  
Sandusky, Ohio.

JOHN LEWIS,  
*Capt. and A. A. A. Gen'l.*

In the report on the treatment of prisoners of war by the rebel authorities third session fortieth Congress 1868-1869, page 151, will be found the following statement by a rebel surgeon who was released from Johnson's Island which was also printed in the *Richmond Enquirer*:

"The sleeping accommodations are very comfortable consisting of a bunk with straw bed and if the individual has no blanket one is furnished and he is allowed to buy as many more as he wants. Every room has a good stove and is furnished with a sufficiency of wood. This the prisoners have to saw for themselves after it is brought to their doors—by the way a very good exercise. The prison consists of thirteen large wooden buildings. The space of ground is sixteen acres of which the prisoners have full liberty to exercise in, to sing

Southern national songs, to hurrah for Jeff Davis, to play ball or any other game they see fit.

The rations are exactly the same as are issued to the garrison, consisting of fresh beef, pork, baker's bread, sugar, coffee, beans, hominy, soft soap and candles. Besides these up to the time I left there was a sutler's store inside the enclosure at which we could obtain any kind of meat or vegetables or knick-knacks if we chose. We could purchase anything we wanted. Clothing and eatables were allowed to be sent the prisoners by their friends in the North in any quantity and money without stint."

*The Register* of June 20th, 1888, says twenty-five cows were kept on the milk sold to the prisoners at six cents a quart. The number of prisoners was about five thousand of whom 206 died over there, most of whom were sick or wounded on their arrival.

*The Register* of October 12, 1889, prints the full list of those buried on the island and states that L. B. Johnson and the *Register* own the only two lists in existence. Owing to the visit of a delegation from Georgia an effort was started to fix up the graves on the island which plan had hitherto failed because L. B. Johnson would not sell the land where the cemetery was located. For many years since the graves have been decorated on Decoration Day, the grass mowed and the undergrowth kept trimmed.

After the war the graves of the confederate prisoners on Johnson's Island were neglected for many years, until finally on March 30, 1890, the 206 graves were marked with headstones. In 1891 an effort was made by the 5th Regiment of Ohio Infantry to buy a camping ground on the island but the project fell through. On January 20th, 1898, L. B. Johnson died at the age of 97 and the island passed out of the hands of the Johnson family.

On November 18, 1904, an option was given the Daughters of the Confederacy to buy the cemetery, and on March 14, 1905, they purchased a strip of land 100 feet wide by 485 feet long including the cemetery 100 feet wide by 209½ feet long. On June 8th, 1910, the beautiful monument now standing was unveiled, and the statue of the confederate soldier faces the east waiting for the arising of his brethren.



## MUSKINGUM RIVER PILOTS.

### THEIR DUTIES AND REQUIREMENTS.

BY IRVEN TRAVIS.

The first pilots to navigate the Muskingum river were men who handled floating crafts. This was before the advent of steamboats, and also before the improvement of the river by a series of locks and dams such as we now have kept up by the federal government.

In the handling of such crafts, the pilot was guided very much by the draft of water, by which at such places as island chutes and other ripples the "best water," as they termed it, was plainly indicated to an experienced eye. Especially at the head of a chute is this true. The glassy appearance of the surface of the water and the funnel shape of the current when entering at the head of an island, made the pilot quite confident; but at the foot of the chute this was not equally certain, as in the choppy water this natural chart was lost.

Reference is made to down stream trips, and with the best management boats often were aground. And it is worthy of mention that the crew of such boats were not helpless by any means, and when aground one of the first things to be done was to lay a line ashore in the proper direction and rig a Spanish windlass, which was quite powerful as well as dangerous. All that is necessary for the machine is two handspikes and the line — and to know how to use them.

The steering apparatus was an oar placed on the bow of the boat and another of similar pattern on the stern, the latter called a gouger. To get a boat in position to enter an island chute it often happened that the entire crew would operate the two oars. Much care must be taken in operating the gouger, for if the blade should be dipped in the water too deep it would catch on the bottom and you would soon be minus an oar, and

probably some of the crew in the river. The late Capt. I. N. Hook was seriously injured in an accident of this kind.

#### PILOT'S AND CAPTAIN'S AUTHORITY.

The first pilots of steamboats were those the captain or owner would trust, as no license was required until by an act of Congress, June 7th, 1838, both pilots and engineers were required to have licenses. The fee was \$10.00 for each issue, license having to be renewed each year. Still it was not difficult to obtain a license, for if you could have three men of experience, such as captains or pilots, vouch for you, the license would be issued. Now that the pilot carried a license issued by proper authority, his importance was greatly increased, he having made affidavit he would manage any craft on which he might be employed, according to his own best skill and judgment. This division of authority between captain and pilot was somewhat complicated. For instance, if it seemed dangerous to take the boat out on account of storm, high water, fog or ice, etc., the pilot could hold the boat and refuse to take her out. On the other hand, if the captain thought it dangerous to leave port for any reason, the pilot could not take her out. So to leave port both must agree. But when the lines were taken in and the pilot in the pilot house, he at once became the Major Domo and had full control. If during a storm the captain ordered the boat ashore and the pilot thought it safer to stand out and ride the storm, which was often the case, he would refuse to obey; and if the pilot wished to land, the captain could not prevent it. So it was the pilot who tied up in such cases. However, there is another authority that must not be questioned—that of the engineer, and when he notified the pilot to go ashore, his order was obeyed at once.

This mention of mixed authority between captains and pilots might lead one to believe that much friction would ensue, but this was not the case. There was quite a complete system of "Preparedness" and "safety first" even in those days. When near time to leave the port, the captain would ring the boat's bell; this would be about ten minutes before the time of leaving. The engineer would now notify the stoker to close the furnace

doors. This was done by the ringing of a bell which was located near the furnace. At this time it was the business of the pilot to examine the steering apparatus and to see that no freight came in contact with tiller or tiller rope or rudder. A few minutes later the captain rings the bell again, this time three taps. This is called the ready bell. The pilot now goes to the wheel, and the engineer rings his gong indicating that he is ready. The captain now rings one tap of the bell, when the lines are taken in and the command given. "All gone, sir." From this time until the boat was again tied up, the pilot was in full control.

#### SOME EXPERT HANDLERS.

After the improvement of the Muskingum the dams seemed to have made navigation much more dangerous, and it was a man's job at times to get into the locks when on the down stream trip, especially at such places as Taylorsville, Eagleport, Stockport—Windsor then, Luke Chute, Beverly and Devol's Dam, as at these points the lock was built at the end of the dam, so if you missed the lock there was no place to maneuver and this made it necessary to get in even in a rough manner at times. It was this practice where the boat must be handled quickly that gave Muskingum river pilots a reputation as expert handlers, as good management was termed, and many of the early pilots from this river became distinguished New Orleans pilots. One of these was Tice Ridenour; another John Weed. This was so early that I knew nothing of them except their reputation.

During the civil war steamboats from all rivers were likely to be pressed into government service. In such cases a boat would be hailed in if passing a government station. This was done by firing a shot across her bow. If this was not heeded another would be fired, this time at the pilot house. This usually brought them in. Parkersburg, W. Va., was one of the ports where boats were collected in this manner for government service, and I remember a case when the second shot struck the Texas just under the pilot house. In such cases the boats were promptly unloaded, the freight being dumped in any old place convenient, and the boat loaded with troops or government supplies, and started down river, the crew as well as the boat pressed



into service. In time of peace no one would expect the pilot to take his boat to strange waters, but in time of war, it being known that he could handle the boat, they trusted to luck so far as his knowledge of strange rivers was concerned.

It was at this time that many Muskingum boatmen were forced into such service and taken with their boats to the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. Among them three brothers who were Muskingum river pilots became celebrated, for the time at least. These men, Aaron, Milt and Jim McLaughlin, were raised in McConnellsville. The latter, however, was an enlisted man in regular service. It was he who ran the blockade at Vicksburg with a gunboat, having offered his services when volunteers were called for the job, the details of which I am unable to give. The other two, Aaron and Milt, were pilots of the steamer Jonas Powell, running between Zanesville and Parkersburg, and were taken with the boat to the southern waters, and at Nashville, Tenn., Aaron gained a reputation for daring that made all other pilots envious.

A large fleet of government transports made up of steamboats of all classes and from many rivers, were lying above the bridge in readiness for a down stream trip. The river being unusually high made the passage through the draw of the bridge quite difficult and dangerous on account of the strong current which did not run parallel with the piers, and one might say that a boat would not go where she looked, but would travel or flank, sidewise and collide with the pier. This had happened with the first and second boat, and the officers had decided to wait for more favorable conditions. When Capt. Jim Darlington, of the steamer Jonas Powell, said to the officer in command: "I have pilots that can take your boats through the draw safely," referring to Aaron and Milt McLaughlin, it was decided that they undertake it. The boats that had started and met with disaster had been dropped down slowly and carefully, too much so, in the estimation of Aaron, so he took the first boat up river about a half mile, rounded to and came down under full steam, knowing that the higher the speed the quicker the boat would answer to her rudders, and consequently better control would be had. Aaron took the first boat through safely, and landed

below the bridge, was sent back and brought another, till six boats had been safely landed below the bridge, Milt McLaughlin having taken two of them. These Muskingum river pilots were now the heroes of the day, and Milt was stationed there as post pilot, whose duty it was to take boats through the bridge only. It is not strange that Muskingum pilots were more proficient in handling boats, for at that time the Muskingum was the principal river to be improved by locks and dams, which gave opportunity for handling boats quickly in space much more limited than on rivers where there were no locks and dams.

#### A THRILLING EXPERIENCE.

Good judgment and quick decision are very important factors in the handling of a steamboat, and many an accident has been averted when a few seconds' hesitation would have been disastrous. To illustrate, will relate an instance when the steamer *Carrie Brooks* was on a down trip, running in ice. The engineer, Cliff Crane, was on watch. When passing Douda bar he had gone out on the fantail to oil. The spray from the wheel had frozen till a solid coat of ice covered the fantail, and Crane slipped and fell overboard. This was a trying situation, since the boat did not stop. He knew that he had not been missed. The boat was thus left steaming down the river without an engineer. His cries for assistance were heard by Mr. James Loughridge, who found him clinging to the willows in an exhausted condition, having swum probably two-thirds the width of the river in the running ice. The safety of the boat was apparently the only thought of Crane. He was detained at the Loughridge home long enough to change his clothes, and in the meantime members of the Loughridge family were hitching up a team, of which they kept the very best, and soon the race began, the engineer thinking of nothing but disaster which certainly would come at the first attempt the pilot might make to land. The boat had gone as far as Hooksburg (about four miles) before having occasion to land. The pilot now rang the alarm bell which is to give notice to the engineer that a landing is to be made. This is done in order that the engineer can arrange to control the steam by opening the furnace doors or the

bleeder as a waste pipe is called. The pilot had now headed in and rang a slow bell. This not being answered promptly the stopping bell was rung, and when this was not answered not a second could be lost, as the boat was heading for shore. Quickly the pilot jumped on the wheel, climbing it similar to a squirrel in a cage. The boat began to answer and it was soon apparent that her head would come out and miss the shore, but what about her stern swinging in and raking the shore? But the engines were still driving her, and by good fortune her stern missed the rock by a hair's breadth, and she was soon out in the open. By this time one of the deck hands, Calico Williams, throttled the engine, which was a mistake, as the steam now ran up on the gauge, causing another danger. By this time the engineer off watch had been called up and took charge. It was now positively known that Crane had gone overboard, so the boat rounded to and came up within a mile of where the accident happened, but could find no trace of the lost engineer, so turned and went on her way. All this time the Loughridges were so much employed caring for the unfortunate engineer that they had not heard or noticed the boat, although she came in sight of their home. It was the trip back that enabled them to get started in time to overtake the boat when leaving Windsor lock, and a joyful reunion took place when the boat came back into the lock and Crane was on board. The captain in charge of this boat was Harvey Darlington.

#### MUST NOT BE COLOR BLIND.

It is now 76 years since the improvement of our river was completed, and so far as I am able to learn, about one pilot for each year of that time would be the number of licensed pilots, some few of whom were licensed for any and all rivers, as I have known the license to read: "Mississippi river and tributaries." This wholesale business was in the beginning, but soon positive proof of your acquaintance and knowledge of the river was demanded, and examination of applicants was more rigid, and in 1876 or 1877 a new regulation required an applicant for a pilot's license to pass an examination for color blindness, which at first was not a difficult matter, as you could usually get this



certificate from your family doctor who was not prepared, as a rule, to give a proper test, as my own experience will show. I presented myself to the doctor for examination for color blindness, when he asked, "How can I tell whether or not you are color blind?"

I said, "I don't know. That is your business. All I want is a certificate."

I then suggested that he have me name the colors of the wallpaper in the room. This plan was adopted. The doctor with a pointer and I at the head and foot of the class, the recitation commenced. The doctor pointed to a certain flower or figure, saying, "What color is that?"

"Purple," I replied.

"No, that isn't purple," said he.

I said, "Yes."

He said, "No."

I then said, "Doctor, you are color blind and you had better give me a certificate before it is generally known."

And the certificate was issued. One examination only was necessary, and when a new license was issued this certificate was stamped on the back.

#### FEES, AND OFFICERS' LICENSES.

The money received for pilots', master engineers' and mates' licenses accumulated to the amount of \$600,000, after paying the expenses of the department, and as no provision had been made for its transfer to any other fund a marine journal published at this time, to gain popularity with the craft which were its principal subscribers, advocated the refunding of this fee except an amount sufficient to defray expenses of the department. This was closely watched by the readers, and I counted on about \$120, but have not yet received it. However, some good was accomplished as the fee was reduced to 50 cents, and later abolished entirely, and the license issued for a term of five years instead of one.

The first issue of officers' license was a very lengthy document and written entire, as no printed form was then used. Had I undertaken this writing, prior to our flood of 1913, I could

have produced one of this kind, but unfortunately it was lost in the flood as were many other papers of equal value to me. The first license must be kept by the officer and produced if his authority was questioned, but later when the form was changed and a smaller form used, it was framed and hung in the cabin of the steamer, for the inspection of passengers.

#### MUST STAY OUT OF PILOT HOUSE.

From the beginning all passengers were allowed perfect freedom on board, and could spend the time in the pilot house or engine room, at the option of the officers however. But later, probably in 1880, a serious disaster took place at Mingo, a few miles below Steubenville, O., when the steamers John Lomas and Scioto collided. The latter, carrying a great number of excursionists, sank immediately, and 65 lives were lost. It was reported that quite a number of people were in the pilot house of the Scioto, and a woman was permitted by the pilot to make the signal for passing. It was said her foot slipped off the lever which operates the steam whistle, and she repeated the signal, thus making two blasts of the whistle instead of one as intended, and the collision ensued. The pilot, Keller by name, who was proved to be accountable for this great loss of life, was sentenced to ten years in the penitentiary, served his term, probably not the entire sentence, and was again licensed and employed as Ohio River pilot on the Steamer Lorena. Immediately legislation took place which excluded passengers from the pilot house when the steamer was under way. This was a severe blow to the pilot whose principal business seemed to have been to entertain the passengers, and they must now close the door to their most intimate friends, who, in some cases, ceased to be their friends. Thus what had seemed one continual round of pleasure suddenly changed, and some of the most lonesome days of my life were spent in the pilot house.

#### WHAT A PILOT SHOULD KNOW.

As the caption of this paper indicates, I am to report what a pilot should know. This is an easy matter, as I must say he should know everything pertaining to river boats and navigation,

and the nearer he accomplishes this difficult task the better his rank as a pilot. But it is quite difficult to explain how such knowledge is acquired. However, in an effort to do this, I must say in the beginning a cub pilot is the most insignificant being on earth in the estimation of the old pilot who has undertaken to "learn" (teach is not right) him the river, so the cub did not have much to say when in the presence of this dignitary of apparent royal blood. But the cub had his inning when off watch, as he could look wise and ignore the flunkeys and would even answer questions for passengers when the old pilot was not present. The flunkeys seemed to have formed a dislike for the cub pilot, as he was now to be known, which increased in intensity each day as the cub could swing the attention of the girls from the flunkeye any and all times. But this is not learning the river.

The cub now takes the wheel with fear and trembling, the old pilot standing by, full of revenge, probably having in mind the days when he made his first attempt at steering. "Get on the other side of your wheel. You must learn to stand on the bend side." The cub moves at once. In a short time the boat has reached the point and the bend changes, but the cub has not discovered it. "Get on the other side of your wheel as I told you." The cub moves without hesitation or apology. The next interference is likely to be: "Hold her steady. You wiggle around here like a blind horse plowing corn. Look at the track you are making. Now watch the nighthawk and when it begins to move, ease up." It is probable that the cub never heard of such terms, and by this time he has begun to think his chances to learn the river are remote. But if he can stand the kind of treatment he is subjected to for a short time, he will have learned to steer when out in the open daylight, and the old pilot will allow him to do all the work possible, while he rests.

The cub has now been shown marks in profusion in order that he may begin to steer at night. For instance, he has been told to hold on a certain gap in the hill with stern jackstaff on some other hill top or prominent tree. "Hold her there until a notch in the hill opens up on your left," and he will have



practiced this in daylight until he could run this place to the satisfaction of the old pilot. But the first time he undertakes it at night it is positively certain that he will not run it right, for it takes more nerve than he has yet acquired to pitch down into a deep bend when it seems like you are surely going into the woods. But with constant practice in time this fear leaves him, and he becomes a pilot, but still has much to learn that he is not then fully aware of.

The wind and current must be considered and never cease to be a study. For instance, the current below some of the locks and dams is quite different at the same stage of water, depending on whether the river is rising or falling. In running a bridge on entering a lock, if the wind is blowing one must calculate the effect and brace up to the wind in such a manner as sometimes causes anxiety to passengers. In fog I must say that there is much guess work; but very few pilots try to run in fog in the night time, but after daylight few boats tie up on the Muskingum. But on the Ohio it is different, as the width of the river is such that you can easily get lost or turn round.

Where a boat carried a double crew each is on watch usually six hours, one crew being on the forward watch, the other on the aft watch. In a regular trade like Zanesville and Parkersburg the watch changes every Sunday. This change is more necessary for pilots than for others, for if this change was not made there would be certain parts of the river that each pilot would not see in months. To engineers this would make no difference. There is another method called a dog watch, making three parts of the night. This changes the day watch every day.

Changes and improvements in the apparatus have made steamboating much more safe, pleasant and easy than in the days of which I am writing. The swinging stage, improved rudders and the electric search light are some of such improvements, the latter the most notable, as you can now light up the whole valley, when in early times an old torch was used. This was an iron torch basket in which pine knots were burned, and later, when this supply was exhausted, saw dust and rosin was used, and sometimes with oil and saw dust. No unnecessary lights

were allowed on board, and blinds were provided for the sky lights forward of the pilot house, and on unusually black nights all lights in the cabin would be extinguished. On such nights when the watch would change, the pilot coming on watch would not step in and take the wheel suddenly, but would look on a few minutes in order to be sure of his bearing. In the meantime something like the following conversation might be heard: "How's the water?"

"Five feet 7, falling. How about the packets?"

"Met the *Hibernia* at the head of Repert and the *Andes* at the foot, and just saw a green signal through the timbers. I think that the *Chesapeake* rounding the point."

It was the business of the pilot to see that the signals were kept burning, which at times required considerable attention, especially in extreme cold weather, when it was difficult to keep them burning. This was a matter of much concern to the pilot, who could not see the signals, as they were hung on the forward side of the chimneys, but the watchman would be called often to report their condition. Electric current now furnishes light in signals, which is more certain.

A great help to pilots was the establishing of beacon lights in about 1876. Before this, any light from factory or plant or from a dwelling house, if it happened to be at or near a point such as an island chute or bar, would soon be noticed and used in running this particular place. But such lights could not be depended upon, and when the government lights were established and were kept burning at all times between sunset and sunrise all pilots seemed to fully appreciate this government aid. The any change in the river took place that would necessitate. Studios, changing of location of any such lights, it was most dangerous promptly by the light tender, a government steamer, exerting energy, up and down inspecting such lights and furnishing aid and decisive in plies for their maintenance. A career will come

There is much that could be said, but as the romantic que ne boating seem to have passed, all things pertaining to the river pass also and cease to be of interest, therefore to Henry Bouquet, further remarks until a revival of steamboat traffic on the Expedition

## EXPERIENCE WITH A GHOST.

Captain Travis related his experience one night with a "ghost," as follows:

"On the after watch at about 3 o'clock in the morning, the monotonous rhythm of the engine was the only thing to break the stillness, and all was well when the clerk called "Freight for Gaysport!" The "aye, aye, sir" from the man at the wheel awoke the mate snoozing on the bench in the pilot house, who went below to rout the rousters. Presently the pilot house door opened and I thought it the mate returning and paid no attention to his entrance. In a moment I glanced over my left shoulder at a white object which proved to be a sure ghost. I tried to fly, but having no lesson in that art I failed to rise, and the ghost got me. I did know enough to ring the stopping bell, but the ghost now had its arms locked about my neck and distributing emotional affection wastefully, as it was so sudden it could not be appreciated. Its long hair hung to the waist, and its clothes were not intended for day time. With the pilot dying in its arms with fright, the mate returned and made the rescue, taking the ghost below. When I became sure I was all there I found the boat almost ashore in the willows. After backing her out and the rhythm of the engine had started, all was soon back to normal, but I have never since passed Blue Rock point without looking for "it."

necessar<sup>y</sup> ghost was a woman by the name of Massey, who had made t<sup>he</sup> mind and escaping from her stateroom had slipped would n<sup>ot</sup> into the pilot house. She later in her life commitment-difference.

three parts

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## HENRY BOUQUET.

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### HIS INDIAN CAMPAIGNS.

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BY J. C. REEVE, M. D., LL. D., [W. R. UNIV.]

A little book in the French language has recently come to hand which deserves more than a passing notice. It is the brief life of a man of high character and fine achievement, and it records service of the greatest value which he rendered to our country in one of the darkest periods of its early history. It is a book of about one hundred pages, printed at Geneva, in 1909, and is one of a series published under the collective title, "Soldats Suisses au Service Etrangère," ["Swiss Soldiers in Foreign Service,"] the individual title being, "Henry Bouquet, vainqueur des Peaux-Rouges de l'Ohio." The author is a Swiss who thus pays a loving tribute to the memory of a fellow countryman, one of the thousands who, in past times left their mountain home to seek fortune and fame in foreign lands. We should expect to find, in a work of this character, over-coloring and an excess of laudation. It is pleasing to record the fact that they are not here. The author gives a plain narrative following the historical records. Indeed, the gravity of the undertakings, the peril of the situations, the difficulties against which Bouquet struggled and which he overcame, could not be exaggerated, nor could the value of his services, as attested by official recognition, be overstated. The man may stand as a model for all rising generations. Studious, dignified, reserved, calm and self-possessed in the most dangerous positions, of undaunted courage and of untiring energy, fruitful of resource, wise in design, prompt and decisive in execution. More than once in reading his career will come to mind Guizot's saying: "Voulez vous du roman; que ne vous adressez vous à l'histoire."

The earliest information we have as to Henry Bouquet, is contained in "An Historical Account of the Expedition

against the Ohio Indians in the Year 1764, under the command of Henry Bouquet, Esq." Philadelphia 1766<sup>1</sup>

We have now later and fuller histories of Bouquet's expedition. Parkman, by his researches and his facile pen, has made us familiar with the exploration, the settlement, and the early history of the various sections of the west and north-west of our country, and in doing this he has added lustre to American historical literature. In two chapters of the "Conspiracy of Pontiac" he has given a complete history of the expedition.<sup>2</sup>

Additional historical knowledge of Bouquet and his campaigns is not to be found in this little book; there is some of biographical character, but it is the old story that we well know told in other words, and it is pleasant to have it in the language of a foreigner. The story cannot be told too often; it needs repetition to keep alive in the present generation, steeped in commercialism, a due sense of the hardships endured, the privations suffered, and the courage displayed by their pioneer ancestors who braved the dangers of the howling wilderness and led the way in its transformation to a land now smiling with plenty, and enjoying all the advantages of an advanced civilization.

The book opens with a scene of lively animation in the little town of Rolle, on Lake Geneva. It is a cold clear morning in February, 1732. The north wind blows down from the mountains and sweeps in fierce gusts along the one narrow street. The town is astir. The inhabitants are on the lookout, and a group is gathered in front of the chateau. In the court yard can be seen horses saddled, pack beasts prepared for a journey. They are waiting for one of their members who soon appears, a young man of seventeen, who descends the

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<sup>1</sup> Republished as one of the "Ohio Valley Historical Series," by Robt. Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1868. In the same volume is a translation from the French of Dumas' "Relation historique de l' Expedition contre les Indiens de l'Ohio," with a preface by Francis Parkman.

<sup>2</sup> There is a brief and clear account, but without any citation of authorities, in "Indian Fights and Fighters," by Cyrus Townsend Brady, LL. D. — New York, 1909.

stairs giving kisses right and left to aunts and cousins, responding to many "adieux," and to many a hearty "bon voyage"

Henry Bouquet came of a family several members of which had won high military honors. From his earliest childhood he had been under the influence of the military spirit.



*Henry Bouquet*

Impelled by such influences and by his ardent and adventurous spirit, it is no wonder that he spurned the cage of a little town on placid Lake Lemán, and that he chose a soldier's life in foreign lands with all its hardships and its perils.

His early military career may be briefly narrated. He entered the service of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, then at war with France, and joined, as cadet, a regiment then



in garrison at Maestricht. He became ensign in 1735, and sub-lieutenant the following year. In 1738 he entered the army of the King of Sardinia, receiving a commission as "Captain-lieutenant," and distinguished himself as "aide-major" in campaigns against the armies of France and Spain, and at several sieges. In one battle his regiment won high honors by carrying a difficult position at the point of the bayonet, and he acquitted himself well in a most perilous night attack. In a sanguinary battle against superior numbers he met one whom he was destined to have again as an antagonist under other skies, the Marquis Montcalm, then a colonel of infantry, and who there received three wounds, and afterwards became the heroic defender of the French colony in Canada. The peace of Amiens having been signed he accepted from the Prince of Orange a commission as lieutenant-colonel of his Swiss regiments. Then he was deputed, with two generals, to take over the places delivered up by the treaty of peace. Out of active service he retired to Holland and devoted himself to his favorite studies, mathematics and military strategy. Afterwards he accepted an invitation from Lord Littleton to accompany him on a journey through France and Italy. From his intimate association with this nobleman and his companions he acquired a perfect command of the English language. "He wrote it even better than the English officers themselves."

No information is given here as to how, why, and when Bouquet came to this country, and considerable search elsewhere for the information has been made in vain. The narrative passes on to the formation of the Royal American regiment. This was an organization established by special decree of Parliament, and intended to be formed from the settlers of German descent in the country, and to be commanded by officers who understood German. Bouquet received a commission as colonel. The state of affairs was such as to call imperatively for relief; it had been so for a considerable time, and was daily getting worse. The peace of Aix la Chapelle left open several questions of the utmost importance, the boundaries fixing the limits of the two nations were not defined. According to the English, Canada from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to a line along

the centre of lakes Erie and Ontario, and all the Ohio Valley, belonged to them; the French claimed that the English settlements should be restricted to the territory between Canada, the Alleghany Mountains, Louisiana and the sea. Under these conflicting claims, and from conflicting interests, there necessarily arose bitter feelings, and to these hostile acts soon followed. Disorder, lawlessness, outrage and violence, prevailed over a wide extent of territory especially in western Pennsylvania and all of what is now Ohio. The two nations were at peace; their subjects were at war. On one side were enterprising settlers pushing out to better their fortunes by availing themselves of the resources of a virgin fertile region, on the other hand were those who felt that these were trespassers, unjustly depriving them of their rightful possessions. The Indians were more deeply aggrieved than the French. Their feelings, too, were intensified by the manner in which the English treated them, a manner so strikingly in contrast to the wise treatment by England, in later times, of her colonial possessions, and directly opposite to that accorded by the French. While these cultivated friendly relations with the tribes, the English irritated them by niggardly minimizing the customary presents, and, in some instances by withholding them. As a result, over a wide territory, 'savage warfare prevailed; there were scalpings and burnings, massacres and outrages, raids and reprisals. But this dark period, which would easily furnish material for volumes, is here very briefly disposed of, and to one of its principal tragic incidents is devoted but a few lines:

"General Braddock marched upon Fort Duquesne at the head of two regiments of infantry and a body of colonial militia of Virginia, under command of Washington. Imbued with the maxims of European warfare, Braddock neglected to reconnoitre and to scout the forests through which he marched, so on the 13th of July, 1755, he fell into an ambush of French and Indians, who destroyed his troops. Braddock and almost all his staff perished, those who escaped the massacre owed their rescue to Washington."

The attack on Fort William-Henry, the massacre of the English prisoners by the Indians, recounted in Cooper's "*Last of the Mohicans*," the assault on Fort Ticonderoga, are merely

mentioned, as also is the expedition of General Forbes against Fort Duquesne, "in which Bouquet played the principal rôle."

"While France, discouraged and badly governed despaired and abandoned Montcalm as she had abandoned Dupleix, England, personified by Pitt, put forth strenuous efforts. On the site of Fort Duquesne was erected Fort Pitt, Pittsbuourg, with a capacity for a garrison of three hundred men. \* \* \* Quebec surrendered in 1759, carrying down in its fall two antagonists, Montcalm and Wolfe, whom posterity has laid together in one tomb. Canada was lost for France who consoled herself with the saying of Voltaire, who troubled himself little about *"the loss of a few acres of snow!"*

While the events thus briefly noticed were taking place, Bouquet was in Philadelphia where he established his headquarters. He had been appointed Inspector General of all the forts in the region between the ocean and the Ohio. These posts were to be held in good condition for service, re-victualled, kept in constant communication with each other. In Philadelphia this gallant officer received marked attention, he was extremely popular, gained the esteem, and won the confidence of all classes and associated with the best citizens.

"He was then a man in the prime of life, of fine personality, of splendid physique, and endowed with exceptional qualities of mind and heart. His uprightness, his firmness, his imperturbable sang froid, his presence of mind in the greatest of dangers, made of him a leader without rival. His look alone inspired confidence and commanded respect."

But something more occurred here than social amenities and ordinary friendships. Tenderer emotions were excited, and this is not surprising, for "the bravest are the tenderest" the poet tells us. But it is the sad duty of the historian to record the defeat of a soldier who never suffered one on the field of battle. The name of the lady whose charms gained the victory over our hero, was Miss Anna Willing. From Fort Duquesne, at the close of the first expedition, he wrote her the following letter:

FORT DUQUESNE, Nov. 25, 1758.

DEAR NANCY: I have the satisfaction of announcing to you the news of the capture of this formidable fort. The French, in a panic



at our approach, had destroyed it, leaving for us no roof but the sky, truly a cold shelter for an army without tents. The glory of this result must be attributed, after God, to our general, who from the beginning took the wisest measures to cut off the French from their base, and has treated the Indians in such a manner as to keep them quiet, etc. —

The name of Annie Willing cannot be found in any work consulted or at command except one, that one is the "Indian Fights and Fighters," of Brady. In a note that author gives the following, but without stating the source from which he derives the information:

"In addition to his other claims upon our consideration, romance appropriates him, since he was the victim of an unrequited passion for a beautiful Philadelphian. Anna Willing refused to accept him because he was a soldier, and she married another and less noted man. Poor lonely Henry Bouquet! it almost broke his heart."

In 1763 occurred the great outbreak of Indian hostility known as the conspiracy of Pontiac. War prevailed from April to August, between the English on one side and the French and Indians on the other. Space will not permit here a detailed account of the tragic events of this period; they are to be found recorded in the pages of history.<sup>3</sup> The chief Pontiac who was the designer and leader of the great uprising was endowed with intellectual abilities far beyond the ordinary gifts of the savage; indeed he stands without a rival in the records of his race. His design was to unite all the Indian tribes of the wide region, to make, simultaneously, a sudden attack on the widely separated parts of the whole territory, and by a general massacre of the settlers to break at once and forever the English power and to clear the land of the intruding white faces. In boldness of design, in range of action, in extent of combination, this conspiracy stands without a parallel in the annals of savage warfare. And it came near being as successful in execution as it was skilful in design. The storm burst forth and carried destruction and terror throughout the region. A dozen

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<sup>3</sup> The letters and documents formerly belonging to Henry Bouquet, and relating to military events in America from 1757 to 1765 occupy thirty volumes of manuscript in the British Museum.

of the more advanced forts were carried by assault and their garrisons massacred. Venango, Presq'ile, Frontenac, Sandusky, Mackinac were taken. Detroit, Fort Pitt and Niagara alone held out. Throughout the wide extent of territory, comprising western Pennsylvania and all of Ohio, the wildest terror prevailed. Everywhere were massacres and scalplings, everywhere the settlers, abandoning everything, were flying to find refuge in Lancaster and Philadelphia. Words cannot describe, nor the imagination picture, the terror, the distress, the sufferings of the people throughout this region. In this scene of disorder and fear all eyes turned towards one calm and self-reliant man, it was Henry Bouquet. His name inspired confidence and awakened hope. — For seven years as commander of the Royal American regiment, and as Inspector General, he had traversed the invaded region, and became familiar with all its features. At the same time he had added immensely to his knowledge of Indian character and of Indian warfare which he had gained in the Forbes expedition. Farther and more important was the fact that in his dealings with the Indians he had inspired their respect and gained their esteem. They knew him as a brave soldier and as a just man.

The chief object of anxiety was Fort Pitt, and the most pressing necessity was its relief. No news had been received from there for weeks; at last advices it was surrounded by the enemy, short of rations, and in the greatest danger. A column for its relief was organized with the least possible delay. It was a difficult task, for the resources were scanty.

Sir Jeffrey Amherst, commander-in-chief ordered to advance from New York all that remained of the 42d and 77th Highlanders, together with about 350 men, officers included. These troops had just debarked from Havana. The majority of the men were sick or convalescing. To these were added the fragments of five other regiments, just returned from the West Indies. All were in a miserable condition, the effect of hard service and a tropical climate and were more fit for the hospital than the ranks. Many were so feeble that they had to be carried in wagons. Bouquet concentrated his forces at Carlisle. There the greatest disorder and confusion reigned, and he was con-

fronted with the gravest difficulties. He could gain no recruits, the settlers preferred to remain with their families rather than to join an expedition which they believed to be doomed to destruction. Bouquet himself was reduced to the verge of despair. He wrote, "I find myself completely abandoned by the men whom I am sent to protect." But he continued unmoved in the general disorder and all eyes were turned to him. He passed the time in providing supplies, in drilling his men, and instructing them in the methods of Indian warfare. Eighteen days after his arrival the order to march was given. The column consisted of about 500 men, 60 of whom were carried in wagons. At Bedford he was happily able to add to his force thirty rangers and backwoodsmen. Thus the column continued its march over roads which were only pathways cut with the ax, through the deep forest, all depressed by the prevailing thought of Braddock's fate, whose force, much larger than theirs, had been annihilated, and by thought of the fate, far worse than death, that awaited those who fell into the hands of the savages. They made all possible effort to reach Ligonier, a place of some importance, and essential to the relief of Fort Pitt, from which there had been no news for several weeks.

On the 5th of August the column was early in motion, pushing on to reach Bushy Run where there was to be a temporary rest. They were not far from the place when suddenly, about one o'clock, shots were heard, and soon the firing, so heavy and so violent, showed that a general engagement had opened. Twelve of the advance guard had fallen at the first volley. The attack was continued until nightfall. The day was sultry, the heat excessive, the enemy in large number, vicious and determined. Driven back in one part of the field by the bayonet, they immediately returned to the attack in another part, firing from every rock and tree trunk. They attacked in front, then on the flanks, then at the rear. The fight continued until darkness put a stop to it. Then followed a night which well merits the name given to it: "The night of anguish." The position of the force was a very good one, on a slight eminence surrounded by shallow ravines. In the centre of the camp, an imperfect shelter for the sick and wounded, was formed with



the sacks of flour, and around it the exhausted troops tried to rest. The darkness was intense; no fire could be lighted; the slightest sound startled, as betraying the coming foe. All suffered the agony of thirst, until a downpour of rain came, which deluged them, but added to the distress of the sick and wounded.

"In the midst of this darkness, full of menaces, peopled with terrors, made hideous by the horrible cries of the savages, let us look for a moment into a tent, before which pace a couple of sentinels. By the dim light of a single candle we see Col. Bouquet, but showing no such signs of anxiety or discouragement, as might be expected after the day passed and in view of the morrow to come. Seated at an improvised table he is tranquilly writing the following report of the action of the day, which he must dispatch immediately to headquarters. It is worth reading."

CAMP AT EDGE HILL,

26 miles from Fort Pitt, Aug. 5, 1763.

SIR: The troops and the convoy arrived at Ligonier on the second instant. I could not obtain there any information of the enemy. The scouts sent out in the beginning of July had all been killed or obliged to return. All the passes were in the enemy's hands. In this perplexing situation I decided to leave at Ligonier all my wagons with a part of the munitions and provisions. On the fourth I left with the command, and with about 340 horses carrying supplies. My intention was to reach Bushy Run today, which is about a mile from here, and after having given a rest to men and beasts, to push on during the night, through the defile of Turtle Creek, a dangerous defile, several miles long, bordered by high, steep hills. But this afternoon, about one o'clock, when we had marched seventeen miles, the savages suddenly attacked our advanced guard. This was immediately supported by two companies of the 42nd, who drove back and pursued the enemy. The savages rallied and opened fire on our front, and then attacked on our flanks. A general charge was made along all the line, which was successful in driving the savages from the heights, but was not decisive, because, chased from one position they appeared at another, until by the aid of reinforcements they became more numerous and finally were strong enough to surround us and attack the convoy at the rear, which obliged us to fall back for its protection. The action then became general, but altho the savages advanced with extraordinary vigor, they were constantly repulsed with loss; which we also suffered gravely. We lost

more than sixty men. The action lasted from one o'clock until night, and we must expect its renewal in the early morning. —

Whatever may be our lot I believe it to be my duty to transmit this information to your Excellency at the earliest moment, in order that you may be able to take such measures as you may deem best, to secure the safety of the provinces or to give succor to Fort Pitt, in case that, after a second fight, I shall find myself unable to protect and transport our provisions. By the loss today of men and horses, I am much weakened, and am obliged to conduct the wounded whose situation is deplorable.

I cannot say too much in recognition of the devoted service rendered me by Major Campbell during this severe action, nor can I express too much admiration for the courage and resolution of the soldiers, who have not fired a shot without orders, and who have dislodged the enemy from his positions with the bayonet. As to the officers, their conduct has been beyond praise.

I have the honor to be, dear Sir, with the greatest respect,

Yours, etc.,

To his Excellency,

HENRY BOUQUET.

SIR JEFFREY AMHERST.

Such a dispatch, written under such circumstances, not only reveals the man, it marks the hero.

At earliest dawn the attack was renewed. The war cry resounded on all sides and a rapid fire began and was continued. Every tree and rock sheltered an enemy. Scattered, and never acting in a united body, no effective charge against them could be made. The troops were exhausted by the long march, and the fight of the day before. As the hours wore on, they began to show signs of failing energy, while the Indians, perceiving this, became more aggressive, believing victory to be theirs. Bouquet, calm and collected, did not falter in a situation that seemed desperate. On all sides, with coolness and resolution he led and encouraged his men. Frightened by the yells and the firing the horses broke away and a stampede now added to the confusion that prevailed. The condition began to justify the gloomiest foreboding, when the commander, fertile in resource, devised a maneuver which was as skillfully executed as wisely planned. This was a feigned retreat, its intention being to bring the Indians forward in a body so that they might be

effectively attacked. Two companies were withdrawn and posted toward the rear. Then the front fell back. The Indians believing, as was intended, that this was a retreat, and seeing victory theirs, rushed forward with wild yells, to secure it. At the proper moment the retiring movement ceased, the Indians were met by a murderous fire, at the same time the two companies closed in and fell upon their flanks. They were surprised, checked, and defeated; the fortunes of the day were changed, the victory of the whites assured.

The battle of Bushy Run was the most brilliant and effective battle ever fought between the whites and Indians in the great and prolonged struggle for the possession of the disputed region. Its immediate effects were great and evident, but its remote influence was far greater. Its moral influence on the Indians was immense.

A table presents the numbers of killed and wounded from each regiment and class of the force. The totals are: Killed, 50; wounded, 60; missing, 5; total 115.

The Indians lost about sixty; among them some noted chiefs.

In five days' march the column reached Fort Pitt, still closely besieged. But the Indians retired, and the siege was raised. The feelings excited and the rejoicing manifested by the inhabitants cannot be described and can only be imagined by those who have made a thorough study of the times and the situation.

The Assembly of Pennsylvania passed a vote of thanks to Bouquet, and he soon after received the additional honor of formal thanks from the King.

Bouquet remained at Fort Pitt during the winter. As spring opened he began to prepare for further operations. There was need for vigorous measures. The Indians had retired beyond the Muskingum but bands of them roamed over all the region, committing the outrages usual with their race. There were constantly isolated attacks, massacres, scalplings and the most horrible torture to prisoners. Terror reigned everywhere. Bouquet's plan of campaign was bold and well designed. It was to penetrate the very heart of the Indian country, to destroy



their crops and their towns, and to bring them to complete submission. In making preparations for the expedition he met with difficulties which taxed his energies to the uttermost, and his success in overcoming them merits a praise rivalling that of his military triumphs. First, was the inaction of the governments of Pennsylvania and Virginia. They manifested an inaction which caused many long delays and which nothing can excuse. Then there was great apathy among the people of those sections whence recruits were to be drawn. A goodly portion of the inhabitants were Quakers; these and some other religious sects, had conscientious objections to war. The settlers and backwoodsmen, who could render the most valuable service, were difficult to manage. Individuality was the leading characteristic of the backwoodsmen. Parkman who eulogizes them in the highest terms, emphasizing their many virtues, says "they were wilful, headstrong and quarrelsome, utterly intolerant of arbitrary control; discipline and obedience were repugnant to all their habits."<sup>4</sup> The number of desertions indicates and illustrates the commander's troubles. At Bedford he wrote "the Royal American regiment now numbers only 55 privates, 35 having lately deserted. Again, the ranks of the Pennsylvanians were reduced by desertion to 700 men.". On one page we read "More Pennsylvanians ran off with their arms and horses," on another "two deesrters, caught in the act, were executed."

Finally, the Assembly of Pennsylvania voted 300 men to act as home guards, and one thousand to join Bouquet. To these was added the few remaining veterans of Bushy Run, and 200 Virginians, well versed in Indian warfare, joined and were a most welcome addition.

On the third of October the column, consisting of about fifteen hundred men, left Fort Pitt, and entered upon its perilous way. During the march rigid discipline was maintained, by formation and order of march the utmost precautions were taken against surprise, and the strictest orders given as to what

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<sup>4</sup> Conspiracy of Pontiac. \* \* Further and stronger testimony of this character is to be found in Vol. I of Life of Chief Justice Marshall.

was to be done in case of attack. On the tenth they arrived at Muskingum without having had any serious interference. They were now in the heart of the enemies' country. Already at Fort Pitt a deputation from the Indians appeared but Bouquet had refused to receive them, and believing them to be spies, had kept some of them as hostages. Now other deputations arrived. From their defeat at Bushy Run, and from this large force now before them, the Indians were deeply impressed and showed themselves anxious for peace. In the negotiations which followed Bouquet pursued a course and displayed qualities, which shows him equally capable in diplomacy as in warfare. He showed the utmost firmness, was haughty and rigid in manner, positive and precise in his demands. During his service as Inspector he had acquired an intimate acquaintance with the Indian character. He knew that moderation and concessions were taken by them as evidence of weakness. The Indians, too, had learned the man; they knew his inflexibility, recognized his strength and his justice; they had felt his power at Bushy Run and saw it displayed before them in the troops of the expedition. A grand conference with the united tribes was agreed upon and soon took place on one of the tributaries of the Muskingum. It is not necessary to give in detail the proceedings of this meeting nor to reproduce the speeches of the chiefs and of Bouquet. These were the terms, laid down, compliance with which must precede any negotiations for a permanent peace:

1. Within twelve days all captives should be delivered up, of whatever nation or kind, English, French, women and children, even the negroes.

2. These should be provided with clothing and provisions, and horses should be furnished for their transportation to Fort Pitt.

3. Delegates should be sent from each tribe to a conference to be held by Sir William Johnson, where the conditions of peace would be considered.

The latter article was afterwards faithfully complied with. The history of the conference does not belong to this narrative; it is sufficient to record that by it permanent peace was estab-

lished, and the long and bloody contest for the possession of this region was closed.

In accordance with the demand, the Indians began immediately to bring in their prisoners. At different places the different tribes delivered them, to the number of 206. Of these 116 were Pennsylvanians: 32 males, 56 women and children; 90 were Virginians: 32 men 58 women and children. On the occasions of these deliveries there were outbursts of emotion rarely, if ever, equalled in the annals of history. Moving scenes were enacted which no pen can portray, every string of passion vibrated, gleaming hope, strained anxiety, bitter disappointment and deepest grief. The joyful rose to its heights, the pathetic sank to its depths.

"It is impossible for the pen to describe the touching scenes which occurred on the arrival of each new convoy; we renounce the attempt to describe these scenes in which were the cries of joy, the tears of happiness, the sobs of despair. Parents found again their children, husbands, their wives; brothers recognized their sisters and they fell into each others arms. In the midst of these delirious effusions were to be seen those who, trembling with anxiety, made inquiry for relatives from whom they had been long separated; and those who burst out in tears of despair, obliged to yield to incontestable proof of the sad fate of their much-loved ones."

Surpassing all others in anxiety and eagerness of search were, of course, mothers, looking for long-lost children. One instance of this kind is deeply affecting, and affords, at the same time, proof that not alone on the battle field and at the council fire, Bouquet deserves our admiration. An elderly woman sought for a daughter of whom, nine years before, she had been robbed. With fear in her heart that years before the dear girl had been tomahawked, she scanned face after face. Finally she found one whom she felt sure was her child. But she could get from her no response, no recognition. After many vain efforts had been made, Bouquet suggested that she sing to her some little song with which she had soothed her to sleep in her childhood. Here is the first verse of the little German song with its paraphrase in French:



Wie die Blümlein draussen zittern  
 In der Abendlüfte weh'n!  
 Und du willst mir's Herz verbittern  
 Und du willst schon wieder geh'n?  
 O bleib bei mir und geh' nicht fort,  
 Mein Herz ist ja dein Heimatort.

Aux champs vois-tu l'humble fleurette  
 Trembler a la brise du soir?  
 Voudrais-tu t'en aller seulette  
 Et m'abandonner sans espoir  
 Ne t'en va pas, reste avec moi!  
 Mon coeur c'est l'abri sûr pour toi.

"At first only a little curiosity seemed manifested by the girl; then her eyes indicated that she was seeking some long effaced memory, at the second verse this was intensified and she seemed awaking from sleep, at the third she responded to the intense and passionate voice of the singer, flung herself into the outstretched arms of the woman crying, 'Mother! Mother.'"

Hard is the heart and dull the nature of any one who can recall this scene without emotion. "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." In a note it is stated that "this account is taken from a romance: 'Regina Hartman,'" by Rev. Reuben Weiser. It is given briefly by Parkman and by Brady in "Indian Fights and Fighters," where a single verse is given as the song, and this bears not the slightest resemblance to the one above. Such is history!

"Alone, yet not alone am I  
 Tho' in this solitude so drear,  
 I feel my Saviour always nigh,  
 He comes my weary heart to cheer."

Among the captives delivered by the Indians there were a few who refused to return to civilization. In the early years of the decade, 1830-40, there was a little pamphlet in my father's scant library which I read, and re-read, with absorbing interest. It was a narrative of the capture by and captivity among the Indians, by *Mary Jemison*. As memory serves me, the scene opens in a little log cabin, somewhere to the north of Pittsburg, there was a sudden early morning attack by the Indians, the

killing of her brother, and the hurrying away of herself, her mother and father, into the northern forest. As night fell, the Indians, being closely pursued, got rid of their captives. The blessing and farewell of the mother, as she was led away into the bushes, well knowing her doom, was heart-rending. The next day, as the scalps were dressed and combed, Mary recognized her mother's by the hair.

Mary Jemison was one of the few who chose rather to remain with her captors than to return to civilization. She passed her life in the neighborhood of Genessee Falls, New York, was twice married to Indians, and had children by each husband.

The pamphlet was taken by dictation, as she had no education. It would be interesting to know if there is still in some library, a copy of this pamphlet in existence.

Bouquet received most gratifying official testimony of the recognition of and gratitude for, the services he had rendered. The Assembly of Pennsylvania sent him a long and flattering address, signed by Jas. Fox, Speaker, and the governor was directed to recommend him to the ministry for promotion. The Chamber of Deputies of Virginia passed a resolution thanking him "for his inestimable services in conquering the Indians and for delivering their captives."

It was a long cherished design of Bouquet to visit his native land, and he began preparation for the journey when he was surprised by the news of his promotion to be Brigadier General, and soon afterwards he was assigned to the command of the military department of the South. In entering his new field of duty he arrived at Pensacola in September where he soon after passed to the great beyond. The exact date of his death is not known. But sad it is to record that his last resting place is unknown. The gallant warrior sleeps in an unmarked grave. This is not because efforts have not been made to find where his remains were interred. Unfortunately the researches made have not been as successful as were those made to discover the tomb and remains of Paul Jones. The following letter bears witness that the government has made strenuous efforts to make this discovery:

WAR DEPARTMENT  
ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
WASHINGTON, March 21, 1883.

DEAR SIR: I have received from Gen. Hancock a response to my enquiries relative to the remains of Bouquet. He informs me that, on receipt of my letter, he communicated with several officers who have been on duty at Fort Barrancas, Florida, asking any information, or any supposition on the subject, or even if they could indicate any person who might furnish any information whatever. But all effort has only demonstrated that inquiry is absolutely without result.

The commanding officer at Fort Barrancas himself tried in Pensacola to obtain some information, even the slightest, as to Bouquet's remains having been interred there. He interrogated many gentlemen, old inhabitants, and found that not one of them had ever heard the name.

He investigated also the old cemetery, given by Spain to the Catholic Church in 1781, but in vain. Unfortunately the records of this cemetery, as well as those of the church have been destroyed. He is compelled to say with regret that it is impossible to obtain any information whatever at Pensacola as to the remains of Bouquet.

Sincerely yours,

R. C. DRUM,

To the Rev. Cort.

The little book thus closes its narrative:

"The generous voices that have pleaded for a recognition of the services of Henry Bouquet have been heard. A monument to the victor of Bushy Run has been erected, on the very theatre of the action, a few miles from Pittsburgh.

In Switzerland the name of the hero is scarcely known, and Rolle, his native town, has not yet erected even a simple column, to the memory of the most renowned of her children. We cherish the thought that it will not be much longer thus, that this generation will take means to perpetuate the memory of this brilliant commander, this generous conqueror, this man of heart and of action, this skillful negotiator of peace with the red skins, a man who allied so much audacious intrepidity with so much firmness and prudence."—*Revue historique vaudoise*.

DAYTON, OHIO.



## THE HAYES MEMORIAL

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FREMENT, OHIO.

The Memorial building, a beautiful structure of classic architecture built of gray Ohio sandstone, is located among the great trees north of the Hayes residence, facing Hayes Avenue. Broad steps lead up to the bronze doors of the pillared portico. On entering the great square hall, or atrium, flanked with eight massive columns, one passes under the flags of the countries which claimed ownership of this region from the discovery of America until the final surrender of this territory by Great Britain in 1796. They are:

The royal standard of Spain—1492-1670.

The royal standard of France—1670-1760.

The royal standard of Great Britain—1760-1796.

Displayed in groups of three on each of the four walls are the flags of the thirteen colonies and the state flags of Vermont, Kentucky and Ohio; Vermont and Kentucky being the States from which President Hayes' forefathers migrated to Ohio. The flag of the United States, with the stars in the blue field indicating the growth of the Union, is the center of each group. The shield beneath bears the inscription:

Constitution of the United States  
Adopted 17 September, 1787,

with the date of ratification of the Constitution or admission into the Union, and the war in which the flag was carried.

### FIRST GROUP.

1. Delaware—7 December, 1787. 2. Pennsylvania—13 December, 1787. Flag,—13 stars, 13 stripes. Adopted 14 June, 1777. Revolutionary War. 1776-1783.

## SECOND GROUP.

3. New Jersey—18 December, 1787. 4. Georgia—2 January, 1788. Flag—15 stars, 15 stripes. Adopted 1 May, 1795. Second War with Great Britain. 1812-1814.

## THIRD GROUP.

5. Connecticut—9 January, 1788. 6. Massachusetts—6 February, 1788. Flag—20 stars, 13 stripes. Adopted 4 July, 1818. A star for each new state.

## FOURTH GROUP.

7. Maryland—28 April, 1788. 8. South Carolina—23 May, 1788. Flag—29 stars, 13 stripes. War with Mexico. 1846-1848.

## FIFTH GROUP.

9. New Hampshire—21 June, 1788. 10. Virginia—26 June, 1788. Flag—34 stars, 13 stripes. War for the Union. 1861-1865.

## SIXTH GROUP.

11. New York—26 July, 1788. 12. North Carolina—21 November, 1789. West Virginia Admitted, 19 June, 1863. Flag—35 stars, 13 stripes. War for the Union. 1861-1865.

## SEVENTH GROUP.

13. Rhode Island—29 May, 1790. 14. Vermont Admitted—4 March, 1791. Flag—45 stars, 13 stripes. War with Spain, 1898-1899. Filipino Insurrection—1899-1900. Relief of Peking—1900-1901.

## EIGHTH GROUP.

States Admitted. 15. Kentucky—1 June, 1797. 17. Ohio—29 November, 1802. Flag—46 stars, 13 stripes. Great World War, 1917.

Over the door leading to the east library is the flag of the Governor of Ohio, as Rutherford B. Hayes served three terms in this office, 1868, 1870 and 1876. Inserted in the wall beneath is the headstone from the original grave of Mrs. Hayes with the inscription:

Lucy Webb Hayes, 1831-1889.

The flag of the President of the United States hangs above the door leading to the west library in honor of the 19th President,

1877-1881, and beneath this is the companion headstone from the grave of President Hayes, inscribed:

Rutherford B. Hayes, 1822-1893.

In the spring of 1915, the monument and the caskets were transferred from Oakwood Cemetery, Fremont, to their final resting place on the knoll in Spiegel Grove.

In the center of the great hall is a unique relic, the bronze hand steering gear from the deck of the U. S. N. *Maine*, sunk in Havana Harbor, February 15, 1898. It was recovered from the battleship when the *Maine* was raised prior to her burial at sea off Havana, Cuba, in 1915.

On the wall opposite the main entrance, one sees an oil portrait of Rutherford B. Hayes, representing him at seventy years of age, painted by Carl Rakemann. This may be contrasted with the portrait, seen through the door of the east library, of Rutherford B. Hayes at forty as Major General of Volunteers, and that in the west library at sixty while President of the United States.

All of the windows in the Memorial building have been utilized by placing in them transparencies of colored portraits or scenes of special local interest, painted and arranged by the artist, Carl Rakemann, of Washington, D. C.

Directly opposite the main entrance, in the windows to the south, are colored transparencies of the east front and west front of the National Capitol at Washington; the inauguration of President Hayes in 1877; the inauguration of President Garfield, President Hayes' successor, in 1881; the north front and the south front of the White House at Washington; the west front of the State House at Columbus, Ohio; and the northwest corner of the State House showing the Governor's office and the monument to "Ohio's Jewels." Between these windows is a grand father's clock purchased by Rutherford Hayes, father of President Hayes, on his marriage to Sophia Birchard in Vermont in 1812. When the family removed to Delaware, Ohio, in 1817, the clock, because of its length, would not permit the tailboard to be placed in position for the long journey across the Allegheny



Mountains. It was sold to relatives, by whom it was later brought to Ohio, and returned to the Hayes family as a bequest of Mrs. Linus Austin in 1915. On either side of the clock stand office roller chairs, one used during General Hayes' term as President of the United States, and the other used by him while Governor of Ohio. The librarian's desk is a Lincoln relic, a rosewood rolling-top desk purchased during the administration of President Lincoln and used in the Cabinet room of the White House through the subsequent administrations of Presidents Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison, and McKinley, and until the renovation of the White House during the administration of President Roosevelt, when it was sold for ten dollars and purchased by Webb C. Hayes, who as a youth used this desk and adjoining chair, even during Cabinet meetings, while serving as the personal secretary of his father from 1877 to 1881.

In the glass door leading from the Memorial building to the west are photographic transparencies of four of the Hayes homes of earlier generations: the home of Captain Ezekiel Hayes of the Revolutionary Army, at Stamford, Connecticut, built in 1756; the home of his son, Ensign Rutherford Hayes of the Revolutionary Army, at West Brattleboro, Vermont, built in 1780; the home of his son, Captain Rutherford Hayes of the War of 1812, at Dummerston, Vermont, and his later home after his migration to Delaware, Ohio, in 1817, where he built the first brick dwelling house in that village in 1820, and where his son, Rutherford Birchard Hayes, the future President, was born October 14, 1822, a few months after the death of his father.

Four transparencies in upper story windows represent the three Ohio homes of Rutherford B. Hayes after his marriage at Cincinnati, December 30, 1852. One is his town residence on Sixth Street, Cincinnati, which was his legal residence for twenty years after his marriage, although he was absent during the last ten of these years while serving in the Union Army, as a member of Congress for two terms, and as Governor of Ohio for two terms. Another photograph represents the old Justice Swayne house, now the site of the Public Library in Columbus, Ohio, where he lived for nearly three years during his three

terms as Governor of Ohio. The home in Spiegel Grove is shown in two transparencies, one representing the original house built for him by his uncle in 1859, but only occupied by him for three years just before leaving for Washington after his election as President in 1876. The last one represents the residence as it was at the time of his death showing numerous large additions which had been made to the original house.

A window on the upper floor shows in photographic transparencies the Norwalk Academy at which Rutherford B. Hayes was a pupil in 1836; Isaac Webb's School at Middletown, Connecticut, where he prepared for college in 1837; Kenyon College, from which he was graduated in 1842; and the Dane Law School of Harvard University from which he was graduated as a Bachelor of Law in 1845. Lucy Ware Webb was one of the early graduates of schools for girls. She was a student with her brothers at the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware during her brother's term of four years, and while a student met for the first time her future husband, then on a visit to his old home in Delaware. Her later school is shown in a transparency of the Wesleyan Female College on Vine Street, Cincinnati, from which she was graduated in 1850.

#### THE EAST LIBRARY.

The East Library presents a military display in its cases. Directly opposite the entrance are the three-quarter-length portraits of Lucy Webb Hayes, and Rutherford B. Hayes in the uniform of a Major-General of Volunteers, painted in 1862 by E. F. Andrews.

Beneath the pictures stands a marble-topped table which was purchased for the White House during the administration of President Lincoln and used in the Cabinet Room during the subsequent administrations of Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison, and McKinley, and until the renovation of the White House during the administration of President Roosevelt. A photograph of the color guard, with regimental colors, of the 23rd Ohio Infantry, with the inscription, "Respectfully presented to Colonel R. B. Hayes by the Color Guard," is here, as well as an exact facsimile of the desk of Thomas

Jefferson, on which he wrote the Declaration of Independence. The original was presented to the United States by his heir, Joseph Coolidge, Jr., April 22, 1880.

Other furniture in the room includes the chairs used by President-elect Hayes and Sergeant-at-Arms French of the U. S. Senate, during the inauguration of President Hayes on the east front of the Capitol, March 5, 1877; and a mahogany table from Belgium, secured by Colonel and Mrs. Webb C. Hayes at Rotterdam in the early days of the World War.

In their photographic transparencies the windows show the military record of Sandusky County in each of the wars since the Declaration of Independence. In the north window, which was dedicated by the Eugene Rawson Post, G. A. R., are the portraits of Captain Samuel Thompson, a veteran of the Second War with Great Britain and organizer and captain of a company from Lower Sandusky for the War with Mexico in 1846-48; Major George Croghan, Defender of Fort Stephenson, August 1st and 2nd, 1813; and James Webb, father of Lucy Webb Hayes, at the age of eighteen while serving in the Second War with Great Britain at the Siege of Fort Meigs, July, 1813. In the south window are the portraits of Major General James B. McPherson, of Clyde, the officer highest in rank and command killed in battle during the War for the Union, 1861-1865; Lieut. Colonel John C. Fremont, "The Pathfinder through the Rockies," after whom the town was named; and George B. Meek, of Clyde, fireman first class, U. S. Torpedo Boat "Winslow", the first American killed in the War with Spain, 1898-9. Above are shown the Filipino pony, "Piddig," ridden by Colonel Webb C. Hayes at the relief of Vigan, Northern Luzon, P. I., when he won his Congressional medal of honor; and his horse, "Trooper," which he rode in the relief of Peking.

## CONTENTS OF CASES.

### CASE NO. I.

1. President Hayes's collection of medals commemorating historic events. 2. Military medals of Major General George Crook, U. S. A., bequeathed by him to Webb C. Hayes.—Diamond Badge, Society of the Army of West Virginia. Military Order Loyal Legion



of the United States. 3. Military campaign medals of Lieutenant-Colonel Webb C. Hayes.—Society of the Army of Santiago de Cuba, 1898. Society of the Porto Rican Expedition, 1898. Military Order of the Carabao, Expedition to the Philippines, 1889. Military Order Moro Wars, 1899. Military Order of the Dragon, China Relief Expedition, 1900. 4. Photographs and autograph letter of Lt.-Colonel George Croghan, 1841. 5. Three British Cannon balls picked up on the site of Fort Stephenson. 6. Mexican hand grenade captured at the City of Mexico, by a private of General Scott's army in 1847. 7. Original document and typewritten copy of the diary of Joseph Henry, of St. Clairsville, Belmont County, Ohio, beginning at Franklinton, September 19, 1813. 8. Souvenirs received by President and Mrs. Hayes during their trip to the Pacific coast in 1880. President Hayes was the first president to visit the Pacific coast while in office.

## CASE NO. 2.

1. Field Officer's coat worn by Lieutenant-Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes commanding the 23rd Ohio Infantry, when severely wounded at the Battle of South Mountain in the Antietam Campaign, 14 September, 1862. 2. General Officer's coat, worn by Brigadier General Rutherford B. Hayes, Brevet Major General, United States Volunteers, in the War for the Union. 3. Cap and sword belt worn by Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes, 23rd Ohio. 4. Brigadier General shoulder straps, cut from his own coat by General George Crook, commanding the Army of West Virginia, and presented to Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes after the Battle of Cedar Creek, 19 October, 1864, on his promotion on the field on the recommendation of General Crook and General Sheridan, and worn during the remainder of the war. 5. Gauntlets worn by General Hayes in the War for the Union. 6. Portraits of the relatives of General and Mrs. Hayes who served in the War for the Union. 7. Portrait of Brigadier General Rutherford B. Hayes, Brevet Major General, and Staff, 1864-1865. 8. Slippers knit by Mrs. Ida Saxton McKinley, wife of Governor McKinley of Ohio, and sent to President Hayes on hearing of his serious illness. Worn as bed slippers by him until his death, 17 January, 1893. 9. Painting of the Battlefield of South Mountain, 14 September, 1863.

## CASE NO. 3.

1. Regimental flag of the 23rd Ohio Infantry, presented by Lucy Webb Hayes to the regiment when it veteranized after three years service in 1864, and Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes was promoted to Brigadier General and left the regiment. It was returned to Mrs. Hayes when the regiment was mustered out in Cleveland in June, 1865. 2. Brigade Headquarters flag of Brigadier General H. F.

Devol, successor of Brigadier General Rutherford B. Hayes in command of the 1st Brigade, Kanawha Division, draped in mourning on receipt of the news of the assassination of President Lincoln, April 14, 1865. 3. Brigade Headquarters flag of Brigadier General Rutherford B. Hayes during the War for the Union, 1st Brigade, Kanawha Division. 4. Division Headquarters flag of Brevet Major General Rutherford B. Hayes commanding Kanawha Division, 1864-1865.

## CASE NO. 4.

1. Cap worn by Peter Day, of Nixon's Troop of Light Horse, Middlesex County, N. J. Killed at Stony Brook, N. J., 3 January, 1777. 2. Officer's Helmet, worn by Captain David Dye, an officer in the Revolutionary War. 3. Cap worn by a Hessian soldier, who was captured at the Battle of Trenton, 26 December, 1776. 4. Martha Washington Costume, worn by Fanny Hayes, aged 10, and First Sergeant's uniform worn by Scott Hayes, aged 7, at a children's fancy dress ball at the White House.

## CASE NO. 5.

## REVOLUTIONARY RELICS.

Presented to Webb C. Hayes by Miss Sarah Smith Stafford.

1. Cannon ball dug up on the battlefield of Trenton, N. J., December 26, 1776. 2. Flint-lock pistol used in the Revolutionary War. 3. Engraving of the flag of the "Bon Homme Richard", the first American Flag, presented by the Continental Congress to John Paul Jones. Lieutenant James Bayard Stafford, of the "Bon Homme Richard", was severely wounded while nailing it to the mast of the "Bon Homme Richard" after it had been shot away from the forepeak during her combat with the British frigate "Serapis", 23 September, 1779, and the flag was later formally presented to him by Congress in recognition of his bravery. It was bequeathed to his only daughter, Miss Sarah Smith Stafford, and after her death was presented, through President McKinley, to the National Museum in Washington. 4. Ruler used by George Washington when in Bristol, Pennsylvania. 5. Flint-lock pistol, made by P. Bond, Cornhill, London; dug out of Assumpink Creek, near the Battlefield of Trenton, N. J., 26 December, 1776. 6. Sailor's thimble, used on the "Bon Homme Richard" and "Alliance" during the Revolutionary War, and attached to the First American Flag, which was presented by Congress to Lieut. James Bayard Stafford after the victory over the "Serapis". 7. Stirrups used by Jonathan Smith, a "Minute-Man" of Morse's Company, Col. Samuel Bullard's regiment of Massachusetts militia, who was killed at the Battle

of Lexington, 19 April, 1775. 8. Spur worn by Jonathan Smith, a Minute-Man killed in the Battle of Lexington. 9. Bayonet found on the Battlefield of Trenton, N. J., 26 December, 1776. 10. Canteen, used in the Revolutionary War, 1776. 11. Piece of the stern-post of Commodore Perry's flagship "Lawrence" at the Battle of Lake Erie, September 10, 1813. 12. Wood from the hull of the U. S. frigate "Alliance" of the Revolutionary navy. 13. Oak from British frigate "Hussar", commanded by Sir Charles Asgilt, with 960,000 pounds sterling to pay British troops in America, it was lost in passing Hell Gate, 25 November, 1780. 14. Piece of one of the oak timbers of "Old Indian House," Deerfield, Mass., to which the inhabitants fled when attacked by Indians, and which was captured when the town was burned by Indians, 20 February, 1704.

## CASE NO. 6.

1. Full Dress Uniform of the First Cleveland Troop (Troop A, Ohio National Guard), worn by Webb C. Hayes while the personal escort of the inauguration of President Garfield, 4 March, 1881, and of President McKinley, 4 March, 1897, and 1901, and at their funerals at Cleveland and Canton. Also worn at the funeral obsequies of President Hayes at Spiegel Grove, Fremont, Ohio, in 1893, and while serving as the personal escort of President Cleveland at Chicago in 1887, and of President Harrison at New York in 1889.

## CASE NO. 7.

1. Full Dress Uniform of Major of Cavalry, worn by Major Webb C. Hayes while special aide at the second inauguration of President McKinley, 4 March, 1901, and as officer in charge of the personal escort, Troop A of Ohio, Captain F. E. Bunts, commanding, at the funeral obsequies of President McKinley, and as escort to his successor, President Roosevelt, at Canton, Ohio, September, 1901.

## CASE NO. 8.

## COLLECTION OF AUTOGRAPH LETTERS OF EMINENT AMERICANS.

1. Patrick Henry, Henry Clay, J. C. Calhoun, Alexander Hamilton, Daniel Webster, Salmon P. Chase, Andrew Johnson, William H. Seward, John Hay, Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, James G. Blaine, Henry W. Longfellow, William Cullen Bryant, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Walt Whitman, Robert G. Ingersoll, Frances Willard, James Russell Lowell, Ole Bull, David Garrick, W. T. Sherman, George Crook. 2. Manuscript copy of "The Life of Rutherford B. Hayes", by Charles Richard Williams. 3. Original manuscript of the Larwill Lectures on the Administration of President Rutherford B. Hayes, by John W. Burgess at Kenyon College, 1915. 4.



Pencil belonging to General Robert E. Lee, which was used by General Grant and General Lee in drawing up the rough draft of the surrender at Appomattox C. H. **5.** Sketch of the McLean House at Appomattox C. H., done by E. H. Bailey at the time of the conference there between General Grant and General Lee, showing General Merritt, Colonel Forsyth, Captain Brown, and Major Bailey on the piazza, and the orderlies with General Sheridan's battle flag, General Grant's horse, and General Lee's horse. **6.** Souvenirs of Jefferson Davis taken from the Capitol at Richmond by William H. Crook, executive clerk to President Lincoln: 1. Piece of Cloth cut from chair, 2. From his desk, 3. His fire screen, 4. The door leading into his office.

CASE NO. 9.

SOUVENIRS OF THE PRESIDENTS.

**1.** Discharge from the American Army, signed by George Washington, June 10, 1783. **2.** Portrait of George Washington, published October 1, 1795. **3.** Autograph letter of George Washington, December 22, 1774. **4.** Money of the Revolution.—Bill of Three-pence, issued by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, March 10, 1769. Two dollars, Continental Currency, The United Colonies, May 9, 1776. Two hundred dollars, Virginia, October 16, 1780. Seven dollars, Continental Currency of the United States, September 26, 1778. Nine pence, Pennsylvania, 1772. Twelve shillings, New Jersey, April, 1783. Fifty dollars, United States, January 14, 1779. One-third of a dollar—Four shillings and sixpence—Maryland, August 14, 1776. **5.** Mountain Road Lottery tickets, signed by George Washington, 1768. **6.** Gold ring with hairs from the head of Washington, given by him to Mrs. Alexander Hamilton who gave them to her son, James A. Hamilton. The latter presented them to John Hay, First Assistant Secretary of State, who gave them to President Hayes. **7.** Piece cut from a dress of Lady Washington, given by Col. J. W. Ware of Berryville, Virginia, to his cousin, Mrs. Lucy Ware Webb Hayes, 1880. **8.** Bricks from the house where George Washington was born. **9.** Copy of the last will and testament of George Washington. **10.** Washington Medals. **11.** Invitation to the dedication of the Washington Monument, Washington, D. C., to President Hayes by John Sherman, Chairman of the Commission. **12.** Photograph of the dress of Martha Washington, now exhibited in the National Museum, Washington, D. C. **13.** Photographs of the east and west fronts of Mount Vernon, the carriage house and stable, and the old tomb of Washington. **14.** Steel engravings of George Washington, President. **15.** Grant of military land in Ohio, to Lt. Isaac Webb of the Virginia

Line, grandfather of Lucy Webb Hayes, signed by President Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, his Secretary of State, December 21, 1802. **16.** Dog wood berries and leaves cut from tree near Jefferson's grave in the cemetery at Monticello, Charlottesville, Va., September 25, 1877. **17.** Piece of the sash from the top window in the dancing hall in Thomas Jefferson's home at Monticello, Virginia. **18.** Military Order signed by Thomas Jefferson, February 3, 1781. **19.** Medal presented to Indian chief in President Jefferson's time. **20.** Letter addressed by Benedict Arnold to Colonel Pickering, Quartermaster General at Philadelphia. **21.** Miniature of Dolly Madison. **22.** Autograph letter of James Monroe, October 7, 1819. **23.** Pictures of the tomb of General Jackson, the first house at The Hermitage, and his home there. **24.** Paper bill for five cents, Monrovia, July 4, 1834. **25.** Facsimile of President Lincoln's letter to Mrs. Bixby, November 21, 1864. **26.** Portrait of President Lincoln and his son Tad. **27.** Piece of the coat worn by President Lincoln when he was assassinated by J. Wilkes Booth, April 14, 1865. **28.** Slippers worn by President Lincoln up to the date of his death. **29.** Lincoln and Hamlin Medal Campaign of 1860, probably lost by a soldier in Camp Morrow, Portsmouth, Ohio, 1861, found in preparing the camp for the reunion of the Army of West Virginia, September, 1865. **30.** Seal used by President Lincoln. **31.** Old lithograph of the funeral procession of President Lincoln at the State House at Columbus, Ohio. **32.** Bronze cast of the hand of Abraham Lincoln moulded in clay by L. W. Volk at Springfield, Illinois, 1860. **33.** Paper cutter and book "The Last Man of the Revolution," presented by President Lincoln to his executive clerk, William H. Crook, in 1865, and by him to Webb C. Hayes. **34.** Alleged spiritualistic communication from Abraham Lincoln to Andrew Johnson. A letter from a minister named A. Lincoln imitating the handwriting of President Lincoln. Telegram from Abraham Lincoln suspending sentence of death in case of R. D. Wheeler, Sergt., 6th Missouri Volunteers, 5 December, 1864; also telegram from Abraham Lincoln to Commanding Officer Norfolk suspending execution of William H. Jesse, Co. B, 56th Mass. Volunteers, until further orders. Indorsement of Abraham Lincoln, dated January 7, 1863, on application of Rev. Mr. Elmore for Chaplain. Indorsement of Abraham Lincoln, October 17, 1864, on letter of Thaddeus Stevens, recommending appointment of a hospital chaplain. **35.** Life member certificate of General U. S. Grant in Association of Maryland Veterans, Mexican War. **36.** Souvenirs of the Administration of President Hayes. **37.** Daily calendar used by President Garfield on the Cabinet table up to the date of his assassination, 2 July, 1881. **38.** The north and east fronts of the White House draped in mourning after the death

of President Garfield. **38.** Wedding cake of President Grover Cleveland and Frances Folsom, June 2, 1886. **39.** Photograph of President Benjamin Harrison and his wife, and ticket to the Republican Convention at Minneapolis, June 7, 1892, when he was renominated but defeated in the election. **40.** Letter from Mrs. Ida S. McKinley, with slippers knitted by her for Dalton, son of Fanny Hayes Smith. **41.** Inaugural tickets, sashes, and program of events during the administration of William McKinley, and at the dedication of the McKinley Memorial at Canton. **42.** Autograph list of guests on the visit of William H. Taft and party to Spiegel Grove, September 7, 1908. **43.** Sash used by Webb C. Hayes II, Midshipman United States Naval Academy, while riding Black Yauco in the inaugural parade of President William H. Taft, 4 March, 1909. **44.** Letters with autograph signatures of President Woodrow Wilson, Secretary of State Robert Lansing, and Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, addressed to Colonel Webb C. Hayes, relating to the dedication of the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum at Spiegel Grove, May 30, 1916. **45.** Sustaining Membership certificate of Colonel Webb C. Hayes to the Charles E. Hughes Republican National Committee, and police permit and Inaugural Program of the Second Inauguration of President Wilson.

#### THE WEST LIBRARY.

The West Library is devoted to the more personal souvenirs. Here are copies of the famous Huntington portraits of the President and Mrs. Hayes, painted for the White House by Daniel Huntington. These were copied by Carl Rakemann by permission of President Wilson. A companion table to the one in the East Library is here and the chairs are those used by President Grant and Chief Justice Waite during the inauguration of President Hayes.

The north window was dedicated by the Croghan Lodge, I. O. O. F., of which President Hayes was an honored member. The colored transparencies are portraits of Brevet Major General Hayes; Sardis Birchard, the uncle and guardian of President Hayes, a pioneer merchant, banker, and philanthropist of Lower Sandusky (Fremont), and the builder of the residence at Spiegel Grove; Brevet Major General Ralph P. Buckland, soldier, congressman, and pioneer lawyer, who was the law partner of General Hayes from his admission to the bar in 1845 until he removed to Cincinnati in 1849. Biographical sketches add to the interest



of these portraits. Smaller transparencies show the funeral of Rutherford B. Hayes with all honors of the nation on his death at Spiegel Grove January 17, 1893; "Old Whitey", the only surviving war horse General Hayes brought home from the War for the Union, now buried at Spiegel Grove; and "Black Yauco", Colonel Webb C. Hayes's war horse, a veteran of the campaigns of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. This horse has since been ridden only by Colonel Hayes at the second inauguration and at the funeral obsequies of President McKinley in 1901, and by his nephew Midshipman Webb Hayes at the inauguration of President Taft in 1909.

The south window shows portraits of Major General William Henry Harrison, Commander of the Northwestern Army during the Second War with Great Britain, 1812-1814; and Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, Commander of the American Squadron at the battle of Lake Erie, September 10, 1813.

## CASE NO. I.

1. English Dictionary by Nathan Bailey, between 1726 and 1742, owned by Austin Birchard as an inheritance from his ancestors of several generations back, and presented by him to Rutherford B. Hayes, July 14, 1871. 2. Bible of Sardis Birchard, 1815, showing family record. 3. Seal of "S. Birchard, Fremont." 4. Diary of Sardis Birchard, 1842-1843. 5. Ring worn by Sardis Birchard for fifty years, and bequeathed by him to his nephew, Rutherford B. Hayes, who wore it from 1874 to 1887. 6. Sardis Birchard's watch, used by him for nearly fifty years until his death, January 21, 1874. 7. Daguerreotype of Sardis Birchard, uncle of Rutherford B. Hayes. 8. Family Bible of Sardis Birchard. 9. Old papers and documents, preserved by Sardis Birchard. 10. Spectacles used by Sardis Birchard. 11. "The New York Expository," 1822, given by Sardis Birchard to Rutherford B. Hayes, 1874. 12. Steamship ticket, and Danish passport of Sardis Birchard to the Barbados, December, 1842. 13. Silver mugs, napkin rings, and spoons used by the children of Rutherford B. Hayes.

## CASE NO. 2.

1. Wedding Gown, worn by Lucy Ware Webb, at her marriage to Rutherford B. Hayes, at Cincinnati. 2. Child's apron, bought for Lucy Ware Webb by her father, Dr. James Webb, just before his death in 1833, when she was but twenty-two months old.

## CASE NO. 3.

1. Reception gown and wrap, worn by Lucy Webb Hayes at the White House.

## CASE NO. 4.

1. Testament and Hymnal of Rutherford B. Hayes. 2. Reproduction of a deed to land in Branford, Connecticut, drawn by Ezekiel Hayes, great-grandfather of Rutherford B. Hayes, January 30, 1795. 3. Cinders from blacksmith shop of Ezekiel Hayes, 1770. 4. A silver dollar, 1787, owned by Ezekiel Hayes, grandfather of Rutherford B. Hayes. 5. The Old Hayes Homestead, West Brattleboro, Vermont, 1884, "Owned and occupied by Rutherford Hayes and his descendants since the first settlement of the town a hundred years and more ago." 6. Pruning knife carried by Rutherford B. Hayes from 1881 until his death in 1892. 7. Stock certificate of Rutherford Hayes, father of Rutherford B. Hayes, November 29, 1803. 8. Medallions of Rutherford B. Hayes. 9. Pen used by President Hayes in signing the first bill passed by the 45th Congress, and approved by him November 21, 1877. 10. "The President's Words," Abraham Lincoln. The only book carried by Rutherford B. Hayes in his canvass for Governor in 1867. 11. Decoration of the International Topographical Society of Paris, presented to the President by the Society through Commander Nevarron. 12. Early law papers of Rutherford B. Hayes. 13. Drawings made by Fanny Hayes Platt, sister of Rutherford B. Hayes. 14. Daguerreotype of Fanny Arabella Hayes Platt, sister of Rutherford B. Hayes. 15. Skates worn by Lorenzo Hayes when drowned in the mill pond at Delaware, Ohio, January 20, 1825.

## CASE NO. 5.

1. Gown worn by Lucy Webb Hayes while at the White House. 2. Dress worn by Lucy Webb Hayes for the portrait painted by Daniel Huntington for presentation to the White House in 1881 by the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

## CASE NO. 6.

1. Gowns worn by Lucy Webb Hayes while at the White House.

## CASE NO. 7.

ARTICLES OF WEARING APPAREL AND PIECES OF JEWELRY WHICH BELONGED TO LUCY WEBB HAYES.

1. Cane of Dr. James Webb, father of Lucy Webb Hayes, who died of cholera in 1833 at Lexington, Kentucky. 2. Badge, "Pre-

sented by Department of Ohio, Woman's Relief Corps, to Lucy Webb Hayes, in loving recognition of her distinguished services on behalf of the Union Veteran and his children, April 18, 1888." 3. Badge, presented to Lucy Webb Hayes, Honorary Member of the Society of the Army of West Virginia. 4. Brooches and pendants worn by Lucy Webb Hayes. 5. Charm presented to Lucy Webb Hayes by a Turk who recognized her in the crowd at the depot on her arrival in Milwaukee, September 12, 1878. 6. A ring, found in the streets of Cincinnati. 7. Instrument belonging to Dr. James Webb, father of Lucy Webb Hayes, in 1830. 8. Fans and parasol carried by Lucy Webb Hayes. 9. Lace point and Paisley shawls worn by Lucy Webb Hayes. 10. Chinese sandalwood fan, presented to Mrs. Hayes. 11. Gloves sent by an aunt in Vienna to Fanny Hayes Smith when a baby. 12. Gloves worn by Lucy Webb Hayes at the ball in honor of the centennial celebration of the inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States in New York City, April, 1889. Her last ball. 13. Souvenir plate and photograph of Elliott Hall, Ohio Wesleyan University, which Lucy Webb Hayes attended. 14. Comb worn University, which Lucy Webb Hayes attended. 14. Comb worn by 1877. 16. Photograph of Lucy Webb Hayes. 17. Evening slippers worn by Lucy Webb Hayes. 18. Comb, slippers, and stockings, worn by Lucy Ware Webb at her wedding, December 30, 1852. 19. Old-fashioned embroidery, worked by Lucy Ware Webb when a child. 20. Cape given to Lucy Ware Webb on graduating from Wesleyan Female Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1851. 21. Samplers, made in 1812 and 1816, by Maria Cook Webb, mother of Lucy Webb. 22. Reticule, carried by Maria Cook on her marriage to Dr. James Webb. 3. Jewel box bequeathed to Lucy Webb Hayes by a relative who had received it in 1817 from her cousin, James Webb, father of Lucy Webb Hayes.

## CASE NO. 8.

1. Diplomas awarded to Rutherford B. Hayes from Harvard, Kenyon, and Yale. 2. Diplomas and graduation essay,—"The Influence of Christianity on National Prosperity",—of Lucy Webb Hayes on her graduation from the Wesleyan Female College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 3. Commissions of Rutherford B. Hayes as Major, Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel, Brigadier General and Major General. 4. Commissions of Rutherford B. Hayes as City Solicitor of Cincinnati, Member of Congress, Governor of Ohio, for three terms, and Assistant Treasurer of the United States. 5. Official count of the electoral votes during the disputed election of 1877,—For President, Rutherford B. Hayes, 185; Samuel J. Tilden, 184. For Vice-President, William A. Wheeler, 185; Thomas A. Hendricks, 184.



## THE CENTRAL MUSEUM.

The Museum on the lower floor of the Memorial building is an exact counterpart of the atrium and the east and west library rooms above. The central museum contains a specimen brass bronze field piece captured in each of the wars in which the United States has been engaged since the Declaration of Independence.

1776. A bronze cannon with the British coat of arms, and the royal ciphers of King George and King Louis, probably showing it was a royal gift from the King of France to the King of England.

Inscribed by the direction of General Benedict Arnold:

“Taken  
at the  
storm  
of the  
British lines  
near Saratoga  
October 7, 1777  
by  
\_\_\_\_\_”

with the name of Benedict Arnold erased as it was from all trophies by direction of the Continental Congress after his treachery.

The manufacturer's mark below is: “R. Gilpin — Fecit 1761.”

1812. A bronze coehorn mortar with the British coat of arms and King George's royal cipher, captured during the Second War with Great Britain, 1812-1814.

1846. A bronze cannon with the inscription “San Juan”, captured in the war with Mexico, 1846-1848. This was one of the four bronze guns known as the Apostles' Battery or The Four Apostles, presented by the King and Queen of Spain to Cortez and used in the conquest of Mexico, in the war for the Independence of Texas, and the War with Mexico. Of the remaining three guns, St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, one is on exhibition at West Point, and the others in front of the War Department at Washington.

1861. A brass six-pound gun, inscribed "Louisiana," captured during the war for the Union, 1861-1865.

1898. A single-barrelled bronze Spanish lantaka, and a double-barrelled bronze Spanish lantaka, presumably taken by Magellan to the Philippine Islands after his discovery of the Straits of Magellan, and later captured by the savage Moros of Mindanao, and presented to Lieut. Colonel Webb C. Hayes, 31st U. S. Infantry, commanding the first American troops at Reina Regenta, Mindanao, during the winter of 1899-1900.

1900. A bronze Chinese cannon, with numerous Manchu hieroglyphics, used in the Manchu conquest of China in 1645. One of many guns used by the Boxers in their attacks on the Foreign Legations in the summer of 1900, and also used against the Relief Column composed of 2,000 Americans, 2,000 British, 4,000 Russians and 8,000 Japanese, which on August 14, 1900, captured the Tartar city of Peking. One of three guns brought home by Lieut. Colonel Webb C. Hayes, of Major General Chaffee's staff. Of the other two, one was presented to the Museum of the West Point Military Academy, and one to the Western Reserve Historical Society of Cleveland, of which he was a trustee.

Metallic case for fixed ammunition for French field-pieces used by the Mexican bandit, Villa, in his raids on the Mexican border in 1916. The ammunition was cached near Colonia Dublan, Mexico, the headquarters of Major General Pershing's Mexican Expeditionary Force, and was discovered and presented to Colonel Hayes during his visit to his former comrade in Cuba and Mindanao, Major General Pershing.

1. In a recessed case are shown the Hayes family cradle; the Wheeler and Wilson sewing machine and lapboard used by Lucy Webb Hayes in preparing the necessary clothing for four small boys to use during the winters of 1862-63 and 1863-64, — which were spent in the Virginia camps of Rutherford B. Hayes; a spinning wheel of an older generation; the leather trunks purchased by Rutherford B. Hayes in Boston on his graduation from the Harvard Law School and brought to Lower Sandusky on his admission to the bar in 1845.

## CASE NO. 2.

GUNS AND SWORDS CAPTURED DURING THE CAMPAIGNS OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA AND PUERTO RICO IN THE WAR WITH SPAIN, AND DURING THE INSURRECTION IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, AND IN THE EXPEDITION FOR THE RELIEF OF PEKING, BY WEBB C. HAYES, LATE MAJOR 1ST OHIO CAVALRY, AND LATE LIEUT.-COLONEL 31ST U. S. VOLUNTEER INFANTRY.

1. Spanish Mauser carbine, boot, and cartridges; Cuban machete and scabbard, captured at the surrender of Santiago de Cuba, 17 July, 1898. 2. Spanish Mauser rifle with gun-sling and cartridges; Spanish machete with scabbard, captured at the surrender of Yauco, Puerto Rico, 26 July, 1898. 3. Spanish Remington rifle with bayonet, cartridge-belt, and cartridges; Spanish officer's sword, a Toledo blade made in Spain, with scabbard, captured in the relief of Vigan, P. I., 4 December, 1899. The muzzle of the rifle was perforated by a Krag bullet. 4. Chinese Gingal (operated by three Chinamen), with cartridges, and Chinese sword and scabbard captured in the Relief of the Legations at Peking, China, 14 August, 1900.

## CASE NO. 3.

CHINESE GUNS, PISTOLS AND SWORDS CAPTURED IN THE RELIEF OF PEKING BY LIEUT.-COLONEL WEBB C. HAYES, OF GENERAL CHAFFEE'S STAFF.

1. Chinese hunting rifle with percussion cap and pistol grip. 2. Chinese Remington carbine. 3. Chinese short rifle with percussion cap. 4. Chinese rifle with percussion cap and pistol grip. 5. Chinese sword and scabbard captured at the Imperial summer palace near Peking by the Russians and presented to Lieut.-Col. W. C. Hayes, General Chaffee's staff. 6. Chinese double swords in single scabbard captured by Lieut. Colonel Hayes on American Cavalry expedition sent out from Peking to the relief of Chinese Christians, so-called. 7. Chinese disembowelling sword captured in the fight near Tien-Tsin with the Sixth U. S. Cavalry, Col. D. J. Wint commanding.

4. The family barouche, purchased by President Hayes, and used as the President's carriage during the administration of President Hayes, and by President Garfield during the four months prior to his assassination. All of the presidents from Grant to McKinley, as well as our leading generals, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Hancock, Schofield, Miles, and Crook, have occupied it while guests of President Hayes.

5. A miniature three-story doll house, which was on exhibition at a benevolent fair in Baltimore, and presented to Fanny Hayes, aged 10, and used by her in the White House.



6. A collection of Moro war-spears, javelins, quiver of poisoned arrows, two-handed sword, fish clubs, a beheading spear, pike, three brass helmets and brass armor, from the savage Moros of Mindanao by Lt. Colonel Webb C. Hayes, 31st U. S. Vol. Inf., in 1899-1900. The brass helmets and armor were supposed to have been brought to the Island of Mindanao by the explorer Magellan after his discovery of the Straits of Magellan on his way to the Philippine Islands, where he died on the Island of Mactan, 1521.

7. Piece of ship timber, one of two used to support the pulpit in the Pohick Church near Mt. Vernon in which George Washington worshiped. About 5 feet have been cut off from the base.

8. A Chinese stink-pot, used by the early Chinese for throwing explosives filled with noxious gases into Chinese junks or ports. The first use of the poisonous gases as a weapon of war, now so extensively used in the great European War. Ball from the top of the flag-pole of the old War Department building, in which Edwin M. Stanton, as Secretary of War, performed his great service during the War for the Union. The old War Department building was torn down, with other buildings, to give place to the present State, War, and Navy building. Bronze cogs and upright stand recovered from the battleship "Maine," which was sunk in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, February 15, 1898. Revolving office chair made of the horns of Texas cattle, presented to President Hayes. Spanish swivel boat-gun used by the Filipino insurrectos in their attack on the American garrison at Vigan, P. I., December 4, 1899.

The transparencies in the windows of the Museum portray the landing of Christopher Columbus on the discovery of America in 1492; a portrait of Americus Vesputius, after whom the western continent was named; and portraits of five each of the famous characters of the Indians, the Spaniards, the French, and the British, who had to do with this part of America. Beginning in the East Museum, there are the portraits of five Indian chieftains, Nicolas, a Huron who permitted the erection of the first fort, Old Fort Sandoski; Tecumseh, a Shawnee leader who fought against General Harrison; Little Turtle, a Miami, the organizer of the largest force of Indians ever gathered against the whites; Pontiac, an Ottawa, who led the conspiracy to capture Fort Sandusky and other British forts in 1763; and Tarhe, a Wyandot supporter of the Americans in the War of 1812.

The Spanish representatives are Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific Ocean; Ponce de Leon, the discoverer of Florida;

De Soto, the discoverer of the Mississippi; Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico; and De Ulloa, the governor of Louisiana.

Cadillac, the founder of Detroit, is the first of the French pioneers, then Marquette, explorer of the Mississippi; La Salle, discoverer of the Ohio river and the Illinois country; De Celoron, the explorer of the Ohio country who buried leaden plates claiming the whole territory for France; and De Lery, explorer and surveyor of the Ohio country.

The British leaders are General John Bradstreet, Pontiac's opponent, who encamped on the present site of Fremont; General Sir Isaac Brock, who captured Detroit, 1812; Commodore Robert H. Barclay, commander of the British fleet at the Battle of Lake Erie, September 10, 1813; General Henry A. Proctor, commander of the British and Indian forces at the River Raisin, Fort Meigs, and Fort Stephenson, 1813; and Brevet Lieut. Colonel William C. Shortt, killed in the assault on Fort Stephenson.

#### THE EAST MUSEUM.

The East Museum is reserved for President Hayes's war relics and war photographs and numerous curios presented to him during his administration. These curios include:

Elk-horn chair made by Seth Kinman, California hunter and trapper, and presented to Governor Hayes during the presidential campaign of 1876. Two Filipino chairs made in Bilibid Prison, Manila, P. I., and purchased by Lt. Colonel Webb C. Hayes, 31st U. S. Vol. Inf., during the insurrection in the Philippines. Celestial and terrestrial globes presented to the President and Mrs. Hayes, September 30, 1878. Regimental photographs, reunion photographs, and political banners carried by members of the 23rd Ohio Infantry during the presidential campaign of their former Colonel, Rutherford B. Hayes.

#### CASE NO. I.

1. Beaded Indian saddle cloth. 2. Indian bread bag. 3. Indian envelope. 4. Indian tobacco bag presented to Brig. General Eliakim P. Scammon, formerly (2d) Colonel 23rd O. V. I., while serving on the plains soon after his graduation from the West Point Military Academy in 1837. 5. Indian dolls. 6. Indian meal bag. 7. Ornamental lap robe. 8. Squaw moccasins. 9. Indian squaw leggins. 10. Indian tobacco bag. 11. Indian pipe-stem, holder and match box. 12. Indian child's robe. 13. Indian bead

bags. 14. Tobacco pouch. 15. Indian head dress. 16. Indian colored beads. 17. Moccasins made by the squaw of Provot, half-breed Ogallala Sioux. 18. Moccasins of Spotted Tail. 19. Indian charms. 20. Indian papoose case. 21. Moccasins. 22. Overhead—Indian papoose snow shoes and canoe.

CASE NO. 2.

1. Union garrison flag (bunting) of Rutherford B. Hayes, used at Camp Reynolds at Falls of Kanawha, winter of 1862-3; at Camp White, opposite Charleston, W. Va., winter of 1863-4; and at Camp Hastings, Md., winter of 1864-5. 2. Cavalry carbine carried by a soldier of the 1st Virginia Cavalry (Union), 1864. 3. Enfield rifle, cartridge box, cap box, and bayonet carried for four years, 1861-1865, by Henry K. Wise, Co. A, 23rd Regt., O. V. I. 4. Union rifle with bayonet. 5. Union rifle with bayonet. 6. Spencer magazine rifle and cartridges carried by a soldier of the 34th O. V. I. during the war for the Union. 7. Union cavalry carbine. 8. Carbine used by John Brown's men and brick from the engine house,—John Brown's fortress at Harper's Ferry, Virginia,—December, 1859. 9. Union non-commissioned officer's sword. 10. Artillery cutlass carried by a member of the 1st Ohio Battery during the war for the Union. 11. Cavalry sabre carried during the war for the Union. 12. Oil lamp made from cannon ball, fired at Battle of Gettysburg, July 1-2-3, 1864. 13. Section of an oak which stood inside the entrenchments near Spottsylvania Court House, and was cut down by musket balls in an attempt by the rebels to recapture the works previously carried by the 2d Corps (Union), Army of the Potomac, May 12, 1864. The tree was originally 18 inches in diameter. 14. Photographs of President Abraham Lincoln and Lieutenant General U. S. Grant taken on his promotion to the supreme command of the Union armies as Lieutenant-General, U. S. Army, and copy of general orders of March 29, 1864, announcing the members of the staff of Lieut. General Grant. 15. Watch case from the battlefield of Chickamauga. 16. Gavel with bullets cut from limbs of trees on battlefields of Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, and Mission Ridge. 17. Souvenir paper weights made from metal mountings from Admiral Farragut's flagship, the U. S. S. Hartford. 18. Paper weights made from a piece of one of the rafters in the William Penn House, built and occupied by him in Philadelphia. 19. Key to the Old M. E. Church, Fremont, Ohio. 20. Piece of the sheave of one of the pulleys and the rope by which the stone of the Washington Monument was elevated, Washington, D. C., 1878. 21. Piece of the ship "Nathane" in which Napoleon escaped from the Island of Elba. Later this ship was wrecked off the coast of California and this piece of wood



taken from the wreckage. **22.** Mold for making pewter spoons, dated 1768, given to President Hayes at Marietta, Ohio, 7 April, 1888. **23.** Miniature copy of Major-General Sheridan's cavalry headquarters battle flag, with letter to and engraving of Miss Rebecca Wright, "the loyal girl of Winchester."

## CASE NO. 3.

**1.** Rebel garrison flag of Wise's Legion, marked "Union of the South" captured by the 34th O. V. I., in 1861, and presented to Major R. B. Hayes, 23rd O. V. I. **2.** Confederate Officer's Sword. **3.** Hunting rifle captured from Guerrillas, at Fayette C. H., Va., in 1862, by the 23rd O. V. I. **4.** Mississippi rifle captured at the mouth of the Blue Stone, Mercer County, Va., May, 1862, by the 23rd O. V. I. **5.** Austrian rifle captured during the War for the Union. **6.** Mississippi rifle captured at Princeton, Va., May 1st, 1862, by 23rd O. V. I. **7.** Hunting rifle captured from the "Flat Top Copperheads," Flat Top Mountain, Va., in 1862, by the 23rd O. V. I. **8.** Turnkey for pulling teeth captured at Carnifax Ferry, Va., 1861, by Captain Gillmore, 1st Virginia Cavalry (Union). **9.** Small case of surveying instruments belonging to Lt. Gen. James Longstreet, C. S. A. Captured by Captain Russell Hastings, Adjutant General of Brigadier General Rutherford B. Hayes. **10.** Envelope with hostage tickets of Union officers in Libby prison in the handwriting of Captain Wirz of Libby prison, executed in 1865. The names were placed in a tin can by General Winder and drawn by the Hon. Alfred Ely, M. C., to select the required number of Union officers of the rank of captain to be held as hostages under the fire of the Union guns, for the rebel spies confined by United States authorities. **11.** Tourniquet to check the flow of blood, captured at Fayetteville, Va., November 13, 1861, by the 23rd O. V. I. **12.** Spurs captured at Cedar Creek, 19 October, 1864, by Captain Singleton, and presented to General R. B. Hayes. **13.** Case of signal rockets captured in 1864. **14.** Canteen captured at the battle of Antietam, Md., September 17, 1862. **15.** Spurs captured at Fayetteville, Va., 13 November, 1861. **16.** Shoe with wooden sole, one of several hundred, captured at Dublin Depot, Va., 9 May, 1864. **17.** Bullet-moulds captured during the war for the Union. **18.** Officer's field telescope captured at Carnifax Ferry, 10 September, 1861. **19.** Cow horn powder flasks captured from Guerrillas. **20.** Three percussion shells fired by the Rebels without exploding. **21.** Shackles from the slave pens of Brice, Birch & Co., dealers in slaves, Alexandria, Va. **22.** Cannon ball from caisson captured at South Mountain, Md., September 14, 1862, by the 23rd O. V. I., and presented to Colonel R. B. Hayes, who was severely wounded in the battle.

## CASE NO. 4.

1. Indian Blanket—Ogallalla Sioux, Red Cloud's Band, Dakota Territory, September, 1879. 2. Indian saddle blankets. 3. Indian squaw dress. 4. Indian tobacco bag. 5. Indian awl scabbard. 6. Pipe and tobacco pouch, presented by Black Coal, Chief of the Arapahoes, at the Pow-wow held in East Room, White House, September 28, 1877. 7. Indian saddle. 8. Squaw's bead girdle,—Chippewa. 9. Indian beaded pouch. 10. War leggings of Indian chief. 11. Indian beaded pouch. 12. Indian gripsack. 13. Indian moccasins. 14. Indian match cases. 15. Indian saddle bags—model. 16. Indian comb. 17. Indian moccasins. 18. Indian moccasins. 19. Grave of Spotted Tail's daughter, near Fort Laramie. 20. Specimen Indian bead work. 21. Indian moccasins. 22. Overhead,—Indian Papoose snow shoes and canoe.

## CASE NO. 5.

1. Regimental flag captured from General Jubal Early's command in the Shenandoah Valley, 1864. 2. Camp chair presented to Col. R. B. Hayes, 23rd O. V. I. inscribed as follows: "The carpet in this chair is a part of a blanket of a rebel soldier, said blanket captured at South Mountain September 19, 1862. The owner of aforesaid was mortally wounded by Yankee bayonet." 3. Squirrel rifle captured from Guerrillas, at Fayette C. H., Va., March, 1862, by the 23rd O. V. I. 4. Sword captured from raiding cavalry at Dublin Depot, Va., by 23rd O. V. I., in 1864. 5. Cartridge and cap-box captured at the battle of South Mountain, Md., 14 September, 1862. 6. Cartridge box, cap box and bayonet captured by the 23rd O. V. I. at the battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862. 7. Rebel spur. 8. Brass spurs taken from a wounded major captured at Sheridan's victory of Winchester, September 19, 1864. 9. Brass spurs captured during War for the Union. 10. Ramrods and cleaning rods. 11. Field Officer's sword captured at Moorfield, Va., 1864, by Captain Gillmore, 1st Virginia Cavalry (Union). 12. Cavalry sword captured at Wytheville, Va., 1863, by the 23rd O. V. I. 13. Sword bayonet captured during the War for the Union. 14. Pair of brass stirrups captured during the War for the Union. 15. Bowie knives captured at Carnifax Ferry, Va., September 19, 1861, by the 23rd O. V. I. 16. Officer's scabbard captured at Carnifax Ferry, Va., 10 September, 1861. 17. Pike captured in the Shenandoah Valley, 1864. 18. Spear captured at Guyandotte, Va., by Lieut.-Colonel Hall, 13th Virginia Infantry (Union), one of many made by order of Governor Henry A. Wise, of Virginia. "To toss the Yankee invaders across the river."

## CASE NO. 6.

1. Collection of photographs, badges and medals commemorating the presidential campaigns of William Henry Harrison, 1840; Clay, 1844; Taylor, 1848; Scott, 1852; Fremont, 1856; Lincoln, 1860, 1864; Grant, 1868, 1872; Hayes, 1876; Garfield, 1880; Benjamin Harrison, 1888; Cleveland, 1892; McKinley, 1896, 1900; Roosevelt, 1904; Taft, 1908; Wilson, 1912; Hughes, 1916. 2. Badges worn at the annual reunion of General Hayes' Regiment—The Twenty-third Ohio Infantry. 3. Collection of canes presented to General Hayes. 4. Mementoes of reunions of G. A. R., and souvenirs of banquets of the Loyal Legion. 5. Markers used by the 23rd Ohio Infantry, General Hayes' Regiment, in the inaugural parade by President McKinley, also of the 23rd Ohio.

## CASE NO. 7.

1. Pieces of broken china purchased for the White House during the administration of President Hayes, 1877-1881, showing designs of American fauna and flora, sketched by Theodore R. Davis. 2. Broken tea-cup purchased for the White House during the administration of President Grant, 1869-1877. 3. Pieces of broken coffee cups with saucers, and bouillon cups with saucers, purchased during administration of President Lincoln, 1861-1865. 4. Nicked and broken cut glass goblets, finger-bowls, decanters, and wine-glasses, purchased for the White House during the administration of President Jackson, 1829-1837. 5. Specimen cut glass goblets with portrait of President Hayes. 6. Specimen porcelain with portraits of the President and Mrs. Hayes. 7. Souvenir cup and saucer of the First National Centennial Anniversary at Providence, R. I., 10 June, 1876, presented to Lucy Webb Hayes at Providence, R. I., 28 June, 1877. 8. Two designs porcelain cups and saucers presented to Mrs. Hayes. 9. Resolutions of condolence on death of Mrs. Hayes by Toledo Post, G. A. R. 10. Flags from the launching of the "City of Para," at Chester, Pa., April 6, 1878. 11. Wooden cross carved by a convict and presented to Mrs. Hayes. 12. Imitation George Washington hatchet. 13. Imitation key presented with the freedom of the City of Nashville, Tenn., 19 September, 1877. 14. Souvenir plaque with portrait of President Hayes presented at Philadelphia, 26 April, 1878. 15. Parchment freedom of the City and County of San Francisco, presented to President Hayes in 1880. 16. Gold trowel and pestle presented to Mrs. Hayes at San Francisco, 1880. 17. Message of the President to Congress written on a postal card. 18. Miniature block house carved by a soldier in the U. S. General Hospital on David's Island, New York Harbor, in 1864. 19. Root of an



elephant's tusk. **20.** Specimen Easter eggs rolled on the White House grounds on Easter Day. **21.** Banners presented to Mrs. Hayes by the W. C. T. U., of San Jose, California, and Detroit, Michigan. **22.** Greeting to the President of the United States from citizens of Hamilton, Ohio, printed on satin.

TOP OF CASE 7.

**23.** Four Eskimo toy canoes. **24.** Plaster cast of large pear presented to Mrs. Hayes. **25.** Two specimens of Indian pottery.

CASE NO. 8.

**1.** Assortment of buttons, used by Northern Indians, from an early date. **2.** Sioux knife scabbards. **4.** Sioux pipe stem cases. **5.** Sioux tobacco bag. **6.** Iroquois necklace. **7.** Moon Shell, worn on necklace of many tribes of Northern Indians roaming between Oregon and the Missouri. **8.** Brooch and ear rings—Shoshone Indians. **9.** Indian horn spoon. **10.** Lower jaw of elk. **11.** Metal disks worn by Indians attached to a strap and hung to the braided scalp lock of bucks. Twenty or more are worn by a buck. **12.** Black stone from the ledge of the great pyramid of Cheops. **13.** Indian bows and arrows. **14.** Arrows and quiver captured from Sitting Bull Indians at the Buttes, 1876, by General Crook. **15.** Bow and arrows presented by Sitting Bull to General H. C. Corbin, Captain 24th Infantry, Secretary of the Peace Commission, 1878. **16.** Pawnee arrows, Platte Valley, 100th Meridian, October 25, 1866. **17.** Puebla arrows, New Mexico. **18.** Zia, New Mexico. **19.** Temes, New Mexico. **20.** Beads worn by Sioux Indians since 1824. **21.** Ear rings of Ihlin Kit Indians, made of native silver, from Charles Erskine Scott Wood, 14 November, 1878. **22.** Small teeth of walrus from Arctic Ocean. **23.** Indian flint and steel, whetstone. **24.** Facsimile of the wampum of three kinds of beads used by the Dutch about 1635 when they traded with the Indians for Manhattan Island, now New York City. They gave 30 bunches each of three kinds of beads and 20 Mexican dollars. **25.** Very old style silver ear bobs, the earliest ornaments worn by bucks and squaws. **26.** Bone hair pipe. **27.** String of wampum, Alaska. **28.** String of wampum, used as money by the Sioux Indians. **29.** Winnebago shoulder ornaments, modern. **30.** Indian necklace of eagle claws. **31.** Strings of hair pipe, highly prized by the Indians of the Upper Missouri, made from shell found on the north coast of Ireland, which is rare and not to be found now. **32.** Apache war bonnet. **33.** Indian lariat.

## CASE NO. 9.

1. Military equipment of Rutherford B. Hayes while Major, Lieutenant Colonel, and Colonel, 23rd Ohio Infantry, and Brigadier General and Brevet Major General, U. S. Volunteers, 1861-1865. Bridle and bit, saddle, martingale and crupper-strap, saddle-bags, pistol holsters, mounted officer's boots. 2. Camp chest of Rutherford B. Hayes used as field officers' chest, 23rd Infantry, 1861-1864, and as Brigadier General Volunteers, 1864-1865. 3. Combination folding camp table with metallic cooking outfit used by Rutherford B. Hayes during the War for the Union. 4. Carving knife and saw, and fork of mess kit, and mess dishes used during the War for the Union. 5. Ammunition-box chest, called "Cornucopia," used for carrying personal effects of Rutherford B. Hayes during the War for the Union. 6. Ammunition box for Headquarters records. 7. Camp looking glass carried with other traps in "Cornucopia." 8. New Testament presented to Major R. B. Hayes by his mother, 1861. 9. Rubber drinking cup presented to Major R. B. Hayes, 23rd O. V. I., during the battle of Carnifax Ferry, 10 September, 1861, by his former law partner, Adjutant Leopold Markbreit, 28th O. V. I.,—their first meeting after leaving their law office in Cincinnati on the breaking out of the War for the Union. 10. Cane from Red Bud Slough, battle of Winchester, 19 September, 1864. 11. Rattle snake rattles from camp at Green Meadows at Flat Top Mountain, 1862. 12. Ball and cartridge from South Mountain battlefield. 13. Bullet moulds, loading tools, and cartridges captured from the Rebels during the War for the Union. 14. Cane from the house of Barbara Frietchie, Frederick, Maryland, the heroine of Whittier's poem, "Barbara Frietchie." 15. Field officer's desk (with regimental records and muster-out roll) used by Rutherford B. Hayes during the War for the Union. 16. Oil cloth bedding roll, used by Rutherford B. Hayes during the War for the Union. 17. Ballot box of Co. C, 23rd O. V. I., used in the election of Governor of Ohio held at Camp White, Va., in October, 1863, resulting: Brough, 66 votes; Vallandigham, no votes. 18. Red Star badges, 1st Brigade, Kanawha Division, Army of West Virginia. 19. Union Officers' shoulder straps,—Lieutenant, Captain, Major, Colonel. 20. Copies of printed orders issued by General Rutherford B. Hayes and others during the War for the Union. 21. Fuse, bullets, fragment of shell, etc., from the War for the Union. 22. Ten minnie bullets. 23. Above—Chilean Hammock purchased at Valparaiso, Chile, by Colonel Webb C. Hayes.

CASE NO. IO.

1. Hide scraper of elk horn, used in dressing buffalo hides. 2. Chippewa war club. 3. War club from Dull Knife, a prominent Cheyenne Indian. 4. Indian war club and Crow Indian scalp. 5. Indian pipe stem. 6. Indian pipe. 7. Santu Sioux pipestone tomahawk. 8. Shoshone Indian tomahawk. 9. Indian totem poles. 10. Indian pipestone pipes. 11. Pipe and tobacco pouch presented by Sharp Nose, an Arapahoe Chief. 12. Pipe stem case. 13. "Sans-Arc" pipe head. 14. Pipe from the Washaki agency, the last pipe used by Chief Washaki of the Shoshones. 15. Santu Sioux pipe, showing porcupine quill work. 16. Stone war club taken from Big Foot's lodge by Little Bat, a U. S. scout, immediately after firing ceased. 17. Stone war club of Standing Soldier, Ogallalla Indian. 18. Indian hide whip. 19. Indian ornaments, showing Crow porcupine work.

CASE NO. II.

1. Indian arrow heads and corn pounder found in Spiegel Grove. 2. Mexican curios presented to Mrs. R. B. Hayes by Gustavus Goward; Wax figures, cloth-covered, of the Mexican Indians; specimen pitchers of Indian pottery; papoose toys; feather birds mounted; Indian bowls cut from gourds, painted and decorated by the Mexican Indians. 3. Indian stone club found on the Pickaway Plains near the Logan Elm, Pickaway County, Ohio. Presented by Mrs. Moses Boggs. Indian stone implements and iron tomahawk-pipe. 4. Souvenirs from the Holy Land, presented to President Hayes by Alfred A. Marcus, of Boston, in 1881. 5. Collection of Chinese articles, silk fans, shoes, and Chinese hand illuminated book of criminal punishments, presented to Mrs. Hayes. 6. Girdle from the Sandwich Islands, carved tray, and KuKiau, the seed of mimosa, fibre of pumpkin vine. 7. Collection of Aztec pottery.

THE WEST MUSEUM.

The West Museum is devoted to the large collection made by Colonel Webb C. Hayes. The hunting and Indian relics were accumulated on the long hunting trips in the wilds of the Rocky Mountains which he took with his godfather, Major General George Crook, the most famous hunter and Indian fighter of the United States Army, during the thirteen years prior to his death in 1890. The war curios were collected during Colonel Hayes' active service as Major 1st Ohio Cavalry in the campaign



of Santiago de Cuba and for the invasion of Porto Rico in the War with Spain; as Lieutenant Colonel of the 31st U. S. Infantry during the insurrection in the Philippines, extending from General Young's campaign in Northern Luzon, where Colonel Hayes won the much coveted Congressional Medal of Honor for distinguished gallantry in the Relief of Vigan, 4 December, 1899, down to the campaign against the Moros of Mindanao where his regiment was the first American garrison of that island, with headquarters at Zamboanga, from 1899 to 1901. The Chinese curios represent Colonel Hayes' service on Major General Chaffee's staff in the China Relief Expedition of 1900 during the Boxer insurrection, and his experience as a military observer during the Russian-Japanese war, when he accompanied General Kuroki's Japanese army on the march through Korea to the Yalu river, and later General Alexieff's Russian army in the vicinity of Mukden.

THE WALL EXHIBITS IN THE WEST MUSEUM ARE:

1. Chinese Imperial (or Boxer) uniforms, arms and Imperial Chinese flag captured during the campaign for the Relief of the Foreign Legations in Peking, China, in 1900. 2. Specimens of Chinese uniforms, headgear, and Chinese horse equipment. 3. Needle guns purchased by China from Germany and Austria in liquidation of alleged claims for damages, found in the original packages in the Arsenal at Tientsin. 4. Chinese bow and quiver of Chinese arrows. 5. Specimens of whistling arrows to be discharged in the air so as to give a weird whistling sound like those emitted by bad spirits in case of a forced retreat and pursuit. 6. Double-handed Chinese sword in scabbard. 7. Chinese waist ammunition belt. 8. Chinese sword for beheading. 9. Chinese sword-bayonets, originally purchased from Germany and Austria. 10. Chinamen's queue from the head of a Chinaman who was one of many executed for looting and murder on the day following Colonel Hayes' arrival in Peking. Retained as a gruesome souvenir. 11. Specimen of Chinese armor. 12. Chinese spear. 13. Korean flag, captured by George Coleman, U. S. marine, on the U. S. S. Colorado, in the assault on a Korean fort by the sailors and marines 11 June, 1901. 14. Chinese fishing spears. 15. Bear trap, presented to President Hayes by Oneida Community. Used by Webb C. Hayes on his hunting trips for grizzly bears with Major General George Crook. A large black bear and an enormous polecat were captured and with great difficulty released after being killed. 16. Horns of

elk, black-tailed deer, and antelope killed by Webb C. Hayes on hunting trips with General Crook. **17.** Henry repeating rifle and telescope rifle and cartridge belt of General George Crook, the greatest hunter and Indian fighter of the United States Army. Born at Dayton, Ohio, in 1831. Graduated at West Point in Class of 1852 and distinguished soldier during the War for the Union and in the Indian wars after his graduation at West Point Military Academy in 1852, and subsequent campaigns among the Indians from the end of the War for the Union until his death in 1890 with the rank of Major General, United States Army. **17.** Filipino saddle used by Lt. Colonel Webb C. Hayes for a short time during General S. B. M. Young's campaign in Northern Luzon, December, 1899. **20.** Shield used by one of the 57 varieties of Filipino Insurrectoes, captured at Vigan, P. I., December 4, 1899. **21.** Bronze church bell used as ash tray and cuspidor in the prison occupied by Lieutenant Gilmore, U. S. N., and sailors while held at prisoners in Vigan, Northern Luzon, September, 1899. **22.** Bronze church bell, broken in the engagement at Laoag, P. I., presented to Lt. Colonel Hayes by the Spanish Padre in appreciation of rations furnished to starving Spanish soldiers who had been held as prisoners of war until released by General Young's command. There were over 7,000 Spanish soldiers who had been held as prisoners by the Filipinos, fed with American rations by Colonel Hayes before they were re-shipped to Manila en route to Spain. **23.** Steel halberd carried by a member of the Swiss pontifical guard and captured from them by the savage Moros of the Sultan of Sulu, by whom it was presented to Lt. Colonel Hayes, 31st U. S. Vol. Inf., at a conference of army, navy, and civil officials held at the capitol of the Sultan of Sulu, Maibung, Sulu Archipelago. **24.** Sample shield of present day Moro manufacture of Moro crises, campilars, and spears. **25.** Parrot, presented by the Sultan of Sulu to Lt. Colonel Hayes, 31st U. S. Vol. Inf. **26.** Representation of death of "Chickamauga," horse ridden by Major Webb C. Hayes, 1st Ohio Cavalry, in the assault at Santiago, Cuba, July 1, 1898, when wounded. "Chickamauga" was pierced by three bullets. **27.** Portrait of "Black Yauco," horse ridden by Webb C. Hayes, 1st Ohio Cavalry, in the campaign in Porto Rico, 1898, in Manila, Philippine Islands, while Lt. Colonel, 31st U. S. Vol. Inf., and with Troop A of Cleveland as a member of the personal escort of President McKinley at his second inauguration, 4 March, 1901, and by Colonel Hayes while in command of the personal escort of President Roosevelt at the funeral of President McKinley at Canton, Ohio, in September, 1901; ridden by Midshipman Webb C. Hayes, II., U. S. Naval Academy, a special aide during the inaugural parade of William H. Taft, 4 March, 1909. "Black

Yauco" will be buried with military honors on the brow of the knoll in Spiegel Grove, near the grave of President Hayes' surviving warhorse of the War for the Union, "Old Whitey," and Colonel Hayes' Filipino pony, "Piddig," ridden in General Young's campaign in Northern Luzon. **28.** Photograph of "Piddig," Filipino pony ridden by Lt. Colonel Hayes in General Young's campaign in Northern Luzon in which he won his Congressional Medal of Honor for distinguished gallantry at Vigan, P. I., December 4, 1899. **29.** Photograph of "Trooper," a veteran horse of Troop A of Cleveland, a horse of the 1st Ohio Cavalry during the war with Spain, ridden by Lt. Colonel Hayes of Major General Chaffee's staff from Tientsin to Peking, China, in 1900. Enlarged from kodak taken at the Outer Wall of the Tartar city of Peking. **30.** Commissions and photographs of Webb C. Hayes taken during military and hunting campaigns. **31.** Photograph when five years old, taken in group with Orderly Shermis and Headquarters Cook Frank Halpin of the 23rd Ohio Infantry while in camp in Virginia. **32.** Hunting photographs with Major General George Crook, 1878-1900. **33.** Photographs of the 1st Ohio Cavalry and 31st U. S. Volunteer Infantry and of commanding officers and scenes in the campaigns in Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and China, also while an observer in the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, and of the Great War in Europe in 1914. **34.** Indian bows and arrows in leather quiver and miniature tepee, from the great Sioux Indian campaign of 1876. **35.** Sketch of the life of Little Big Man, who killed Crazy Horse in 1879, and thus became a renegade Indian, on an agency sheet and sold to Webb C. Hayes with a description of his life for four dollars on the occasion of an Indian pow-wow with the Hon. Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior, at Tail Agency in 1879, at which there were some nine thousand Indians present. **36.** Shield of cannibals of South Sea Islands, purchased from a missionary at Kaiser William Land, Bismarck Archipelago, South Sea Islands, in 1914, when Colonel and Mrs. Hayes visited the Islands set apart for the cannibals. **37.** Raincoat used by cannibals.

#### CASE NO. I.

**1.** Specimens of Filipino and Chinese clothing. **2.** Banners of Cuba, Porto Rico (Spanish), Filipino insurrecto, China, Russia and Japan. **3.** Pink silk pajamas and Chinese hat. **4.** Japanese umbrella which was filled with small articles of Chinese loot, with tag attached and mailed from Peking, China, to Fremont, Ohio, as soldier's mail. Nothing lost. **5.** Collection of shell salt cellars and spoons made in South America. **6.** Collection of knives made in countries visited in Asia and Africa while on leave of absence re-



turning from the Philippines to New York via the Suez Canal, by Lieutenant Colonel Webb C. Hayes.

## CASE NO. 2.

## UNIFORMS WORN DURING THE WAR WITH SPAIN, INSURRECTION IN THE PHILIPPINES AND IN THE CHINA RELIEF EXPEDITION BY WEBB C. HAYES.

1. Cavalry uniform, blouse, riding breeches, leggings, and cap, spur, cartridge belt, of Troop A, Ohio National Guard, which was later expanded into a regiment of eight troops and mustered into the U. S. service, May 9, 1898, as the First Ohio Cavalry, worn by Webb C. Hayes, Major 1st Ohio Cavalry, through the campaign of Santiago de Cuba, in which he was wounded in the Assault on San Juan Hill, July 1, 1898, and his horse killed. Blouse and undergarment show the perforation of a Spanish Mauser bullet. Canvas cavalry stable frocks and hat and white linen uniform worn through the Porto Rican campaign from the first landing at Guanica, July 25, until the signing of the peace protocol of August 10, 1898, by Major Webb C. Hayes, 1st Ohio Cavalry, in the skirmish at the Guanica landing and while attached to the staff of Brigadier General Guy Henry, commanding Provisional Brigade, and on the staff of Major General A. R. Brook, commanding 1st Army Corps. 2. Dress uniform of Major, 1st Ohio Cavalry, worn while serving with the regiment at Huntsville, Alabama, and until his muster-out after being retained in service thirty days on account of foreign war service. 3. Blue and white dress uniforms and khaki uniform of Webb C. Hayes, Lieutenant Colonel 31st U. S. Vol. Inf., during his service in the Philippine Islands, in which he served on the staff of Brigadier General Young in Northern Luzon, participating in the defense of Vigan, December 4, 1899, for which he was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for distinguished service at Vigan, P. I., and later during his service in the Department of Mindanao and Jolo, where he served with his regiment at some eight or nine separate posts on the Island of Mindanao with regimental headquarters at Zamboanga. The 31st U. S. Vol. Infantry was the first American garrison in the Island of Mindanao, its service extending for a period of nearly two years. 4. Uniform of Major of Cavalry worn by Webb C. Hayes while serving on the staff of Major General Adna R. Chaffee, commanding the American forces at the Relief of Peking. 5. Olive drab uniform worn with civilian buttons by Colonel Webb C. Hayes while accompanying General Kuroki's Japanese expedition from Ping Yang in its advance to the Yalu river in the spring of 1904 as unofficial observer in the capacity of a gold miner interested in the Oriental Consolidated Gold Mining Company.

## CASE NO. 3.

WEAPONS COLLECTED IN THE CAMPAIGN AMONG THE MOROS OF MINDANAO,  
P. I., BY LIEUT.-COLONEL HAYES, 31ST U. S. VOL. INF., 1899-1901.

1. Card plate used by Lieut. Colonel Webb C. Hayes, Thirty-first Infantry. 2. Three serpentine kris daggers, from Parang Parang, Island of Mindanao, P. I. 3. Two specimens of hand-forged razors, made by the Moros out of pieces of iron pipe, at Jolo, Sulu, Archipelago, P. I. 4. Two straight Moro daggers, from Parang Parang, Island of Mindanao, P. I. 5. Moro guluk or serpentine kris dagger, with solid silver mountings, presented by Datto Piang, at Cotta Bata, Island of Mindanao, P. I. 6. Dyak headhunter's knife, from the Island of Borneo. 7. Moro Chinese dagger, purchased at Jolo, Sulu Archipelago, P. I. 8. Moro working boro, from Maralini, Mindanao, Lake Lanao. 9. Moro knife. 10. Moro boro. 11. Moro borong, purchased at Zamboanga, Island of Mindanao, P. I., headquarters 31st Infantry. 12. Headhunter's, knife, with carved ivory handle. 13. Moro borong, from Davao, Island of Mindanao. 14. Moro serpentine kris, from Zamboanga, Island of Mindanao, P. I. 15. Moro serpentine kris, from Parang Parang, Island of Mindanao. 16. Moro sondang or serpentine kris, presented by Datto Piang, at his home in the old Spanish fort at Reina Regenta, Island of Mindanao, P. I. 17. Moro serpentine kris, with wooden scabbard. 18. Moro sondang or small serpentine kris, purchased at Pollok, Island of Mindanao. 19. Serpentine kris with wooden scabbard and carved ivory handle, presented by the Sultan of Sulu.

## CASE NO. 4.

WEAPONS COLLECTED IN THE CAMPAIGN AMONG THE MOROS OF MINDANAO,  
P. I., BY LIEUT.-COLONEL HAYES, 31ST U. S. VOL. INF., 1899-1901.

1. Moro borong, from Jolo, Sulu Archipelago, P. I., headquarters 23d Infantry. 2. Moro borong, from Jolo, Sulu Archipelago, P. I. 3. Moro gumbasi, purchased near Pollok, Island of Mindanao, P. I. 4. Moro working boro, from Binadayan, Lake Lanao, Island of Mindanao. 5. Moro peduk or adze, used in chopping wood, purchased at Moro market near Cotta Bata, Island of Mindanao, P. I. 6. Moro bolo, from Isabella de Baseland, Sulu Archipelago, P. I. 7. Moro borong, from Jolo, Sulu Archipelago, P. I. 8. Moro campilar with perforated blade, from Cotta Bata, Island of Mindanao, P. I. 9. Moro capacita, executioner's axe, presented by Datto Utto, near Cotta Bata, Island of Mindanao, P. I. 10. Moro executioner's axe, used by Datto Piang of Reina

Regenta, Island of Mindanao, in correcting his erring Moros, and presented by him. **11.** Moro executioner's axe, from Parang Parang, Island of Mindanao, P. I. **12.** Moro tabar or executioner's axe, from Cotta Bata, Island of Mindanao, P. I. **13.** Moro executioner's axe, presented by Datto Utto, near Cotta Bata, Island of Mindanao, P. I. **14.** Moro campilar, purchased at Moro market near Cotta Bata, Island of Mindanao, P. I. **15.** Moro campilar, purchased at Moro market near Cotta Bata, Island of Mindanao, P. I. **16.** Moro straight kris, the largest on the Island of Mindanao. **17.** Moro Campilar, purchased at Moro market near Cotta Bata, Island of Mindanao, P. I. **18.** Filipino sword, made in Dingra. Inscription "Pabrica de Dingras, Anno de 1899." **19.** Moro bow and poisoned arrows, from Parang Parang, Island of Mindanao, P. I.

## CASE NO. 5.

ARTICLES COLLECTED BY LIEUT.-COLONEL W. C. HAYES, OF MAJOR GENERAL CHAFFEE'S STAFF, DURING THE CHINA RELIEF EXPEDITION FOR THE RELIEF OF THE FOREIGN LEGATIONS IN PEKING, CHINA, IN 1900.

**1.** Chinese ammunition for gingals, also for modern European breech-loading machine guns. **2.** Chinese bow and quiver of arrows and whistling arrows, the latter used by the Chinese when retreating to frighten their pursuers. **3.** Buckle of one of the British regiments, the first Leicestershire Regiment, which participated in the looting of Peking in 1860 when they had their first taste of looting. **4.** Three Chinese gods of teakwood, from Peking, China. **5.** A piece of the great wall of China near Shau-hai-quan, April, 1900, from Commander W. T. Burwell, of the U. S. S. Wheeling. **6.** Chinese silk flag. **7.** Chinese seal, dagger, chop sticks, and case containing quill pens used by the famous Chinese statesman, Li Hung Chang, when arranging for the indemnities to be paid. **8.** Chinese copper coin circulated by Emperor Kwan-wo, Hau dynasty, 40 A. D., found in Loyan, an ancient capital, in Ho-nau province. Inscription reads "wu-chii," meaning five units of weight. **9.** Chinese money adding machine, from Tientsin, China. **10.** Kodak pictures taken in the Imperial Palace in the Forbidden City on an official inspection by Brigadier General James H. Wilson, and Lieutenant Reeve of his staff, accompanied by Lieutenant Colonel Hayes of Major General Chaffee's staff, with porcelain and tray in which tea was served as shown in the photograph, also bronze knob with which Colonel Hayes was branded.



## CASE NO. 6.

ARTICLES COLLECTED IN THE CAMPAIGN IN THE PHILIPPINES BY  
WEBB C. HAYES.

1. Copy in Arabic of the treaty made with the Sultan of Sulu by Brigadier General John C. Bates, commanding the department of Mindanao and Jolo, P. I. 2. Ornamented bronze jewel boxes, kettle, teapot and caskets used for cosmetics and betel nuts by the Moros. 3. Shark's teeth, from which Moro whistles are made. 4. Spanish playing cards, used by Moros for gambling. Exchanged for pack of American playing cards by Datto Mandi of Zamboanga, Island of Mindanao, P. I., since appointed Rajah and designated by the Sultan of Sulu as his successor in the Sultanate. 5. Beaded Moro tobacco pouch, made by the mountain tribes near Davao, Island of Mindanao, P. I. 6. Brass anklets, worn by dancing Tirreori girls from the mountains near Cotta Bata, Island of Mindanao, P. I. 7. Filipino stamped wrapping paper. 8. Moro woman's only garment. 9. Fifes used by Liggett's Battalion, the "smallpox battalion," Companies I, K, L and M, 31st U. S. Vol. Infantry, on the U. S. A. Transport "Manauense," Lt. Colonel Webb C. Hayes, 31st U. S. Vol. Inf., commanding, on the voyage from San Francisco to Manila in 1899. 10. Moro letter in Arabic to the Sultan of Mindanao, visiting at Zamboanga, from his son at the home of the Sultan of Cotta Bata, Island of Mindanao, P. I., for delivery by Lt. Col. Webb C. Hayes 31st Infantry, to the Sultan. 11. Rosette for hat worn by Filipino Insurrecto, captured at Vigan, Northern Luzon, December 4, 1899. 12. Filipino bag and Mauser ammunition captured at Vigan, Northern Luzon, in the attack on the American garrison there by Filipino insurgents. 13. Panama hat worn by Major Natividad who surrendered to Lt. Colonel Hayes in the mountains east of Sal Sona just prior to the recapture of Lieutenant Gilmore, U. S. N., and his party, December 13, 1899. 14. Filipino quirt, used on Filipino pony "Piddig" by Lt. Col. Webb C. Hayes while on the Gilmore Relief Expedition in the Northern Luzon. 15. Fez, worn by the Sultan of Sulu and also by the leading Dattos on state occasions. 16. Bamboo football, used by the children of the harem of the Sultan of Sulu during the official visit of the American military and naval officers at Miambun, Sulu Island, January 20, 1900. S. S. Herminia—Lt. Col. Webb C. Hayes, 31st Infantry; Major O. J. Sweet, 23d Infantry; Capt. W. H. Sage, 23d Infantry; Lieut. D. McNulta, 23d Infantry; Lieut. S. W. Noyes, 23d Infantry; C. R. Bradley, U. S. Treasury Department; Eddie Schenk, wife, and slave (interpreters); Frank G. Carpenter, correspondent. Convoyed by U. S. S. Manila,—Commander, A. P. Nazeo; Lieut. A. L. Norton, Lieut. E. L. Bissell, Ensign C. K. Mal-

lory, Assist. Surgeon W. E. S. High. 17. Napkin, used at the fruit luncheon given by the Sultana, mother of the Sultan of Sulu, to the American military and naval officers at Miambun, Sulu Island, January 20, 1900. 18. One of the cigars provided by the Sultan of Sulu at the official breakfast given by the Sultan to the American officers, military, naval, and customs, at the official conference over the adjustment of duty on rice at Miambun, Sulu Island, January 20, 1900. 19. Scabbard made from the bone of a water buffalo. 20. Chinese fan presented by Captain Chino, side partner and interpreter of Datto Piang, during pow-wow at Reina Regenta, Island of Mindanao, P. I., February 2, 1900.

CASE NO. 7.

SOUVENIRS OF THE CAMPAIGN OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA IN THE WAR WITH SPAIN COLLECTED BY WEBB C. HAYES, 1ST OHIO CAVALRY.

1. Steel rope—part of the forward guy of the starboard quarter-boat davit of the U. S. battleship *Maine*, blown up in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, February 15, 1898. 2. Inkstand used by President McKinley in the Cabinet room, in signing the resolution of Congress, declaring war with Spain, April 25, 1898. 3. Pen used by President McKinley in signing the resolution of Congress, declaring war with Spain, April 25, 1898. 4. Key to the deck plate on the U. S. battleship *Maine*, dug out of the superstructure deck where it was embedded by the explosion. 5. A piece of the flag flown on the Spanish warship *Colon* in the naval combat off Santiago de Cuba, July 3, 1898, and hauled down after the *Colon* was run ashore and surrendered to the U. S. ships commanded by Rear Admiral Sampson. 6. Spanish sailor's bag taken from the submerged deck of the Spanish warship *Reina Mercedes*, which was sunk by the U. S. battleship *Massachusetts* at the mouth of Santiago bay, July 4, 1898. 7. Part of the rope rigging from the main-mast of the American collier *Merrimac*, sunk by naval constructor R. P. Hobson, in the channel leading into Santiago bay opposite Morro Castle, June 3, 1898. Cut from the wreck by Major Webb C. Hayes, 1st Ohio Cavalry, the day after the formal surrender of Santiago de Cuba, July 17, 1898. 8. Knife from Spanish ship, *Maria Theresa*. 9. Spanish officer's cloth sword scabbards, from *Reina Mercedes*, July 19, 1898. 10. Pistol cartridges from submerged deck of Spanish warship *Reina Mercedes* near Morro, Santiago harbor. 11. Part of gas fixture of *Reina Mercedes*. 12. Steam Gauge recovered from the wreck of the Spanish cruiser *Viscaya* after it was burned and sunk off the beach of Cuba by shell fire from the U. S. battleship *Oregon*, Capt. Charles E. Clark commanding, in the naval battle of Santiago, Cuba, July 3, 1898. 13. Spanish cap, non-commissioned

officer's, captured at Santiago. **14.** Spanish cap, captured in the block house opposite the trenches of the 2d Cavalry Brigade, at Santiago de Cuba, July 18, 1898. **15.** Housewife, presented to Major W. C. Hayes by Mrs. Myron T. Herrick. **16.** Admiral Cervera's smoking set. **17.** Housewife, presented to Major Hayes by Mrs. William McKinley, May, 1898. **18.** New Testament, presented to Major Hayes by President McKinley, May 25, 1898. **19.** Cavalry ammunition waist belt worn by Corporal Llenoc, "K" Troop, 1st Cavalry, when shot through belt and killed in battle at Las Quasimas, Cuba, 24th June, 1898. This belt worn with sabre attachment (carbine in boot attached to saddle) by Major Webb C. Hayes, 1st Ohio Cavalry, when wounded and his horse killed in the assault on San Juan, July 1st, 1898. **20.** Leggings worn from muster in, 9 May, 1898, through the battle of Las Quasimas, June 24, and assault on San Juan, July 1, 2, and 3, 1898. Worn when wounded July 1. **21.** Gloves worn through Santiago campaign. **22.** Troop A spurs worn from muster in, May 9, through campaigns in Cuba and Porto Rico until departure from Porto Rico, August 20, 1898. **23.** First aid package worn by Major Hayes on cartridge belt through the campaigns in Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and China. **24.** Wrist-compass, worn during campaigns in Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines and China. **25.** Wrist-watch case, worn during the four campaigns. **26.** Fountain pen, carried through the four campaigns. **27.** Two pair gauntlets, one unused, purchased at Tampa on eve of sailing, June 8, 1898. **28.** Spanish Vent piercer and piece used in lieu of thumb with brass gun dated 1769 from breast works opposite 2d Cavalry Brigade, Santiago, July 1 to 17, 1898. **29.** Black powder bag and primers from fortifications opposite 2d Cavalry Brigade, siege of Santiago, July 1 to 17, 1898. **30.** Cavalry Drill Regulations, carried by Webb C. Hayes, Major 1st Ohio Cavalry, through campaigns in Cuba and Porto Rico. **31.** Comb and military brushes carried during the four campaigns. **32.** Spanish officer's revolver, captured at the surrender of Santiago de Cuba by Corporal R. J. Gervine, 1st U. S. Cavalry, and presented to Major Webb C. Hayes, 1st Ohio Cavalry. **33.** Spanish officer's spurs, purchased from Spanish officer on parole in the trenches at Santiago de Cuba, by Major Webb C. Hayes, 1st Ohio Cavalry, July 18, 1898. **34.** Two Spanish bayonet scabbards, picked up on the battlefield of Santiago de Cuba. **35.** Officer's stirrups purchased by Major Hayes from officer in fort opposed to 2d Cavalry Brigade during siege of Santiago. **36.** Spanish horse shoe picked up for luck on entering Santiago, July 19, 1898. **37.** Cartridges from Spanish ship *Reina Mercedes*, sunk near Morro, picked up by Major Hayes, July 19, 1898. **38.** Specimens of 3-inch cartridge shells from battleship *Maine* when raised. **39.** Spanish brass Remington cartridge, erroneously



called "explosives." 40. Spanish Mauser cartridge in clips. 41. Mauser rifle and bayonet, similar to those used in gate and fence erected around the surrender tree of Santiago de Cuba. 42. Record book of Captain of the Port at Santiago de Cuba, showing arrival and departure of ships, used as a memorandum by Major Hayes. 43. Official bulletin of the Archbishop of Santiago de Cuba, April 29, 1898, immediately after the declaration of war.

CASE NO. 8.

UNIFORMS, ARMS, AND EQUIPMENT OF THE PORTO RICAN CAMPAIGN.

1. Gauntlets, leggings, and spurs, used by Major General S. B. M. Young, and presented by him to Major Webb C. Hayes, 1st Ohio Cavalry, and worn at the review of the 5th Army Corps at Montauk Point, Long Island, September, 1898, on its return from the campaign of Santiago de Cuba. 2. Housewife, with embroidered autograph, of Major W. C. Hayes, received after his return from Cuba and Porto Rico. 3. Red Cross pamphlets and Porto Rican newspapers. 4. Wicker haversack, cloth ammunition waist-belt from wounded Spaniard, also Porto Rican sword captured in the engagement near Guanica, (Yauco), July 27, 1898, by Major W. C. Hayes, 1st Ohio Cavalry. 5. Leather cartridge box, belt, and bayonet scabbard. 6. Uniforms of Spanish officers (gray), and enlisted man (white), with cap. 7. Officer's saddlecloth.

CASE NO. 9.

1. Military equipment of Webb C. Hayes while Major 1st Ohio Cavalry, used in the War with Spain and through the campaign in Cuba, ending in the surrender of Santiago, and through the campaign in Porto Rico, ending in the Peace Protocol, Aug. 12, 1898. Halter-bridle and cavalry bit, McClellan saddle, "Troop A" saddle cloth, saddle bags, nose-bag, cavalry canteen, tin cup, yellow slicker and horse equipment bag, property of Troop A of Ohio when expanded into the 1st Ohio Cavalry and mustered into the United States service May 9, 1898. Horse equipment used in the battles of La Guasimas, June 24th, and assault on San Juan, July 1, where Major Hayes was wounded and his horse killed. This equipment with his sabre and cavalry boots all remained on the dead body of his horse until recovered July 6th, used through the subsequent campaign in Porto Rico, with infantry haversack picked up on the battle field during the siege of Santiago. Spanish officer's rubber blanket-case and Spanish blanket captured in the battle near Yauco, Porto Rico, July 25, 1898, the "Troop A" saddle and bridle with officer's two rein bit and 31st Infantry rosette, also

used by Webb C. Hayes while Lieut. Colonel of 31st Infantry during the insurrection in the Philippine Islands, in the campaigns in Northern Luzon in 1899, and in the Islands of Mindanao and Jolo in 1900, also during the China Relief Expedition of 1900 while serving on the staff of Major General A. R. Chaffee. 2. Native Filipino saddle and quirt captured with Filipino pony "Piddig" (buried at Spiegel Grove on September 14, 1901) at the Barreo of Piddig, Northern Luzon, P. I., and ridden by Lieut. Colonel Hayes, 31st Infantry, during the remainder of his service on the staff of Major General S. B. M. Young, December, 1898. 3. Camp chest, containing Spanish sailor's equipment bag, captured on the *Reina Mercedes* and hunting hammock, used by Webb C. Hayes while Major 1st Ohio Cavalry through the campaigns of the War with Spain, 1898, and as Lieut. Colonel 31st Infantry during the insurrection in the Philippine Islands, 1899-1900, and while serving on Major General Chaffee's staff on the China Relief Expedition to Peking, 1900; also saddle bags, with mess kit and staff officer's outfit, cavalry canteen, navy cup, Prentiss mess kit, nose bag, etc., fisherman's slicker, rubber cape, saddle cloths and martingales of 31st Infantry and 1st Cavalry, used during the campaigns in the Philippines and China. 4. Field-glass case, wrist-watch case, mirror, handkerchief (H. C. Corbin) and unopened bottle of cologne, combination dispatch and money belt, carried through the four campaigns. 5. Insignias of rank and of military societies, shoulder straps and cap ornaments.



# THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SOCIETY BUILDING.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, Sept. 28, 1917.

The meeting was called to order by President G. Frederick Wright. There were present:

G. Frederick Wright,	E. F. Wood,
Frank Tallmadge,	H. E. Buck,
E. O. Randall,	C. W. Justice,
L. P. Schaus,	F. W. Treadway,
W. H. Cole,	George F. Bareis,
W. O. Thompson,	B. F. Prince,
F. E. Wilson,	D. H. Gard,
J. M. Dunham,	Van A. Snider,
W. C. Moore,	W. L. Curry,
W. C. Mills,	D. J. Ryan,
T. D. Hills,	F. H. Darby,
Rev. B. R. Long,	Samuel C. Derby,
J. F. Roof,	J. M. Henderson,
H. C. Hockett,	J. E. Bradford,
Rev. William McDermott,	Albert Cooper.

President Wright made a preliminary extemporaneous address, in which he reviewed cursorily the history of the Society, the achievements of the past year, and congratulated the members upon the high standing attained by the organization in the popular estimation of the people of Ohio, and in comparison with similar Societies in other states.

## SECRETARY'S REPORT.

The last annual meeting — the thirty-first — was held November 27, 1916, in the Society Building. Full stenographic report of the proceedings were taken, and are included in the Minute Book of the Secretary, pages 29 to 112 inclusive. A



condensation of these proceedings appears in the January (1917) Quarterly of the Society, pages 82 to 113 inclusive. This printed record is submitted as the official report of the Secretary.

On February 2 (1916) the Secretary of State (C. Q. Hildebrandt) notified the secretary that, according to a new law passed May 27, 1915, all departments of state would be required to file each year, at the end of the fiscal term—July 1—a report of the nature and work of the department in question, expenditures, changes in officers, etc., this for publication in the annual report of the Secretary of State, which, embraced in one volume, would supersede the numerous separate reports heretofore issued by the various departments. To this request, or rather requirement, the Secretary complied and on July 1, 1916, and July 1, 1917, furnished the Secretary of State a statement of the history and purpose, and annual work of the Society.

On February 5 (1916) Trustee Treadway submitted to the Society's Secretary, for safe keeping, a duplicate copy of the tri-party agreement between Webb C. Hayes, The Citizens Savings Bank and Trust Company of Cleveland, and President Wright representing the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, concerning the gift of \$50,000, the interest of which is to be devoted to the Hayes Memorial Library.

The proceedings of the last annual meeting contain a report of the Logan Elm Committee, concerning the meeting of the Cressap Family at Logan Elm, October 21, 1916, when a tablet to the memory of Colonel Cressap was unveiled. A petition is being circulated among the residents of Pickaway County, soliciting donations towards a fund for the creation of a tablet to the memory of Logan, and a second tablet to contain the famous speech of the Mingo warrior. In the latter part of January (1917) at the suggestion of a member of the Logan Elm Committee, and upon the invitation of Mr. Charles H. Dresbach (Circleville), Secretary, Pickaway Township Farmers Institute, at the township school house, only three miles from Logan Elm, Secretary Randall met a committee interested in the Logan Elm.

November 9 (1916) Mr. Daniel Wallace, custodian of Serpent Mound, died. After instructions from the Serpent Mound Committee, Guy Wallace, son of the late Daniel Wallace, was authorized to act as Custodian until July 1, 1917.

Beginning October 28, 1916, Secretary Randall had considerable correspondence with Mayor Lash, of Bolivar, Ohio, concerning the acquisition by the Society of the site of Fort Laurens, in Tuscarawas county. The fund appropriated for that purpose (\$5,500) would lapse in April (1917). The committee appointed by the legislature (Spring, 1915) to secure title to the site of Fort Laurens, finally secured the deed which is now deposited in the custody of the Auditor of State. The property is, therefore, now in the possession of the Society.

There was a meeting of the finance committee at the Treasurer's office, January 26, and there were present Messrs. Wright, Bareis, Schaus, Ryan, Wood and Randall. A committee of the D. A. R. — consisting of Mrs. L. C. Laylin, Mrs. VanDever Taylor and Mrs. Frank Martin — was present to present the proposition for the purchase by the State of Campus Martius, Marietta.

This committee desired the cooperation of the Society. It was decided by the finance committee that our Society should not take the initiative in pressing the matter; that that should come from the D. A. R.; but our Society would give it endorsement; that a separate bill should be drawn up by the D. A. R., and that the amount asked for in the purchase be not placed in the budget of our Society. The proper bill for the purchase of the lot in question, at the price of \$8,000, was prepared, and introduced by Representative George F. Reed, of Washington county. It was however thought better to have a joint resolution passed by the assembly, authorizing a committee appointed by the legislature to visit the site, learn the situation and report. This prevailed, and Senators George S. Crawford and W. B. Tremper, and Representatives L. F. Cain and Charles M. Gordon were appointed to make the inspection. They did so and in their report recommended that not only the portion owned by Miss Minna Tupper Nye, but the adjoining portion also, owned by Mrs. Lucy Davis, be purchased. By an act found in 107 Ohio Laws, page 615, \$16,000 was appropriated for the purpose, the committee above mentioned to conduct the proceedings of purchase, and when the title was perfected in the State the property was to pass into the custodianship of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. The bill became a law on the last day of the legislative session. Much credit is due the Daughters of the Revolution for the consummation of this project, which primarily and patriotically originated with Miss Nye, who sacrificed much in time and means to persuade the State to preserve this historic site. Miss Willa Dawson Cotton, librarian Marietta Public Library, rendered most efficient aid in securing the passage of the bill in the senate. We are now awaiting the securing of the deed and its deposit with the Auditor of State.

At this same meeting the finance committee decided that the Secretary (Randall) with such assistance as he might desire to call for, should present the budget of the Society to the legislative committees.

Mr. Wood then read the items in the budget, as previously prepared by the finance committee. These items totaled for the year 1917-1918 \$28,862.30 — this budget was approved by the committee; the amount in aggregate asked for the year 1918-1919 was \$27,764.80 — this was also approved.

On February 16, 1917, there was held a meeting of the Library Committee, at which were present Messrs. Campbell, Randall, Siebert and Hockett. A discussion was entered into concerning the proposition of the Old Northwest Genealogical Society, to sell to our Society their

library, as stated in the written proposition presented to the Society at our last annual meeting. The matter at that time was referred to this library committee, with power to act. It was decided, unanimously, by the committee, that it was not advisable for our Society to make the purchase, first, because we had not the funds, and second it was very doubtful whether it should be the policy of our Society to enter into the establishment of a genealogical department, which the purchase of that library would entail. It would at once be expected that we go into the genealogical business, for all parties who desired information in that field, and we did not have and could not get, under existing conditions, a force to conduct such department.

At this meeting Mr. Randall reported the gift to the Society of a bound volume of the weekly newspaper known as the "Trump of Fame," published at Warren, Trumbull County, in 1812, perhaps the only copy of this rare paper now in Ohio or in existence. It was presented to the Society by General Asahel W. Jones. Mr. Randall was instructed to officially thank him for the same.

Action was taken as to the disposal of the funds at that time in the hands of the Treasurer, to be devoted to the purposes of the library. Additional book-shelving for the library, to the amount of \$1,000.00 was contracted for, with the Dick Metal Company, and those shelves are now in place. Some 300 volumes, unbound or requiring rebinding, were ordered bound by Mr. Heer, which was done, and the books are now in place.

On May 27, 1917, at the call of the Secretary there was a meeting of the combined committees of the Library and Museum. There were present, Messrs. Wright, Bareis, Ryan, Wood, Buck, Hegler, Mills, Randall and Campbell.

At this meeting the Secretary reported the result of the appropriations. He further reported that on April 26, the legislative committee which had had charge of the purchase of the site of Fort Laurens, deposited with the Auditor of State a deed for that property, thus finishing the two years' effort to secure that historic site. The property carried with it about sixty acres, near the site of Bolivar, in Tuscarawas county. In May (1917) Curator Mills and Secretary Randall visited the site and conferred with Mr. D. F. Lash, ex-Mayor of Bolivar and chairman of the committee appointed by the legislature to secure the site. It is a fine piece of property, and some suitable historic memorial should be erected upon it. This is a matter which the Society can now take up and work out. There is no more historic spot in the state.

The Secretary received a copy of an agreement made on the 9th day of December, 1916, by and between Webb C. Hayes, Trustee for Spiegel Grove, and the Citizens Savings and Trust Company, of Cleveland, Ohio.

In addition to his formal report, Secretary Randall stated that on Thursday, September 13th, by a special invitation of the committee having



the affair in charge, he spent the day at Logan Elm, at which an all day meeting was held by the Pioneers of that neighborhood. The program, lasting from 10:00 A. M. to 4:00 P. M., consisting of addresses, recitations, songs, and an exhibition by the school children in Indian costume, of Indian songs and dances. The committee having this in charge were John A. Wilson, John G. Boggs, Mrs. Howard Jones, and Mr. J. P. Sharp, of Kingston, who presided. Addresses were made by Rev. C. L. Thomas, of Kingston, and the Secretary. Some four hundred people were present, mostly farmers from the vicinity. Great interest was manifested in the Logan Elm, and the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society and its efforts to preserve and protect the tree. Chairman Sharp stated that a self-chosen committee was collecting funds for the erection of a monument to Chief Logan, and that \$250.00 had already been secured for the purpose, with the expectation that at least \$500.00 could be obtained and the monument erected in the early months of 1918.

Mr. W. O. Thompson moved that the report of the Secretary be received and the matters referred to therein be taken up in proper order. Seconded and carried.

President Wright then appointed Messrs. Prince, Bradford and Mills, as a committee on nominations.

Treasurer Wood then made the report of the Treasurer, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR ENDING  
JUNE 30, 1917.

RECEIPTS.

Cash on hand July 1, 1916.....	\$2,374 02
Life Membership Dues.....	177 00
Active Membership Dues.....	90 00
Subscriptions .....	32 25
Books Sold .....	265 15
Interest .....	633 78
Supplies Sold .....	2 00
Freight Rebate .....	2 71
Cash advanced by Webb C. Hayes.....	300 00
Check No. 1725 not paid at Bank.....	13 32
From State Treasurer on Sundry Appropriations.....	24,341 27
Total .....	<u>\$28,231 50</u>

## DISBURSEMENTS.

Salaries .....	\$12,920 00
Wages .....	250 00
Office Supplies .....	83 74
General Plant Supplies.....	237 85
Publications .....	2,413 18
Library Equipment .....	1,771 34
Museum Equipment .....	1,377 00
Equipment .....	101 21
Repairs and Upkeep.....	215 61
Water .....	66 40
Light, Heat and Power.....	1,470 41
Express, Freight and Drayage.....	141 38
Expense of Trustees and Committees.....	474 72
Telephone Rentals .....	95 55
Sundry Expense .....	
Auditing .....	\$40 00
Treasurer's Bond .....	15 00
Contingent Expenses .....	121 86
	<hr/>
	176 86
Field Work .....	993 15
Insurance .....	88 80
Logan Elm Park.....	314 50
Serpent Mound Park.....	189 40
Fort Ancient Park.....	525 95
Postage .....	108 99
Salary, (Cash adv. by W. C. Hayes).....	25 00
Hayes Memorial Bldg. Repairs.....	169 53
Hayes Memorial Bldg. Supplies.....	241 76
Transferred to Permanent Fund.....	815 00
Cash on hand.....	2,964 17
	<hr/>
Total .....	\$28,231 50
Amount of Permanent Fund June 30, 1917.....	\$13,315 00

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) E. F. Wood,  
*Treasurer.*

The report of the Auditor being called for, Treasurer Wood read the same, as follows:

"COLUMBUS, OHIO, Sept. 14, 1917.

*The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society,*  
Honorable E. O. RANDALL, Secretary,  
Columbus, Ohio.

DEAR SIR:—We beg to report that we have completed our annual audit of the books of account of your Treasurer for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917. Herewith are submitted the usual statements and schedules setting forth in summaries the financial transactions for the fiscal year and conditions at June 30, 1917.

The following table of contents will indicate the title of the various statements comprising this report:

Page 1:—Post Closing Balance as at June 30, 1917.

Page 2:—Summary of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the Period. Reconciliation of Bank Balance at June 30, 1917.

Page 3:—Statement of Appropriations for the Period: Balances, Amounts Appropriated, Amounts Lapsed and Amounts Withdrawn.

Page 4:—Schedule of Amounts Appropriated by the Legislature for the Fiscal Year 1916-1917.

The cash balance herein reported is supported by reconciliation with the pass book balance of the Capital City Bank. The appropriation balances have been verified by comparison with the records of the State Auditor.

By inspection we have verified the accuracy of the certificate of deposit representing the balance of your Permanent Fund. We find the same to be regular in form and in amount \$13,315.00. Interest on this fund for the year amounted to \$633.78. This certificate, No. 72774, was issued by The Ohio State Savings Association under date of July 1, 1917, and bears 5% interest.

We congratulate the Society upon the evidence of uniform and painstaking care afforded by the Clerical condition of your books of account.

In view of the constant widening of the Society's activities and the increasing volume and value of the properties under its control, we venture the suggestion that, in our opinion, steps should be taken to incorporate in the treasurer's books of account a record of the cost value of all such properties, both real and personal. We believe that adequate and economical control over these properties would be facilitated by the information made available by this plan and that public interest in the Society as a great educational force would be augmented by the inclusion of these facts in its published reports. Should it be



decided to carry out this suggestion, we shall be pleased to render the officers any assistance in our power.

Very respectfully submitted,

JOHN J. MCKNIGHT,  
*Certified Public Accountant.*  
 By W. D. WALL, C. P. A.

THE OHIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

POST CLOSING TRIAL BALANCE JUNE 30, 1917.

<i>Ledger Folio.</i>	<i>Dr.</i>	<i>Cr.</i>
3 State Treasurer .....	\$1,586 74	.....
Appropriation Accounts:		
18 Janitors A-1.....		\$35 00
32 General Plant Supplies C-11.....		19
34 Equipment E-8 .....		76
36 Equipment E-9 .....		28
39 Contract and Open Order Service General Repairs F-1 .....		1 30
43 Contract Open Order Service Communica- tion F-7 .....		20 25
44 Contract Open Order Service Contingen- cies F-8 .....		21
46 Contract Open Order Service Light, Heat and Power F-4.....		1,057 25
45 Contract Open Order Service Field Work F-9 .....		35
47 Fixed Charges Insurance H-7.....		60
49 Transportation F-6 .....		470 55
55 Cash .....		2,964 17
57 E. F. Wood, Treasurer.....	2,964 17	
150 Investments .....	13,315 00	
151 Permanent Fund .....		13,315 00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$17,865 91	\$17,865 91

SUMMARY OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR PERIOD (CURRENT FUNDS) JULY 1, 1916 TO JUNE 30, 1917.

Balance July 1, 1916..... \$2,374 02

RECEIPTS.

Life Membership Dues.....	\$177 00
Active Membership Dues.....	90 00
Subscriptions .....	32 25
Books Sold .....	633 78

Supplies Sold .....	2 00	
Cash Advanced by Webb C. Hayes.....	300 00	
Freight Rebate .....	2 71	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,502 89	
Payment stopped on Check No. 1725.....	13 32	
From State Treasurer on Appropriations as per Schedule .....	24,341 27	25,857 48
	<hr/>	<hr/>
		\$28,231 50

DISBURSEMENTS.

Transferred to Permanent Fund.....	\$815 00	
Care and Improvement —		
Logan Elm Park .....	\$314 50	
Serpent Mound Park.....	189 40	
Fort Ancient .....	525 95	1,029 85
	<hr/>	
Salaries .....	12,945 00	
Wages .....	250 00	
Supplies .....	321 59	
Publications .....	2,413 18	
Library Equipment .....	1,771 34	
Museum Equipment .....	1,377 00	
Repairs and Upkeep of Buildings.....	215 61	
Equipment .....	101 21	
Water Rentals .....	66 40	
Light, Heat and Power.....	1,470 41	
Express, Freight and Drayage.....	141 38	
Expenses of Trustees and Committees.....	474 72	
Telephone Rentals .....	95 55	
Sundry Expenses —		
Auditing .....	\$50 00	
Telephone and Telegraph.....	1 77	
Stenographic Service .....	43 50	
Ohio Valley Historical Society...	5 00	
Miscellaneous .....	86 59	176 86
	<hr/>	
Field Work .....	993 15	
Insurance .....	88 80	
Postage .....	108 99	
Hayes Memorial Library Bldg. Repairs.....	169 53	
Hayes Memorial Library Bldg. Supplies.....	241 76	25,267 33
	<hr/>	
Balance June 30, 1917.....		2,964 17
		<hr/>
		\$28,231 50

Balance Capital City Bank per Pass Book.....	\$2,908 10	
Add — Receipts not Deposited.....	97 29	3,005 39
<hr/>		
Less — Checks outstanding —		
No. 2129 .....	\$16 00	
No. 2147 .....	14 00	
No. 2166 .....	7 00	
No. 2173 .....	4 22	41 22
<hr/>		
Adjusted Bank Balance .....		\$2,964 17

## STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR PERIOD JULY 1, 1916 TO JUNE 30, 1917.

APPROPRIATION FOR: —	<i>Amount</i>		
	<i>Balance June 30, 1917.</i>	<i>Appropri- ated During Year.</i>	<i>Total Appropri- ations.</i>
Personal Service —			
A-1 Salaries .....		\$12,955 00	\$12,955 00
A-2 Wages .....	\$50 00	250 00	300 00
Maintenance —			
C-4 Publications .....		2,400 00	2,400 00
Office Supplies .....	3 85	300 00	303 85
C-11 General Plant —			
Supplies .....	13 70	250 00	263 70
E-8 Educational and Recre- ational Equipment .....	773 60		773 60
Books, Maps, Engrav- ings, etc. ..		1,000 00	1,000 00
E-9 General Plant —			
Equipment .....	777 10	600 00	1,377 10
Printing Room Equip- ment .....		100 00	100 00
Other Equipment .....	4 89		4 89
Open Order Service —			
F-1 General Repairs ..	600 12	950 00	1,550 12
F-3 Water .....	11 90	56 00	67 90
F-4 Light, Heat and Power	110 36	2,400 00	2,519 36
F-6 Transportation .....	244 17	750 00	994 17
F-7 Communications .....	10 80	105 00	115 80
F-8 Contingencies .....	22 55	150 00	172 55
F-9 General Plant Service..	21	1,000 00	1,000 21
Fixed Charges and Contribu- tions —			
H-7 Insurance .....	40	89 40	89 80
<hr/>			
	\$2,632 65	\$23,355 40	\$25,988 05



RECAPITULATION OF TOTALS.

	<i>Cash Drawn Amount From State Lapsed. Treasurer.</i>	<i>Total Deductions.</i>	<i>Balance June 30, 1917.</i>
Total Balance July 1, 1916 .....	\$2,632 65		
Amount Appropriated During Period .....	23,355 40		
Total Appropriation.....	\$25,988 05		
Amount Lapsed During Period .....	\$60 04		
Cash Drawn from State Treasurer .....	24,341 27		
	<hr/> 24,401 31		
Total Balance June 30, 1917.....	\$1,586 74		

APPROPRIATION FOR:—

A-1 Salaries .....		\$12,920 00	\$12,920 00	\$35 00
A-2 Wages .....	\$50 00	250 00	300 00	
Maintenance—				
C-4 Publications ...		2,400 00	2,400 00	
Office Supplies..	1 13	302 72	303 85	
C-11 General Plant Supplies .....		263 51	263 51	1¢
E-8 Educational and Recreational Equipment .....		772 84	772 84	76
Books, Maps, Engravings, etc. ....		1,000 00	1,000 00	
E-9 General Plant Equipment .....		1,376 82	1,376 82	28
Printing Room Equipment .....		100 00	100 00	
Other Equip- ment .....		4 89	4 89	
Open Order Service—				
F-1 General Repairs		1,548 82	1,548 82	1 30
F-3 Water .....	8 30	59 60	67 90	
F-4 Light, Heat and Power .....		1,462 11	1,462 11	1,057 25
F-6 Transportation		523 62	523 62	470 55
F-7 Communications		95 55	95 55	20 25

		<i>Cash Drawn Amount From State Lapsed. Treasurer.</i>	<i>Total Deduc- tions.</i>	<i>Balance June 30, 1917.</i>
F-8	Contingencies ..	172 34	172 34	21
F-9	General Plant Service .....	21 999 65	999 86	35
Fixed Charges and Con- tributions —				
H-7	Insurance .....	40 88 80	88 20	60
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		\$60 04	\$24,341 27	\$24,401 31
				\$1,586 74

## SCHEDULE OF APPROPRIATION JULY 1, 1916 TO JUNE 30, 1917.

LAWS OF OHIO 105-106, PAGE 756 — H. B. No. 701.

## Personal Service —

## A-1 Salaries —

Treasurer .....	\$300 00
Secretary .....	1,000 00
Curator .....	2,500 00
Assistant Curator .....	1,500 00
Two Assistant Librarians.....	1,340 00
Stenographer .....	720 00
Three Janitors .....	2,160 00
Four Caretakers .....	1,285 00
Bookkeeper .....	150 00
Author "Ohio in the Civil War".....	2,000 00

A-2 Wages .....	250 00
-----------------	--------

Total Personal Service.....	\$13,205 00
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## Maintenance —

## C Supplies —

## C-4 Office —

Publications .....	\$2,400 00
Other .....	300 00

C-11 General Plant .....	250 00	2,950 00
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## E Equipment —

E-8 Educational and Recrea-  
tional, Books, Maps, En-  
gravings, etc. ....

1,000 00

## E-9 General Plant —

Museum Equipment .....

600 00

Printing Room Equipment.

100 00

1,700 00

F	Contract and Open Order Service—		
F-1	General Repairs .....	\$950 00	
F-3	Water .....	56 00	
F-4	Light, Heat and Power..	2,400 00	
F-6	Transportation .....	750 00	
F-7	Communication .....	105 00	
F-8	Contingencies .....	150 00	
F-9	General Plant Exploration of Mound .....	1,000 00	5,411 00
H	Fixed Charges and Contribu- tions —		
H-7	Insurance .....		89 40
	Total Maintenance .....		\$10,150 40
	Total Appropriation.....		\$23,355 40

On motion of Mr. Treadway the reports of the Treasurer and Auditor were received and approved.

Mr. Wood moved that the recommendations in the report of the Auditors be referred to the Trustees, with a further recommendation that they take steps to carry out said recommendations. Seconded and carried.

#### REPORT OF CURATOR MILLS.

During the year beginning July 1, 1916, and ending June 30, 1917, many changes were made in the museum in the matter of displays. This committee held three meeting during the year. The curator does not feel disposed to crowd the cases more than is now shown in any of the exhibition rooms, for the rooms at times are sorely taxed to care for visitors at certain times of the year, especially during Fair week, when a low conservative estimate places the number of visitors at more than 10,000. During the year the attendance at the museum has greatly increased and we now figure more than 50,000 people visited the museum during this period. This number is less than one thousand per week, but it shows how the citizens of the state appreciate the educational advantages of the museum. During the second semester, beginning on the 1st of February and lasting until the close of college, the Curator lectured one hour each week to a class of ten juniors and seniors on the subject of Ohio archaeology, which is an elective course in the department of sociology. The lectures were illustrated by specimens from the museum.

On May 21st, I attended the twelfth annual meeting of the American Association of Museums, held in New York City. The sessions were



held at the American Museum of Natural History, Metropolitan Museum, New York Aquarium, Children's Museum and Central Museum, Brooklyn. The morning of the first day's session was taken up with addresses and reports of committees—the most notable was the address of welcome by Mr. Henry F. Osborn, and the response by the president, Mr. Henry R. Howland, of Buffalo, N. Y. The afternoon session was devoted to papers on "Museum Installation," and "The Training of Museum Workers." The second day's session was held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The entire morning session was taken up with discussions of methods of display in museums. The afternoon was devoted to a discussion of every phase of the subject, "The Producer and the Museum." The evening of the second day was spent at the New York Aquarium. The third day's sessions were held at the American Museum.

At the close of the Association meeting I made a trip to Trenton, N. J., and lectured to the students of the "School of Industrial Arts," upon the subject "Prehistoric Art."

During the year the curator has given ten lectures to classes in the Ohio State University, interested in phases of archaeology and history, especially textiles, ceramics and early agriculture.

The public schools of Columbus and the schools of Westerville, Worthington and Dublin, and other municipalities have availed themselves of the invitation of the curator to visit the museum for a lecture on early primitive history, followed by a personally conducted tour of the museum. Twenty-two schools availed themselves of this invitation.

During the year several associations meeting in Columbus held their sessions in the Society's building: among the most prominent were the Ohio History Teachers' Association, and the Ohio Society of Mechanical, Electrical and Steam Engineers.

On March 1, Mr. Starling Eaton, superintendent of building, and the oldest employe in point of service resigned his position. Mr. Eaton was a most competent, faithful and perfectly reliable employe, serving in the capacity of janitor and superintendent of building for more than eight years. His place has been filled by promoting the head janitor, Mr. John Gill, to fill the place of superintendent of building. Mr. Elmer Hart, 2d janitor, was promoted to 1st janitor, and the services of Mr. E. C. McMillin was secured as second janitor.

The field work for the Society has not been so prolific of results as in former years, caused by our inability to secure workmen sufficient to carry forward explorations of any importance, and the greater part of the work in the field was transferred to visiting sites and examining gravel banks where burials were reported. But many very valuable specimens have been added to our collections, and important information concerning prehistoric man added to our meager knowledge of him.

During the year the curator made his report upon the Westenhaver mound located in Pickaway county. See Quarterly No. 2, Vol. 26. A

second report was upon the Feurt mounds and village site of Scioto county. See Quarterly No. 3, Vol. 26.

Collections and specimens pertaining to archæology and history have been received at the museum every week during the past year.

The following additions to the archæological and historical collections of the Museum were secured since the last annual meeting:

Mrs. Ida Eno Carner, Columbus, a collection of ethnological specimens: Indians of Venezuela.

Mr. Owen W. Barr, two bead necklaces, from a mound on the farm of his father, S. A. Barr, near East Monroe, Highland county.

Mrs. A. P. Brown, Groveport, relics pertaining to the career of her uncle, John S. Rarey; also a collection of archaeological specimens collected by her father, in Franklin county.

Mr. George M. Finckel, a frame of pressed flowers from Palestine; collection of pressed sea moss; and a framed photo of the flint-working group at the National Museum; also a large framed picture of Lincoln.

Prof. J. E. Hyde, Lancaster, a framed photo of the first Fairfield County courthouse, Lancaster, 1846.

Mr. F. H. Nichols, Columbus, a fine hornets nest and other souvenirs from Washington county.

Mr. F. C. Martin, Columbus, a small collection of archaeological specimens from Franklin county.

Mrs. Frank S. Brooks, Columbus, two flint disks taken from the great Hopewell mound cache, Ross county.

Mr. Almer Hegler, an extremely rare piece, in the form of a stone die used in making copper axes.

Mr. Wilbur Stout, specimens of flint and Ohio pipestone from Coshocton county and vicinity, secured by him in his geological field work.

The museum secured by purchase from Truman B. Mills fine copper and flint specimens taken by him from the Fortney mound, Montgomery county.

Miss Lulie Jones, added a number of specimens to the Richard Jones collection of pioneer relics.

Mrs. Raffensperfer, Marion, fossil bones of the eland, and other fossils, from Maryland and West Virginia.

Dr. C. E. Sherman, Columbus, specimens secured from the Alaskan Indians, including several fine nuggets of gold.

Mr. F. C. Kraft, Columbus, pewter spoon and mold for making same; framed poem; historic canteen and bayonet, etc.

Mr. William R. Ozier, Columbus, historic old grandfather's clock, brought from Island of Guernsey at a very early date; also old books.

Mr. C. A. Carr, Columbus, a collection of very rare specimens secured by him from the Bogabo tribes, Mindanao, P. I.

Mr. W. A. Baker, Somerset, an old reaping sickle.

A small collection of archaeological specimens, collected at an early date by Ellery W. Wilkinson, was turned over to the Museum by the Geological Department, O. S. U.

Mr. William C. Mills presented three pieces of Indian bead-work, Sioux and Crow.

Mr. Harold L. Clark, Columbus, deposited in the museum a very fine and rare collection of ethnological material obtained in the Congo and Natal, South Africa, by his father, a noted missionary, at an early date.

Dr. J. M. Henderson, Columbus, a number of pioneer relics.

Prof. H. C. Lord, specimens of Hawaiian native fiber cloth.

Mr. J. H. Vogel, Columbus, rare specimens from Ainus, Japan.

Senator T. A. Busby, South Vienna, fine oil painting of Louis Kossuth and manuscript of his speech at Bunker Hill.

Through purchase, we secured the fine archaeological collection of the late C. W. McGinnis, Frankfort, Ross county, from his widow, Mrs. C. W. McGinnis.

The large and rare archaeological collection of the Graham brothers, Chagrin Falls, was secured by purchase.

Through exchange with the Yale University museum, we secured a collection of pottery-ware, from Central America, Chiriquian culture.

The American Museum of Natural History furnished the museum with skeletal parts of the buffalo.

An antique glass decanter, found on the site of old Franklinton, was presented by Mr. Waitley, Worthington.

Mr. I. N. Gardner, Columbus, placed in the museum his large and fine collection of Philippine relics, secured personally by him.

The State Society, Sons of the American Revolution, through Col. W. L. Curry, a replica of the George Washington hatchet, and also a gavel made from wood taken from the old Concord, Mass., church.

Mr. Tiffin Gilmore, Columbus, loaned to the museum the key to the first statehouse of Ohio, at Chillicothe.

Mr. D. H. Battenfield, Delaware, a collection of old paper money.

Mr. W. T. Hambridge, Eaton, an interesting collection of relics, consisting of flintlocks, knives, stirrups, buttons, etc., found on the site of old Fort St. Clair.

Mrs. J. E. McCalla, Columbus, placed in the museum relics taken, many years ago, from a mound just east of Columbus.

We secured from Ira VanDyke, through Mr. J. W. Long, a rare form of copper ax or adze.

Mr. J. W. Long, Thornville, a number of archaeological specimens.

Mr. Andrew Angerer, Columbus, stone relics and fossils.

Dr. C. E. Reams, Bowersville, small collection of stone relics.

Through our field work, we received a number of interesting specimens from the Swope mound, four miles north of Miamisburg.

Mr. J. S. Smith, Miamisburg, specimens from a mound on his farm.



Mr. Crane, editor of the Miami Gazette, Waynesville, two documents, one "Epistle Yearly Meeting of Friends," New York, 1829; the other on the "Promotion of Agriculture," Cincinnati, 1845.

A framed photo, through the adjutant general's department, of the 44th O. V. I., and 8th O. V. V. I. band, was presented by Mr. Nelson Oblinger, Washington, D. C.

Mr. O. J. Hatch, Maumee, souvenirs made from historic old Indian elm, opposite Fort Meigs.

The Desert Museum, Salt Lake City, furnished a fine collection of selenite crystals and other specimens.

Dr. E. Rogers, Kenton, Ohio, some fine archaeological specimens.

Mr. D. S. Finton, Kenton High School, several specimens from the school's collection, originally in the collection of Mr. J. C. Tritch.

Mr. Otis Steiner, Kenton, placed in the museum the contents of an Indian burial place, four miles north of Kenton. The find contains the largest necklace of copper beads known, 99 in number and weighing four pounds.

Dr. Jesse Snodgrass, Kenton, collection of archaeological specimens, typical of Hardin county. This is one of the oldest and finest of Ohio collections.

Mr. H. F. Burkett, Findlay, finds taken from an Indian burial place west of Findlay, consisting of copper, iron and silver specimens supplied to the Indians by traders and missionaries at Montreal.

Dr. J. C. Banning, Belle Center, specimens from his archaeological collection.

Mr. W. J. Alexander, Kenton, archaeological specimens.

Mr. C. H. Miller, Coshocton, presented a fine earthen pot.

Mr. F. L. Patton, Columbus, presented old land deed, signed by Jefferson.

Prof. Azor Thurston, O. S. U., implements and appliances, illustrating early practice of dentistry and surgery in Ohio.

The famous "Coonskin Library," an early Ohio Library, was presented by Miss Sarah J. Cutler, Marietta.

Mr. James Burgess, Columbus, presented an old pistol.

#### SPIEGEL GROVE.

Mr. Ryan made an oral report, stating that Col. Hayes and Mrs. Hayes are in France. He (Mr. Ryan) visited the grove twice last summer. Generally speaking the grove is in splendid shape. The cataloguing and classifying of the library is being done under the joint expense of the Society and Col. Hayes. This work will be completed the 15th of December. Colonel Hayes wished to have the electric light cut off from the house

and caretaker's residence, which he fixed up at an expense of \$2,000.00 to himself. An architect of Cleveland has written Mr. Ryan, announcing that Col. Hayes has left \$10,000 to be expensed in additions to the library; that work will be done under the auspice of our Society, while the money will be furnished by the Colonel. Everything is going on well. The library is very generously patronized, and there ought to be a register there. One hundred and fifty or two hundred people come there every day. It is becoming a resort for historical research.

The diaries of ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes are about ninety-eight per cent. completed, and one being edited by Charles Richard Williams, who was biographer of Governor Hayes. That work is done as a matter of love. There is a vast amount of correspondence, covering the disputed election of 1876, and President Hayes' period in the presidency. It is our aim later to have that correspondence classified and published, as the work of this Society. The diaries of Hayes, covering a period from 1831 to 1893, form one of the most complete contributions to American history ever published. When the copying is completed we will have to take steps to secure the proper appropriations to have it put in print.

In this connection Mr. Ryan stated that as Mr. Williams had written an authoritative biography of President Hayes, which had been published in two volumes, and had now offered to review the thousands of pages of the typewritten copy of the diaries of President Hayes, now being prepared by our Society, and had further volunteered to act as the editor of this manuscript previous to its publication by the Society, a service which would be purely a labor of love, the least that the Society could do to show its appreciation would be to make Mr. Charles Richard Williams, of Princeton, N. J., a life member of this Society. This suggestion was followed by the proper action, and he was unanimously so elected.

Mr. Randall for the committee on publication, stated that the report has been partially covered by Mr. Ryan's statement in regard to the Hayes diaries. "I simply want to supplement what he has said, as editor of the publications of the Society, by adding: we have in hand for publication a manuscript of a 'His-

tory of Education in Ohio,' by Professor Miller, of Oberlin College, upon which he has been working for several years. It will be the most complete history of Ohio education yet produced. We are also having prepared for publication a history of the stage coach period of this state, giving the incorporation of the companies, their lines, methods of procedure, etc., which work is being done by Mr. C. C. Huntington who got out the 'History of Banking.' "

Professor B. F. Prince then made the following report for the committee on

FORT ANCIENT.

Your committee on Fort Ancient desires to report as follows:

"The entire committee with the exception of one member who was detained by a previous engagement, visited the Fort on the 9th of August. In addition the Chairman made other visits there during the year. At the meeting of the Committee the following improvements were planned:

- 1 Repairs on the roof of the barn.
- 2 Some needed improvements about the house.
- 3 Repairs on the roadway and if possible with the means at command, a further extension of the road toward the look-out point.
- 4 A sum was set aside for securing suitable stones for the contemplated gateway at the entrance of the grounds.
- 5 A few signs calling attention of visitors to proper conduct on the grounds were also ordered.

Unfortunately for the interests of the Society, Mr. Cowan has been ill for the last eight months. He is now slowly recovering and hopes to regain his usual health soon. The general work about the Fort has been faithfully performed by Mr. Huffman employed by Mr. Cowan. The former has been a laborer at the Fort for many years and knows what is to be done.

In a letter received on the 26th, Mr. Cowan says that at present he is unable to secure teams for the projected work, as the farmers upon whom he must depend for the hauling are too busy with their farm work to give the service Mr. Cowan desires. He believes, however, that the pressure will soon be removed after which the contemplated work can be performed.

Mr. Cowan also writes that the railroad authorities who have been long importuned to repair their fences along the grounds of our Society, have at last answered our request by making a new and strong fence in place of the old one.

The well that was dug one year ago has proved its value during the summer months that have just passed.

"B. F. PRINCE."



Mr. Cole then made report for the committee on

#### SERPENT MOUND

as follows:

Your committee on Serpent Mound Park beg leave to submit the following report:

Guy Wallace, the newly appointed custodian is most satisfactorily performing his duties.

He is the son of the former custodian, Mr. Danial Wallace, who was a unique and interesting character, whose employment dated from the beginning of Prof. Putnam's explorations at the Park and his restoration of the Serpent Effigy. It seems appropriate that his mantle should have fallen upon the son, and it is to be hoped Guy will prove efficient and be contented to remain in charge as custodian, for many years to come.

We are pleased to report that the more than 140 trees planted last fall are doing well.

Your committee has purchased the lumber and let the contract for the erection of a shelter house for the protection and comfort of visitors in case of storms.

The building according to design will be 20 x 30 feet, in modest Grecian style of architecture, enclosed on three sides, with a partition cutting off fifteen feet for museum purposes.

As fast as funds are available for the purpose, your committee contemplates ornamenting the plat of ground in front of the residence of the custodian with shrubs and flowers. This will greatly contribute to the pleasure of the family and of visitors, and in no way detract from the principal attraction of the Park, the Great Serpent effigy.

The custodian reports that during the year, dating from October 1st, 1916, 7,296 visitors to the Park registered. Some do not care to register, or neglect to do so, and he estimates this number at 1,000, making in all more than 8,000 visitors.

The Custodian reports that more than 1,300 pieces of authorized archaeological literature have been sold at the Park during the fiscal year.

The last of the edition of a thousand copies which were printed of the "Map and Guide of Serpent Mound Park," are in the hands of the Custodian for sale at the Park, and your committee recommend that another edition of one thousand copies be ordered printed from the plates in the vaults of the F. J. Heer Printing Company.

This inquiry for archaeological literature is particularly gratifying, as showing popular interest in archaeological subjects, and warrants the belief that this literature, taken home and read in the family, will greatly add to the interest and information of citizens of the commonwealth,

which emphasizes the importance and value of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society

Respectfully submitted,

W. H. COLE."

The report on Logan Elm Park was read by Mr. Frank Tallmadge:

The Logan Elm and small plot of ground surrounding it, consisting of four and seven-tenths acres, donated to us by a citizen of Circleville, has been visited this season by increased number. The Elm, though supposed to be two hundred and fifty years old, is in a fairly healthy condition. The tablets on the memorials tell the visitors some of the scenes enacted on the spot, when this country was in the making nearly thirty years before our state was formed.

Your committee is pleased to report an increased interest shown by the people in the immediate vicinity of the little tract. Up to the time of the transfer of the land to our Society in 1912 the Elm was only accessible to pedestrians, who with more or less difficulty passed through a corn or wheat field. We recommend the acquisition of more land and the construction of a gateway entrance on higher ground. We regard it important that all historical sites be marked in Pickaway Township, some of them as follows:

Chief Cornstalk's Counsel House on Black Mountain and the Shawnee Villages nearby, including Grenadier's Squawtown, the Burning ground, Camp Charlotte and Camp Lewis.

Your committee recently called attention of the Society to the advisability of having the Elm examined and repaired if any places are found open or bleeding, for in spite of the historic interest in the Park, the tree, massive, dignified and impressive, the noblest of any in Ohio, is the chief object of attention; its venerable age should be revered and given every possible protection.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK TALLMADGE,

*Chairman.*

There were present at this annual meeting Messrs. J. T. Sharp and John A. Wilson, from Kingston, Ohio, representing the parties who are soliciting and gathering funds for the erection of a monument or tablet to the memory of Chief Logan, at Logan Elm Park. Mr. Sharp made, at some length, a statement of the interest taken by the residents of the neighborhood in the park itself, and the historic memories incident thereto. Many of the people thereabouts, he said, had resided there all

their lives, and were greatly attached to the noble Elm, and they congratulated our Society upon obtaining possession of it and giving it care. He invited aid from members of the Society towards the fund for the monument; made some criticism as to the care of the Park by the Society, and some passing remarks concerning the building of the cabin and the erection of the so-called Cressap Monument.

Mr. Wilson followed along similar lines, but more particularly expressed the fear on the part of the neighborhood residents of Pickaway Township that the State Society would change the name of the Park from Logan Elm to the Cressap Park. He was told by one of the Trustees present that there never had been any intention of that kind on the part of the Society.

Col. W. L. Curry made a report as to the "History of Ohio in the Civil War," orally, as follows:

I have no written report, but have a memorandum I made when selected to prepare something along the line of a history of Ohio in the civil war. This is an outline of my book:

First, events leading up to the war, of which I had some personal knowledge. It happened that I enlisted in the first Ohio. I want to emphasize what Ohio did at the beginning of the war: we were asked for thirteen regiments, when the call was made for seventy-five thousand men. I enlisted nine days after the call had been made, and it was impossible for the company, in which I enlisted, to get into the service, for the reason that instead of thirteen regiments Ohio raised twenty-three regiments, and I want to emphasize that Ohio raised more than its portion of the quota.

Ohio in battles: I have taken this up by years; have shown the number of soldiers enlisted in 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864 and 1865, etc.; have compared the losses; given names and dates of all battles of the civil war — over two thousand.

Narrative history of the different battles; the great and decisive battles. I am also taking up the counties, showing what they did, how many men each county enlisted; in what regiments, etc.

Prisoners of war: national cemeteries and number of men buried in each cemetery; brief biography of Generals who served from Ohio; war expenditures.

I would be very glad if you would appoint a committee to examine some of the work I have done."

On motion the report was referred to the Board of Trustees.



Mr. H. E. Buck read the report of the committee on

FORT MIAMI

as follows:

Your committee on Fort Miami respectfully reports as follows, viz.:

The owners of the property in question are still unwilling to sell to the State, or make any arrangements whereby your Society can obtain permanent possession of these historic grounds.

It would seem, therefore, that the only way to insure their presentation would be to invoke the powers of eminent domain and appropriate or condemn the property, provided this Society possesses such powers. If not, we recommend legislation which would confer such powers on the Society.

During the year we have caused to be prepared a map of Fort Miami and vicinity, a copy of which accompanies this report. We have also shown the portion of the property which in our judgment should be acquired by the State.

Respectfully submitted,

W. I. SHERMAN.

On motion of Mr. Ryan the committee was given further time, and the report was referred to the Board of Trustees.

Mr. Buck then read report of the committee on

BATTLE FIELD OF FALLEN TIMBERS

as follows:

Your committee on the Battle Field of Fallen Timbers respectfully report as follows, viz:

The area of the battlefield in question is extensive, the boundaries somewhat indefinite, and the present value of the lands very high. We have therefore decided to recommend to your Honorable Body the acquisition simply of enough land to properly provide for the erection at some future time of a suitable and permanent monument marking this historical site.

With this in view we have had numerous conferences with one of the owners of the land in question, Mr. Dudley Watson Moor, and quite recently have definite assurances from him that he will donate to the Society a very suitable site for a monument on an elevation within 100 yards of the present position of what is known as 'Turkey Foot Rock.'

We ask that the committee be continued and given authority to acquire, in behalf of the Society, the parcel of land in question.

Very truly yours,

W. J. SHERMAN.

The report was received, and the committee given authority to receive the donation.

#### WARREN COUNTY SERPENT MOUND.

Mr. Cole read the following report, furnished by Dr. Charles H. Hough:

The mound property is in statu quo except that the wood lot has been somewhat marred by a gravel pit, opened along the creek. The field is now in grain-stubble. All land in that locality is held at very high prices. I think it unwise to negotiate with anyone, until we are able to purchase. It is recommended that the committee be continued.

CHARLES H. HOUGH.

Lebanon, Sept. 17, 1917.

The report was received and the committee continued.

#### NECROLOGY.

Mr. W. C. Mills made an oral report on necrology, stating that during the year the following life members of the Society passed away:

Hon. J. B. Foraker, Cincinnati; Hon. Henry C. Taylor, Columbus; F. M. Hughes, Lakesville; William King Neil, Columbus.

#### MISCELLANEOUS BUSINESS.

The committee on nominations recommended the re-election of Messrs. G. Frederick Wright, W. O. Thompson and Webb C. Hayes, as Trustees for the coming three years. They were duly elected.

Col. Curry stated that, if the Society would establish a "Civil War Alcove," he could collect a great deal of material that will not cost anything: he has been interested along that line and has collected histories of regiments, etc., and if the Society will establish that alcove he (Col. Curry) will take the matter up with the soldiers throughout the state with a view to securing the material.

Mr. Cole moved that such a war history collection be established in the library, and furnished by Col. Curry.

Col. Curry stated that he would start the collection by presenting the Society a full roster of Ohio soldiers in the civil war.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES.

SOCIETY BUILDING,

SEPTEMBER 28, 1917.

Present: Messrs. Wright, Cole, Buck, Prince, Ryan, Bareis, Moore, Treadway, Schaus, Randall, Wood and Thompson.

Absent: Messrs. Hayes, Palmer and Campbell.

The meeting was called to order by President Wright.

Secretary Randall read the minutes of the last annual meeting of the Board of Trustees, which were approved as read.

The following officers were duly elected:

President, G. Frederick Wright; vice president, George F. Bareis; second vice president, Daniel J. Ryan; treasurer, E. F. Wood; secretary, E. O. Randall.

Mr. William C. Mills was appointed Curator of the Society for the coming year.

The salary of the Curator was fixed at \$2,500.00.

The salaries of the Society's employees are as follows:

Warren Cowan, Custodian of Fort Ancient, \$360.00 per year; Guy Wallace, Custodian of Serpent Mound Park, \$240.00 per year; Jerry Estill, caretaker at Logan Elm Park, \$25.00 per year; Chauncey Hauk, caretaker at Spiegel Grove Park, \$60.00 per month; Miss Catherine B. Judson, Cataloguer and Librarian at Hayes Memorial Library, until December 15th, 1917, \$500.00 per year, and thereafter Mrs. Eliza B. Buckland to be Librarian at the same salary, \$500.00 per year; Oscar F. Miller, general bookkeeper, \$250.00 per year; Mr. Shetrone, assistant curator, \$1,500 per annum; Mr. John Gill, superintendent of the building, \$900.00; Mr. Elmer Hart, first janitor, \$720.00; Mr. E. C. McMillin, second janitor, \$700.00; stenographer, Miss Grace Harper, \$60.00 per month; assistant librarian, Miss Minnie Bushfield, \$70.00 per month; Secretary, E. O. Randall, \$1,000.00 per annum; Treasurer, E. F. Wood, \$300.00 per annum.



Mr. Randall: Mr. Wood brought to the attention of the meeting this morning the recommendation of the Auditors, that: "In view of the constant widening of the Society's activities and the increasing volume and value of the properties under its control, we venture the suggestion that, in our opinion, steps should be taken to incorporate in the treasurer's books of account a record of the cost value of all such properties, both real and personal. We believe that adequate and economical control over these properties would be facilitated by the information made available by this plan and that public interest in the Society as a great educational force would be augmented by the inclusion of these facts in its published reports. Should it be decided to carry out this suggestion, we shall be pleased to render the officers any assistance in our power."

After some discussion the matter was referred to the Finance Committee.

The trustees designated as a part of the duties of the Secretary and Curator, the visitation annually of each of the sites owned by this Society, they to report at each annual meeting of the Society the results of their visitations, in writing.

#### STANDING COMMITTEES.

President Wright appointed the following standing committees:

*Finance:* J. E. Campbell, L. P. Schaus, D. J. Ryan, George F. Bareis and E. F. Wood.

*Publications:* D. J. Ryan, E. F. Wood, E. O. Randall.

*Museum:* W. C. Mills, H. E. Buck, George F. Bareis, L. P. Schaus, Dr. J. M. Henderson, Almer Hegler.

*Library:* E. O. Randall, D. J. Ryan, J. E. Campbell, H. C. Hockett, W. H. Siebert.

*Historical Sites:* G. Frederick Wright, B. F. Prince, W. H. Cole, W. C. Moore.

*Spiegel Grove:* Webb C. Hayes, F. W. Treadway, D. J. Ryan, W. J. Sherman.

*Fort Ancient:* B. F. Prince, W. C. Moore, H. E. Buck, Dr. J. M. Dunham.

*Logan Elm:* Frank Tallmadge, Mrs. Howard Jones, Henry J. Booth, J. S. Roof.

*Serpent Mound:* W. H. Cole and W. C. Mills.

*Big Bottom Park:* C. L. Martzolff and C. L. Bozman.

*Harrison Memorial:* J. E. Campbell, D. J. Ryan and E. O. Randall.

*Fort Meigs, Fort Miami and Fallen Timber:* W. J. Sherman, G. Frederick Wright, F. W. Treadway and H. E. Buck.

*Warren County Serpent Mound:* G. Frederick Wright, Charles H. Hough and F. H. Darby.

*Fort Laurens:* E. O. Randall, Byron R. Long and W. L. Curry.

*Campus Martius:* L. P. Schaus, F. D. Hills and E. O. Randall.

*Great War History:* W. L. Curry, H. C. Hockett, A. M. Schlesinger.

OFFICERS OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

<i>President</i> .....	G. FREDERICK WRIGHT
<i>First Vice President</i> .....	GEORGE F. BAREIS
<i>Second Vice President</i> .....	DANIEL J. RYAN
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<i>Treasurer</i> .....	EDWIN F. WOOD
<i>Curator</i> .....	W. C. MILLS

TRUSTEES.

*Elected by the Society.*

GEORGE F. BAREIS.....	Term expires February, 1918
E. F. WOOD.....	Term expires February, 1918
HENRI E. BUCK.....	Term expires February, 1918
L. P. SCHAUS.....	Term expires February, 1919
D. J. RYAN.....	Term expires February, 1919
F. W. TREADWAY.....	Term expires February, 1919
G. F. WRIGHT.....	Term expires February, 1920
W. O. THOMPSON.....	Term expires February, 1920
WEBB C. HAYES.....	Term expires February, 1920

*Appointed by the Governor.*

E. O. RANDALL.....	Term expires February, 1917
B. F. PRINCE.....	Term expires February, 1917
WALDO C. MOORE.....	Term expires February, 1918
W. H. COLE.....	Term expires February, 1918
WILLIAM P. PALMER.....	Term expires February, 1919
J. E. CAMPBELL.....	Term expires February, 1919

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